THE HISTORY

OF THE

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

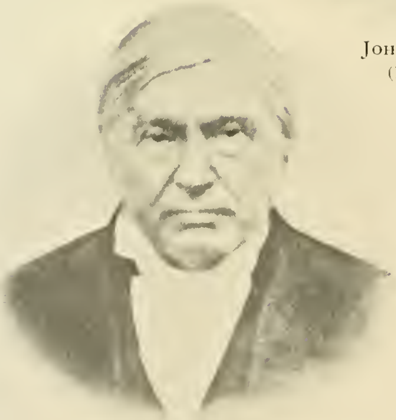
1795–1895

II.

W. T. Ringeltaube
(Travancore)

A. Des Granges
(Vizagapatam)

John Hands
(Bellary)



Charles Mault
(Travancore)

Mrs. Mault
(Travancore)

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LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

1795–1895

BY

RICHARD LOVETT, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

'JAMES GILMOUR OF MONGOLIA,' 'NORWEGIAN PICTURES,' ETC.

WITH PORTRAITS AND MAPS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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INDIA

'This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.

'Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.'—ZECH. iv. 6, 7.

'When in London Carey had asked John Newton, "What if the Company should send us home on our arrival in Bengal?" "Then conclude," was the reply, "that your Lord has nothing there for you to accomplish. But if He have, no power on earth can hinder you."'—SMITH'S *Life of William Carey* (1887), p. 55.

'A Hindu may choose to have a faith and a creed, if he wants a creed, or to do without one. He may be an atheist, a deist, a monotheist, or a polytheist, a believer in the Vedas or Shastras, or a sceptic as regards their authority, and his position as a Hindu cannot be questioned by anybody because of his belief or unbelief, so long as he conforms to social rules.'—GURU PROSAD SEN.

'It is not unreasonable to suppose that the last conquests of Christianity may be achieved with incomparably greater rapidity than has marked its earlier progress and signalized its first success; and that in the instance of India "the ploughman may overtake the reaper, the treader of grapes him that soweth the seed," and the type of the prophet realized, that "a nation shall be born in a day."'—SIR J. E. TENNANT'S *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 327.

CHAPTER I

INDIA IN 1795

In the last decade of the eighteenth century the vast majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain knew less about India than those of to-day know about Patagonia, and their interest in the welfare of its myriad peoples was slighter far than their knowledge of the country. The shareholders in the East India Company, and that limited section of the mercantile community which was awakening to the importance of India as a field for commercial and military enterprise, valued it as a means of rapid fortune-making. The only people who were beginning to devote serious and earnest attention to the nation's responsibilities in India were the despised evangelical section—voices crying in the wilderness—represented by such men as Carey and Bogue among the Nonconformists of England, and by men like Charles Grant of the East India Company. India then was more remote from the currents of common life and thought than Thibet is to-day. The fire of love to Christ, of faith in God, of quenchless desire to heal the sorrows of men, burning in humble yet consecrated hearts, supplied the motive power which has brought about the wonderful progress in India during the last century.

To reach India in 1795 was a serious undertaking, involving a voyage of long and uncertain duration. So little was known of the country that when, in 1804, Cran and Des Granges were sent to South India, their instructions indicated that they were expected to superintend churches in Tinnevelly, and also initiate a mission among the Northern Circars; that is, they were to carry on mission

work in two centres, differing in every possible respect, and separated by at least 500 miles! And this ignorance is not marvellous when it is borne in mind that with all the information which has been circulated among missionary circles during the century, not one in ten of even the intelligent supporters of missionary enterprise can name the chief languages spoken in India, or indicate with any completeness the most powerful hindrances, due to native custom and thought, to the spread of the Gospel in the different parts of that vast land.

India is really a continent, as large as Europe less half of European Russia, and more varied in its different portions than Europe itself. In 1795 the population was about 150,000,000, one-fifth of the whole human race. By these myriads at least *thirteen* distinct, historic, literary languages were spoken, and no less than 100 minor languages and dialects are found in different parts. India, moreover, was the home of an ancient if simple civilization, the people were dominated by hoary and powerful religions, they were self-contained, self-satisfied, and conscious of no need of enlightenment such as Christianity brings, and in the world's history no enterprise has seemed so forlorn as Carey's when he sailed up the Hugli to 'attempt great things for God' among the teeming millions of Bengal.

Long years passed before the Church at home began to comprehend the mighty forces arrayed against the Gospel in India. Some of these sprung from the Hindus themselves, their manners, customs, laws, and beliefs; while others were due also in no small degree to the East India Company. To realize what the task attempted by the Christian Church in India from 1792 to 1825 really was, it is needful to glance at these in turn. The Rev. E. P. Rice, B.A., of the London Mission, Bangalore, has very ably set forth the chief of these[1]:—

'1. First, there is the institution of *caste*, by which Hindu society is divided up into several thousands of

[1] *Primer of Modern Missions*, p. 34.

sections, between which all intermarriage and exchange of hospitality is forbidden by the heaviest penalties. It has really no parallel in any other nation, and is generally recognized to be a more formidable barrier than any usage Christianity in the whole course of its history has had to contend against.

'2. Connected with this is the *absence of all religious and social liberty*, which makes the adoption of any other than the traditional customs the reason for relentless persecution by the whole community, and (until recently) for the forfeiture, not only of property, but of all civil and social and family privileges.

'3. The *utterly perverted standard of conduct*, which places Custom in the room of Conscience, and above all the laws of the Decalogue, demanding external conformity, and caring little for motive or character. There is no punishment in Hindu society for real wickedness, nor any encouragement for pure virtue. It lays supreme stress only upon such things as meats, and drinks, and sect-marks.

'4. The overweening arrogance and *oppressive supremacy of the Brahman class*, who by the gross abuse of their high intellectual gifts have made themselves to be regarded as "gods upon earth," moulded of superior clay to the rest of mankind, to whom all gifts are due by virtue of their mere birth, in whose interests all Hindu legislation has been made, and who have got into their hands all the positions of influence, and the control of all the wealth in the land, and who treat the remaining 95 *per cent.* of the population as if called into being solely for their benefit.

'5. The gigantic system of *Polytheistic idolatry*—strong chiefly on account of its enormous endowments, the number of persons who make their living by it, and its power of deadening the conscience; a system which is served by a dissolute priesthood, popularized by festivals, processions, ritual, and legends; and stained by licensed prostitution and other forms of immorality.

'6. The *fear of malignant demons* (called euphemistically

in Government returns "Animism"), which forms the worship of wellnigh half the population, who present their bloody offerings to the spirits whom they suppose to be the authors of cholera, small-pox, and cattle disease.

'7. The *belief in religious merit* to be obtained by acts of idol-ritual, pilgrimages to supposed sacred spots, and bathing in supposed sacred waters, by self-mortification. by almsgiving, and by the service of the Brahmans.

'8. The seductive *Pantheistic teaching*, which wipes out the distinction between right and wrong, denies the authority of conscience, the personality of God and the responsibility of man, and makes universal apathy the highest ideal of life, utterly paralyzing the will for any good, divorcing morality from religion and conduct from conviction.

'9. The *degradation of woman*, who is decreed to be mistress of herself at no period from birth to death, and showing itself in infant marriages, the immolation or cruel treatment of widows, the seclusion of vast multitudes in the zenana, and the withholding from her of education.

'10. The sad and immemorial *degradation of the low castes* (Panchamas), numbering some 50,000,000, who are treated as the lepers and offscouring of the earth, whose touch is pollution, denied the right to live in the villages. to draw water from the wells, to attend the schools, and sometimes even the use of the public roads.

'11. Add to these a whole jungle of *superstitious beliefs and corrupt practices*, which have been allowed to grow and multiply, rank and unchecked, for ages: astrology, belief in omens, obscene tantric rites, human sacrifices, Thuggism, infanticide, false-swearing, forgery, cunning exalted to the place of a virtue, policy to that of righteousness, unscrupulous usury, the prohibition of foreign travel, and the spirit of compromise, which takes under its sanction every form of superstition, as well as of vice and lust and cruelty. All these have to be replaced by the light of knowledge, and by the sweet atmosphere of Christian love, purity, justice, trust, and godliness.

'By these great evils had the natural charm and graces of the Indian character been overborne. A frugal, home-loving, docile, courteous, and religious people, with a simple civilization, with many gracious traits and beautiful customs, and with much power of subtle thought, had been misled by the ignorance or unscrupulousness of their leaders. No kinder act could be done for them than to deliver the Hindus from Hinduism, and the Brahmans from Brahmanism, and to bring them into the glorious liberty and joy of the sons of God, and into the high privilege of discipleship to Him who has shown Himself the world's great Redeemer, the sinless Friend of sinners. Such was the task which the Church set before itself in the missionary enterprise.

'To all this must be added the *conversion to Christ of the great Muhammadan population*, numbering 58,000,000, more numerous in India than in any other country, inheriting many true conceptions respecting God and man, together with a chastely simple form of worship, and yet unable to reap the advantages of this inheritance, because of the pure externality in which they have made the essentials of religion to consist, their bigoted resistance to all new truth, and the finality they attribute to the traditional teaching and practices of Muhammad.'

To those who ponder this colossal system of religious beliefs and practices, and who remember the vast populations concerned, it will be obvious that victory over it can be won by no brief, spasmodic attacks, but only by a careful. many-sided propaganda, patiently and steadily maintained for a prolonged period. In previous centuries the Christian Church has never realized these facts, and has attempted the conversion of India by puny and inadequate efforts foredoomed to failure. During the nineteenth century it selected the most appropriate methods, and on a larger scale, which in due time will accomplish its purpose, and replace Hinduism by a fairer Christianity.

In addition to these tremendous obstacles, the early missionaries had to face bitter opposition where they might have reasonably expected, if not active co-operation, at

least sympathy and toleration—at the hands of the East India Company. By the close of the eighteenth century the Company had become practically, though not yet absolutely, masters of India. Actually the Company held sway over only the Bengal, Behar, and Benares districts of the Ganges Valley, together with some stations on the Madras and Malabar coasts and Seringapatam. But the condition of the rest of India was such as to render the subsequent progress of conquest inevitable. In the earlier stages of its history the Company was not unmindful of its duties towards its employés, and endeavoured to secure for the main stations suitable chaplains. But at no period of its history does it ever seem to have considered the instruction of the natives in Christianity to be any part of its duty. From time to time among the officials and chaplains there were individuals who felt and who tried to discharge this responsibility; but it was done always in spite of, not with, official sanction. The ablest man of this class, and one to whom India owes an incalculable and yet largely unacknowledged debt, was Charles Grant. After thirty years' service he went home, became Chairman of the Directors, and in 1797 presented to the Board his *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*. This treatise, so full of information and suggestions of the highest value, was kept back by his colleagues, and was not generally circulated until the year 1813.

Public opinion at home, especially in those circles influenced by the 'Clapham Sect,' was becoming strongly aroused to the necessity of ending the complacent paganism of the East India Company's policy. In 1793, when the renewal of the charter came before Parliament, Wilberforce succeeded in passing a resolution 'that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement

in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement.' But this resolution, tame and commonplace as it reads to-day, aroused such an angry storm that the Government threw over both it and its author, and for another twenty years the misdirected bigotry and short-sightedness of the East India House had their way. Not until 1813 was the victory won for religious freedom. 'The charter of 1813 was the foundation not only of the ecclesiastical establishment, but, what is of far more importance for the civilization and the Christianization of its people, of the educational system of India [1].'

The result was immediate, and was also progressively satisfactory. Prior to 1813 missionaries had to be smuggled into the country, and could be expelled by the arbitrary dictum of the local governor. Not only was nothing done to teach the Hindus the folly and error of their religious systems, but in many ways British influence was used to protect and maintain them. As late as 1819 a Sepoy was expelled from the army for the crime of becoming a Christian, and Sir Peregrine Maitland, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, resigned rather than submit to the degradation of saluting idols. Even after 1813, Christian officials were not allowed in their private capacity the privilege of attempting to show Hindus 'the more excellent way' they followed themselves. But from the moment the charter passed, India entered upon a new path of political, social, and religious progress.

'At no period in the history of the Christian Church, not even in the brilliant century of legislation from Constantine's edict of toleration to the Theodosian code, has Christianity been the means of abolishing so many inhuman customs and crimes as were suppressed in India by the Company's Regulations and Acts in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Christ-like work kept rapid step with the progress of Christian opinion and beneficent reforms in Great Britain, but it was due in the first instance to the missionaries in India. In the teeth of the supporters

[1] *The Conversion of India*, by Dr. George Smith, p. 109.

of Hinduism, European as well as Brahmanical, and contrary to the custom of centuries, it ceased to be lawful, it became penal, even in the name of religion: (1) to murder parents by suttee, by exposure on the banks of rivers, or by burial alive; (2) to murder children by dedication to the Ganges, to be devoured by crocodiles, or daughters by the Rajpoot modes of infanticide; (3) to offer up human sacrifices in a temple, or to propitiate the earth-goddess; (4) to encourage suicide under the wheels of idol-cars, or wells, or otherwise; (5) to promote voluntary torment by hook-swinging, thigh-piercing, tongue-extraction, &c.; or (6) involuntary torment by mutilation, trampling to death, ordeals, and barbarous executions. Slavery and the slave-trade were made illegal. Caste was no longer supported by law, nor recognized in appointments to office. The long compromise with idolatry during the previous two centuries ceased, so that the Government no more called its Christian soldiers to salute idols, or its civil officers to recognize gods in official documents, or manage the affairs of idol-temples, and extort a revenue from idol-pilgrimages. A long step was taken by legislative Acts to protect the civil rights of converts to Christianity as to any other religion, and to leave Hindu widows free to marry [1].'

As Dr. George Smith points out in his *Short History of Missions* [2], 'the real missionary influence of the East India Company, exercised by Providence through it in spite of its frequent intolerance and continued professions of neutrality till it was swept away in the blood of the Mutiny, was like that of the Roman Empire: (1) the Company rescued all Southern Asia from anarchy and made possible the growth of law, order, property, and peace as a sort of moral police; (2) the Company introduced roads, commerce, wealth, and the physical preparation for the Gospel during a time of transition; (3) the Company quickened the conscience of Great Britain and its churches as they awoke to their duty after the close of the eighteenth century, partly by its extreme

[1] *The Conversion of India*, p. 110.

[2] p. 145.

opposition to missions, partly by the earnest civilians and officers, and in a very few cases merchants and chaplains, whom it sent home with knowledge and experience. The East India Company has hardly any higher praise than that of the pagan Roman Empire, but it is entitled to that—it did for the southern nations of Asia what Rome had done for the northern nations of Europe.'

To the India thus prepared for the Gospel went the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, the first to follow where Carey, with quenchless faith, indomitable energy, and sound common sense, had so bravely led the way.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; Dr. George Smith's *Conversion of India*, and *Short History of Missions*; *A Primer of Modern Missions*, edited by R. Lovett, M.A.; *A History of Protestant Missions in India*, 1706–1882, by M. A. Sherring, revised by E. Storrow, 1884]

CHAPTER II

NATHANIEL FORSYTH AND ROBERT MAY

THE Report for 1798 contains the earliest reference in the Society's annals to definite work in India. There we read: 'A pleasing expectation is entertained of the Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth, who is a well-informed man, and appears to be animated by a truly missionary spirit. He has been set apart for his work, and has lately embarked for the Cape of Good Hope.' To this man belongs the abiding honour of having been the first, and for some years the sole, missionary sent out by the Society to the vast field of India. The Reports for the years 1800 to 1803 continue his story:—

'Since the last General Meeting, the Directors have received several letters from Mr. Forsyth, the Society's missionary in the East Indies. It is expected that before this time he has fixed on a favourable spot (in the vicinity of Calcutta) for the commencement of his missionary labours, as it does not appear that he has met with any material impediment in his design of prosecuting this important service. He complains of, and feelingly laments, the extreme depravity and deeply rooted superstitions of the Hindoos, which render them very inimical to the simplicity and purity of the Gospel. He requests that additional missionaries may be sent to his assistance, and points out such means for their introduction and patronage as the Directors trust will prove a providential opening, for the increase of missionary labour and success in that populous but dreadfully depraved country. This mission

must therefore be considered as in its infancy: very little as yet can have been done, but much useful information has been acquired, and the Directors will, no doubt, avail themselves of every assistance that has been, or may be, given to send out more labourers into this eastern part of our Lord's vineyard[1].'

'A letter, dated August 5, 1800, has lately been received from Mr. Forsyth, the Society's missionary in India. At that time he was well in health, had made considerable proficiency in the language of the country, and was about to begin a school for the instruction of the children of the natives. Mr. Forsyth appears to possess a true missionary spirit, and he exhibits fidelity and disinterestedness of character and conduct. The Directors have long since been authorized to increase the mission to that part of the world, but circumstances have occurred to frustrate their desires and intentions[2].'

'The Directors, on referring to the solitary labours of Mr. Forsyth in the East Indies, cannot help lamenting that a region so extensive, with a population proportionably great, and also deplorably superstitious and idolatrous, should not have shared more largely in the benevolent exertions of this Society. The resolutions of general meetings have so frequently authorized and recommended missions to several parts of the East Indies, that these objects could not possibly be forgotten, and they have not been, nor will they be neglected, whenever missionary zeal and ability shall combine and present means to accomplish them; but the Directors have not yet been favoured with offers from persons whose qualifications are suited, in their opinion, to strengthen, enlarge, and establish efficient missionary exertions in the East Indies. By letters which have been received from Mr. Forsyth, it appears that he continues to labour with diligence and zeal: and, it is hoped, not without attestation of divine approbation and influence. It is both right and necessary to add that Mr. Forsyth has acted in a very

[1] Report, 1800. [2] Ibid. 1801.

disinterested manner towards this Society, having subjected it to no expense on his account since his arrival in India [1].'

'They trust that their solitary missionary in India (Forsyth), who has long expressed his ardent desire for assistance in that extensive field of action, will have this desire gratified; and that the many millions of heathens in those idolatrous regions will be continually receiving fresh accessions of Christian missionaries from this Society and others, who, like friendly allies, will afford their mutual aid in the cause of their common Lord [2].'

Thus in the first eight years of its existence the Society was able to send and to maintain in India only one solitary missionary. But the reasons for this were many, and readily account for seeming slackness on the part of the Directors. The India of 1800 was further away from London than the heart of Darkest Africa is to-day. The East India Company was so bitterly hostile to all efforts for carrying to the Hindus a knowledge of the Gospel that missionaries were expressly forbidden to land, and even if they succeeded in landing were deported by force. Carey, who had preceded Forsyth by only five years, owed his gaining a foothold to the providential fact that Denmark held a small patch of Indian territory around Serampore, and threw over him and his colleagues the mantle of her protection. It is one of the ironies of history that while Great Britain, one of the most powerful of European nations, from whom Carey sprang, exerted her power to frustrate his benevolent aims, Denmark, one of the least influential of European peoples, was able to hold open the door of blessing through which Carey and his colleagues, and also Nathaniel Forsyth, entered to begin their beneficent labours for the millions of India.

All the original records of Forsyth's work in India seem unhappily to have disappeared, and he is a man of whom we would have gladly known more. In 1812 he was joined at Chinsurah by Mr. and Mrs. May. The former was an ardent and skilful educationalist, and carried on

[1] Report, 1802. [2] Ibid. 1803.

a most successful system of school-work. About the same time Forsyth ceased to be directly connected with the Society, and he died at Chandernagore on Feb. 14, 1816. G. Gogerly, one of his immediate successors in the Bengal Mission, gives the following sketch[1] of him:—

'Mr. Forsyth is described as being a man of most singular self-denial and large-heartedness, and as generous to an extreme. His whole time, talents, and property he devoted most conscientiously to his missionary work, and to the relief of suffering humanity. From the funds of the London Missionary Society he never received anything, with the exception of a few dollars when he embarked for India. His private resources were exceedingly limited, and, in consequence, his mode of living was most simple and inexpensive. "For a time," said his friend Mr. Edmond, whom everybody in Calcutta knew and loved, "he had no stated dwelling-place, but lived in a small boat, in which he went up and down to preach at the different towns on the banks of the river."

'By the Dutch Local Government Mr. Forsyth was appointed minister of the Church at Chinsurah; and, after frequently refusing any remuneration for his services, consented at last to accept fifty rupees a month The Hon. Mr. Harrington, a firm friend of missions, placed at his disposal a small bungalow at Bandel, about three miles above Chinsurah, from which spot he regularly walked every Sunday morning to discharge his duties; afterwards, not unfrequently, he would proceed to Calcutta to preach at the General Hospital, by permission of the Rev. David Brown, then senior presidency and garrison chaplain.

'This injudicious mode of living in a country like Bengal, denying himself almost the common necessaries of life, refusing to travel either by carriage or palankeen, but always walking where he could not be conveyed by boat, produced, as might be expected, the prostration of a naturally strong constitution; and after eighteen years of labour Mr. Forsyth died in 1816, aged forty-seven years. Thus

[1] *Pioneers of the Bengal Mission*, p. 60.

fell the first pioneer connected with the London Missionary Society in Bengal; not, however, until he had given an impetus to that glorious work which will go on until the whole of India is brought into subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Robert May was an educationalist of no mean power. He was spared to labour for only five years, but during that time he accomplished some remarkable results.

'How eminently successful he was in this branch of labour may be gathered from the fact, that at the end of 1815 he had twenty schools under his charge, in which instruction was imparted to 1651 children, of whom as many as 258 were the sons of Brahmans, a remarkable circumstance in those times. The scheme of education was highly approved by Mr. Gordon Forbes, the Commissioner of Chinsurah, and was by him recommended to the Supreme Government. The Marquis of Hastings readily complied with the request of Mr. Forbes, that the scheme should be aided from the imperial funds, and with great liberality appropriated a monthly grant of 600 rupees (about £60) for the purpose. By the aid of the grant, in the course of the next year, the schools and scholars were still further multiplied, so that at its close Mr. May had under his superintendence as many as thirty schools, in which 2,600 children received instruction. The Government, on hearing these rapid results, forthwith increased its grant to 800 rupees monthly. Mr. May found himself unable to attend to this great work alone, and was soon joined by the Rev. J. D. Pearson, sent out from England, and by Mr. Hasle, a European who had resided for several years in India[1].'

The mission continued in the hands of the London Society for a long period. It was prosecuted with much zeal, and conveyed much useful knowledge to tens of thousands of the people. One of the most diligent missionaries of the Society was the Rev. G. Mundy, who took up the work in Chinsurah in 1820. He suffered much

[1] *Protestant Missions in India* (1884), M. A. Sherring, p. 80.

in his family and in himself from ill health, and ceased to have any direct connection with Chinsurah in 1844. He was succeeded by James Bradbury, who had joined the mission in 1842, and who laboured there until the station was, in 1849, transferred to the Free Church of Scotland. The last reference to Chinsurah in the Reports occurs in 1849. 'The Directors are gratified to state that, having been led to relinquish this station in consequence of the inadequate resources of the Society, arrangements have been made for its transfer to the Free Church of Scotland.' Mr. Bradbury in 1849 removed to Berhampur, and the Society's direct association with the scene of the labours of Nathaniel Forsyth thus came to a close.

[AUTHORITIES.—Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols i-iv; *History of Protestant Missions in India*, Sherring; *The Pioneers: A Narrative of Facts connected with Early Christian Missions in Bengal, chiefly relating to the operations of the London Missionary Society*, George Gogerly, London, 1871.]

CHAPTER III

PIONEER WORK IN SOUTH INDIA: 1804–1820

FROM 1798 to 1803 the needs of India were before the minds of the Directors, and occupied a large share of their attention; but it was not until 1804 that they were able to send out the first company of missionaries. The conditions under which they were sent and the quality of the workers are quaintly set forth in the Report for 1804:—

'The Rev. Mr. Vos superintends the mission designed for Ceylon. His long standing in the Christian ministry, his faithful and successful labours therein, both at Holland and the Cape of Good Hope, added to the experience which he has acquired by his previous intercourse with the ignorant and uncivilized part of mankind, point him out as a person remarkably qualified to fill this station. He is accompanied by the Brethren Ehrhardt and Palm, natives of Germany, who received their education for missionary services at the seminary at Berlin, which was instituted chiefly, if not solely, for this object, and is under the care, as before mentioned, of that valuable instructor, the Rev. Mr. Jaenicke. They have also passed a considerable time in Holland, with a view of acquiring a more perfect acquaintance with the Dutch language, which is used in Ceylon. Mrs. Vos and Mrs. Palm have also an important service to occupy their zeal, in the instruction of the female natives, and in assisting in the education of children.

'Those who are designed to labour on the continent of India are the Rev. Messrs. Ringeltaube, Des Granges, and Cran. The first is a native of Prussia, who has already passed a short time in India, and has since held his principal

intercourse with the Society of the United Brethren. The other missionaries have been about two years in the seminary at Gosport; and the whole have been ordained to the office of the Christian ministry, and recommended to the grace of God in the discharge of the arduous and important service to which they are called.

'It has been observed that some of our brethren are intended for the island of Ceylon, this being the station on which the attention of the Society, and of the Directors, is more especially fixed, and where, we trust, they will actually labour: yet, in the first instance, they are to accompany their brethren to Tranquebar, where they will obtain such accurate and comprehensive information as will greatly assist them in forming their future plans; and where they will find some Christian friends, who will promote their introduction, were not this rendered almost unnecessary by the kindness of one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, who has furnished them with a letter to his excellency Frederick North, the governor of the colony. The Directors have also fixed in their own minds a particular station for the labours of the brethren who are to remain on the Continent, and in which a very extensive field appears ripe for the harvest; this they have more particularly pointed out in their instructions, leaving, however, the ultimate decision to themselves, under the intimations of Divine providence, and the advice of those pious and well-informed friends with whom they will communicate on their arrival.'

No vessel of the East India Company was permitted to grant this company of missionaries a passage, as they went out in face of the open hostility of the Government, so the little band went to Copenhagen. Five of them sailed for India in a Danish vessel, bound for Tranquebar, on April 20, 1804, and were followed by Palm, who left Copenhagen on October 18. The five reached Tranquebar on December 5, and Palm arrived there June 4, 1805.

The Directors had further decided to establish a mission at Surat, and had appointed W. C. Loveless and John Taylor, M.D., to labour there. They sailed from London

December 15, 1804, and reached Madras June 24, 1805. By this handful of workers the foundations were laid of the great work in Southern India which has been so successfully carried on throughout the century. From Tranquebar as a base these men, soon supplemented and strengthened by others, originated missionary work in the important fields of Ceylon, Travancore, Madras, Vizagapatam, Surat, and Bellary.

1. CEYLON. From 1805 to 1819 the work of the Society in Ceylon was carried on by four men. Unfortunately all the original records of this work also seem to have disappeared from the Society's archives, and all we know about it has to be gleaned from the somewhat scanty printed reports of the period. The four missionaries were M. C. Vos, J. P. Ehrhardt, J. D. Palm, and W. Read. The last had been for a short time at Tahiti, and was met by Mr. Vos at the Cape, and by him engaged for service in Ceylon. Vos settled in 1805 at Point de Galle, but was soon called to Colombo to take charge of a Dutch church there. Ehrhardt settled at Matura; Palm at Jaffnapatam, and Read at Point de Galle. Obstacles and difficulties similar to those which obtained in other parts of India were soon experienced. The missionaries were at first cordially welcomed by the governor, Mr. North, by whose influence the stations they occupied were assigned to them. The description of their work reads curiously in the light of to-day. 'The liberality of the government provides in part for the support of each of these missionaries, by which the funds of the Society will be relieved. They are actively engaged in acquiring the Cingalese language, in preaching to those who understand Dutch, and in instructing their children.' In Ceylon at this period there were large numbers of nominal Christians, but their condition may be gauged from one of Mr. Vos's letters: 'One hundred thousand of those who are called Christians, because they are baptized, need not go back to heathenism, for they never have been anything but worshippers of Buddha.'

Troubles soon arose. Mr. Vos's ministrations offended the Dutch consistory, and they demanded his expulsion from the island. He left in 1807, and soon after returned to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1812 Ehrhardt became minister of a Dutch church at Matura, and Palm of a Dutch church at Colombo. They both then ceased to depend upon the Society, and to be subject to its control. For two or three years they seem to have been active in educational work under government direction, and the last mention of Ceylon as a sphere of service occurs in the Report for 1817 and 1818. In the former we read: 'Mr. Ehrhardt and Mr. Read continue in Ceylon; the former has been removed by the government to Cultura, where he preaches alternately in Dutch and Cingalese. He has also established a school in which children are instructed in English, Dutch, and Cingalese, and on the Lord's day in the meaning of the chapter which they read. Mr. Read preaches twice a week in Dutch and keeps a day school.'

A few lines in the 1818 Report are the last reference in the Society's official records to this mission. After 1818 Ceylon disappears from the list of stations. That the men did good work is certain; but it is equally certain that as the agents were supported by Government, other considerations than missionary necessities became dominant. The mission became an early example of the unsatisfactory result, during the first twenty-five years of the Society's history, of attempting too soon to make missions locally self-supporting.

2. TRAVANCORE. The most remarkable man among the first group of South Indian missionaries was Ringeltaube. He was a Prussian, and was born in 1770. He studied at Halle, and while there was so powerfully impressed by the life of John Newton, that he was led, like Newton, to seek the Lord with all his heart, and to be ready for any sacrifice at the Lord's call. He was ordained in 1796, and in the same year accepted an offer to go to Calcutta as an agent of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His stay there was brief, because 'he found he was to

preach neither in Bengali nor in English, but in Portuguese to a mixed congregation of Portuguese, Malays, Jews, and Chinese.' In 1799 he returned to Europe. In 1803 he was accepted by the Society, and accompanied the others to Tranquebar[1]. There he took up with great energy the study of Tamil, and gradually was attracted towards Travancore as his field for service. One reason for this choice he gives in a letter to a friend, dated September 11, 1806: 'Long experience has taught me that in large towns, especially where many Europeans are, the Gospel makes but little progress. Superstition is there too powerfully established, and the example of the Europeans too baneful.' In February, 1806, Ringeltaube journeyed by way of Tuticorin to Palamcottah, and there obtained from the British Resident in Travancore a passport to enter that province. In April he visited Trevandrum, and finally obtained permission to establish a mission at Mayiladi, near Cape Comorin.

Travancore is remarkable for the beauty of its situation, for the character and customs of the people, and for the success which during the century has attended the work of the mission. Before describing the work of Ringeltaube, who can fairly claim the title of pioneer for Travancore—the scene of by far the greatest successes in the way of converts hitherto achieved by the Society in India—we will sketch the country and people in the words of Travancore's literary missionary, the Rev. Samuel Mateer[2].

'Travancore is a long, narrow strip of territory, measuring 174 miles in extreme length, and from 30 to 75 miles in breadth, lying between the Malabar Coast and the great chain of the Western Ghauts, a noble range of mountains, which, for hundreds of miles, runs almost parallel with the Western Coast of India, and which divides Travancore from the British provinces of Tinnevelly and Dindigul. It will be observed that Travancore thus occupies a very

[1] For much valuable information about Ringeltaube see an article by the Rev. W. Robinson in the *Chronicle* for January, 1889.

[2] *The Land of Charity*, pp. 2, 3, et seq.

secluded position. The high mountain barrier on the East is almost impassable; the sea forms a protection on the West; it is therefore only from the North and the extreme South that the country is easily accessible.

'From its physical conformation Travancore is literally "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills." Fourteen principal rivers take their rise in the mountains, and before falling into the sea spread out, more or less, over the low grounds near the coast, forming inland lakes or estuaries of irregular forms, locally called "backwaters." These "backwaters" have been united by canals running parallel with the coast, and they are thus of immense value as a means of communication between the Northern and Southern districts. Travellers may in this way pass by water from Ponāny, near Calicut, to Kolachel, a distance of not much under 200 miles. The mode of conveyance consists either of canoes hollowed out of the trunks of large trees, pushed along by two men with bamboo poles, or of "cabin boats," built somewhat like English boats, with a neat and comfortable cabin at the stern, which are propelled by from eight to fourteen rowers, according to their size. The principal road in Travancore also runs nearly parallel with the coast at a few miles' distance.

'The distinct castes and subdivisions found in various parts of Travancore are reckoned to be no less than eighty-two in number. All these vary in rank, in the nicely graduated scale, from the highest of the Brahmans to the lowest of the slaves. Occasional diversities, arising from local circumstances, are observable in the relative position of some of these castes. But speaking generally, all, from the Brahman priests down to the guilds of carpenters and goldsmiths, are regarded as of *high* or good caste; and from the Shánar tree-climbers and washermen down to the various classes of slaves, as of inferior or *low* caste.

'To give some definite idea of these component parts of the population, *four* principal castes may be selected as

typical or illustrative of the whole. These are Brahmans. Súdras, Shánars, and Pulayars. The *Brahmans* in Travancore are divided into two principal classes—Nambúris or Malayālim Brahmans, indigenous to the country, and foreign Brahmans, originally from the Canara, Mahratta, Tulu, and Tamil countries, but who are now settled in Travancore. The Nambúri Brahmans, numbering about 10,000, are regarded as peculiarly sacred, and as exalted far beyond the foreign Brahmans. They claim to be the aboriginal proprietors of the soil, to whom the ancestors of the present rajahs and chiefs were indebted for all that they possessed. In consequence of their seclusion, caste prejudices, and strict attention to ceremonial purity, these Brahmans are almost inaccessible to the European missionary.

'The Brahmans in Travancore have secured for themselves a high and unfair superiority over all other classes. They are the only class that are free from all social and religious disabilities, and enjoy perfect liberty of action. The whole framework of Hinduism has been adapted to the comfort and exaltation of the Brahman. His word is law; his smile confers happiness and salvation; his power with heaven is unlimited; the very dust of his feet is purifying in its nature and efficacy. Each is an infallible pope in his own sphere. The Brahman is the exclusive and Pharisaic Jew of India.

'Even Europeans would be brought by Brahmans under the influence of these intolerable arrangements, did they only possess the power to compel the former to observe them. During the early intercourse of Europeans with Travancore, they were forbidden to use the main road, and required to pass by a path along the coast where Brahmans rarely travel; access to the capital was also refused as long as possible.

'The *Súdras* were originally the lowest of the four true castes, and are still a degraded caste in North India. But in the South there are so many divisions below the Súdras, and they are so numerous, active, and influential,

that they are regarded as quite high-caste people. The Súdras are the middle classes of Travancore. The greater portion of the land is in their hands, and until recently they were also the principal owners of slaves. They are the dominant and ruling class. They form the magistracy and holders of most of the Government offices — the military and police—the wealthy farmers, the merchants, and skilled artisans of the country. The Royal Family are members of this caste. The ordinary appellation of the Súdras of Malabar is *Nair* (pronounced like the English word "nigher"), meaning lord, chief, or master; a marvellous change from their original position, according to Hindu tradition. By the primitive laws of caste they are forbidden to read the sacred books, or perform religious ceremonies, and are regarded as created for the service of the Brahmans.

'In consequence of their peculiar marriage customs the law of inheritance amongst the Súdras is equally strange. The children of a Súdra woman inherit the property and heritable honours, not of their father, but of their mother's brother. They are their *uncle's* nearest heirs, and he is their legal guardian. So it is, for example, in the succession to the throne.

'The *Ilavars, Shánars,* and others form a third great subdivision of the population. These constitute the highest division of the low castes. . . . The Ilavars and Shánars differ but little from one another in employments and character, and are, no doubt, identical in origin. The Shánars are found only in the southern districts of Travancore, between the Cape and Trevandrum; from which northwards the Ilavars occupy their place. These are the palm-tree cultivators, the toddy drawers, sugar manufacturers, and distillers of Travancore. Their social position somewhat corresponds to that of small farmers and agricultural labourers amongst ourselves. . . .

'The Súdra custom of a man and woman living together as husband and wife, with liberty to separate after certain settlements and formalities, has been adopted by most of

the Ilavars, and by a few of the Shánars in their vicinity; and amongst these castes also the inheritance usually descends to nephews by the female line. A few divide their property, half to the nephews and half to the sons. The rule is that all property which has been inherited shall fall to nephews, but wealth which has been accumulated by the testator himself may be equally divided between nephews and sons.

'These strange customs have sometimes occasioned considerable difficulty to missionaries in dealing with them, in the case of converts to Christianity. Persons who have been living together after the observance of the trivial form of "giving a cloth" are of course required to marry in Christian form. The necessary inquiries are therefore made into their history, and into the circumstances of each case of concubinage; deeds of separation, drawn up according to heathen law, are read and examined, and all outstanding claims are legally settled.

'The Shánars of South Travancore are of the same class as those of Tinnevelly, and in both provinces they have in large numbers embraced the profession of Christianity. Their employment is the cultivation of the Palmyra palm, which they climb daily in order to extract the sap from the flower-stem at the top. This is manufactured into a coarse dark sugar, which they sell or use for food and other purposes. The general circumstances of the Shánar and Ilavar population in Travancore, especially of the former, have long been most humiliating and degrading. Their social condition is by no means so deplorable as that of the slave castes, and has materially improved under the benign influence of Christianity, concurrently with the general advancement of the country.

'The slave castes—the lowest of the low—comprehend the *Pallars*, the *Pariahs*, and the *Pulayars*. Of these the Pariahs, a Tamil caste, are found, like the Shánars, only in the southern districts and in Shencotta, east of the Ghauts; but they appear to be in many respects inferior to those of the eastern coast. Their habits generally are

most filthy and disgusting. The Pulayars, the lowest of the slave castes, reside in miserable huts on mounds in the centre of the rice swamps, or on the raised embankments in their vicinity. They are engaged in agriculture as the servants of the Súdra and other landowners. Wages are usually paid to them in kind, and at the lowest possible rates. These poor people are steeped in the densest ignorance and stupidity. Drunkenness, lying, and evil passions prevail amongst them, except where of late years the Gospel has been the means of their reclamation from vice, and of their social elevation.'

The languages spoken in Travancore are Tamil and Malayálim. Tamil is spoken for about forty miles north of Cape Comorin ; Malayálim north of the Neyattinkara River. That is, about one-fourth of the inhabitants of Travancore speak Tamil, and three-fourths Malayálim.

It was to this earthly Paradise, but rendered loathsome by the ignorance, cruelty, superstition, and pride of man, that the steps of Ringeltaube were providentially directed. His journal for 1806–7 describes how at Tuticorin the call to enter it came to him :—

'When in the evening, sitting in the verandah of the old fort (formerly the abode of power and luxury, now the refuge of a houseless traveller, and thousands of bats suspended from the ceiling), enjoying the extensive prospect, and communing with my own heart, and the God to whom mercies and forgivenesses belong, something frightened me by falling suddenly at my feet, and croaking, *Paraubren Istotiram*, i.e. God be praised ; the usual words our Christians pronounce when greeting : I rejoiced to see an individual of that tribe among whom I had been so anxious to labour. Entered into conversation with him, as well as I could, to ascertain his ideas about religion, but was soon nonplussed by his stupidity. I could not force a word from him in answer to my plain questions, which he contented himself literally to give back to me. With a sigh, I was forced to dismiss him.'

This interview, unsatisfactory as it was, with a degraded

and ignorant Shánar, strengthened the desire which already possessed Ringeltaube to reach Travancore. On April 25, 1806, his desire was gratified. Here is his own picture of the scene :—

'Set out at dawn, and made that passage through the hills, which is called the Arambuly gaut, about noon. Grand prospects of precipices, mountains, hills adorned with temples and other picturesque objects, presented themselves. My timid companions, however, trembled at every step, being now on ground altogether in the power of the Brahmans, the sworn enemy of the Christian name: and indeed a little occurrence soon convinced us that we were no more on British territory. I laid down to rest in a caravansary, appropriated for Brahmans only, when the magistrate immediately sent word for me to remove, otherwise their god would no more eat! I reluctantly obeyed, and proceeded round the southern hills to a village called Mayilady, from whence formerly two men came to Tranquebar to request me to come and see them, representing that two hundred heathens at this place were desirous to embrace our religion. I lodged two days at their house, where I preached and prayed; some of them knew the catechism. They begged hard for a native teacher, but declared they could not build a church, as all this country had been given by the king of Travancore to the Brahmans, in consequence of which, the magistrates would not give them permission. I spent here the Lord's day, for the first time, very uncomfortably, in an Indian hut, in the midst of a noisy gaping crowd, which filled the house. Perhaps my disappointment contributed to my unpleasant feelings; I had expected to find hundreds eager to listen to the Word, instead of which, I had a difficulty to make a few families attend for an hour.

'Travelling pleasantly under the shade of trees across hill and dale, with the ever-varying prospect of the gauts on my right, I reached Tiruvandirem, the capital of Travancore, on April 30. On the road I stopped, as travellers in general do, at Roman Catholic churches. Finding the

dialect spoken here differing from the pure Tamil as much as the Yorkshire dialect does from pure English, I was much at a loss to understand them and make myself understood.'

Ringeltaube visited Anjengo, and on May 3 reached Quilon, and then by boat over the backwater travelled to Cochin. Here he met Colonel Macauly, the British Resident in Travancore, with whom he had been in correspondence, and who exerted his influence to get Ringeltaube permission from the rajah to build a church and reside in the country. Ringeltaube, on his return to Palamcottah, thus outlines his plan for the mission, and it is interesting to note that he here sketches the main lines which have been followed in the later development of the mission:—

'1. A small congregation to be begun near the confines of Travancore: £100 to be devoted to buying ground and erecting necessary buildings.

'2. A seminary of twelve youths, drawn from the existing congregations, to be formed: a pagoda and a half to be allowed for every youth per month, viz. 12*s*.

'3. When prepared, these youths to be sent out two and two, as itinerants, and two pagodas per month allowed as their stipend.

'4. If some of these prove very successful, and are truly gracious subjects, they should be ordained; but previous to this they should take a solemn oath not to exercise their ministry but in such a way as shall be approved by the Church.

'5. These to form an annual synod, under the presidency of an European missionary. Thus they will be gradually taught to govern a Church with prudence and wisdom, which catechists never learn at present.

'6. If any congregation wishes for a stationary preacher, one of these ministers to be given them, and they to stipulate to maintain him.

'7. A printing press to be united with this institution.

'8. Baptism to be administered wherever a true conviction of sin, and a belief in God our Saviour, appears;

a promise to be exacted that such persons will be ready to suffer persecution for Christ, if necessary.

'9. A closer communion to be established among real converts, by means of a frequent enjoyment of the Lord's Supper, granted only to such.'

From 1806 to 1810 Ringeltaube carried on an active evangelistic work in Tinnevelly, with Palamcottah as his centre, paying also frequent visits to Travancore. Tinnevelly at this time contained about 5,000 Christians, under the care of native agents supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Ringeltaube worked much at first among these people. His method here and at Travancore was rapid itineration. In 1810 Oodiagherry became his centre of work, and in 1812 Mayiladi. In 1812 Ringeltaube's health began to fail. In 1816 he retired from the mission and went to Ceylon, and sailed thence intending to go to the Cape of Good Hope. Then he suddenly disappears, and is never more heard of. As a letter is extant, written from Colombo, stating that his liver was severely attacked, and as he is known to have sailed from Malacca, the most probable explanation is that he died and was buried at sea between Malacca and Batavia[1]. Of how or where his life closed no exact record appears to exist. He vanishes from the Society's story and work in a way which both arouses the desire to know more of him, and also fits in well with the unusual character of his previous career. The foundation of the Travancore Mission is inseparably linked with his name.

'This founder of our Travancore Mission was an able but eccentric man. He laboured devotedly, assiduously, and wisely for the conversion of the heathen and the edification of the Christian converts. Those whose motives appeared worldly and selfish were rejected by him, and all professing Christians were warned and instructed as to the spiritual character of the religion of Christ, and the permanent obligation of all relative and social duties. He was most generous and unselfish in regard to money, and is

[1] See the *Chronicle*, 1889, p. 16.

said to have distributed the whole of his quarter's salary almost as soon as it reached his hands. His labours were abundantly blessed, and his memory is precious and greatly honoured in connection with the foundation of this now flourishing native Christian Church [1].'

Prior to Ringeltaube's departure a successor, Mr. Charles Mead, had been appointed. He reached Madras, in company with Richard Knill, in August, 1816, but, owing to illness and to the death of his wife, did not arrive at Nagercoil until 1818. In September of the same year Knill rejoined Mead, having determined to find in Travancore his sphere of service. For two years the mission had been in sole charge of a catechist appointed by Ringeltaube, and he had done much good and useful work. There were when Ringeltaube departed about seven chief centres of work with chapels, five or six schools, and about 900 converts and candidates for baptism. This was no mean record for less than thirteen years of labour.

The Travancore British Resident in 1818 was Colonel Munro, an active friend of the missionary enterprise. Mead and Knill established their head quarters at Nagercoil, four miles from Mayiladi. Munro procured from the Ranee [2] a bungalow for the missionaries, and a sum of 5,000 rupees, with which rice-fields were purchased, as an endowment for education. From this source, ever since 1819, the income of the English seminary has been derived. Munro, also probably in the effort to aid the funds of the mission, secured the appointment of Mr. Mead at Nagercoil as civil judge. Ten years earlier the Directors would have seen little or nothing anomalous in this. Now, although Mr. Mead held the appointment for a year, and discharged the duties so as to win the gratitude of the natives on the one hand, and to secure the external success of the mission on the other, the Board constrained him to resign the post.

'These early missionaries entered upon the work with great spirit and enterprise. A printing press was soon established. The seminary for the training of native youths

[1] *The Land of Charity*, p. 265.

[2] The Queen Consort.

was opened, and plans prayerfully laid and diligently carried out for the periodical visitation of the congregations and villages. The congregation at Nagercoil alone numbered now about 300, and a large chapel for occasional united meetings at the head station being urgently required, the foundation was laid by Mr. Knill on New Year's Day, 1819. Striking evidence of the strong faith and hope of these early labourers is seen in the noble dimensions of the chapel, the erection of which they then commenced. It is, perhaps, the largest church in South India, measuring inside 127 feet in length by 60 feet wide, and affording accommodation for nearly 2,000 persons, seated, according to Hindu custom, on the floor. Had this fine building not been erected, we should have in later years grievously felt the lack of accommodation for the great aggregate missionary and other special meetings of Christian people, which we are now privileged to hold within its walls[1].'

'During the two years after Mead and Knill's arrival, about 3,000 persons, chiefly of the Shánar caste, placed themselves under Christian instruction, casting away their images and emblems of idolatry, and each presenting a written promise declarative of his renunciation of idolatry and determination to serve the living and true God. Some of these doubtless returned to heathenism when they understood the spiritual character and comprehensive claims of the Christian religion, but most remained faithful and increasingly attached to their new faith. There were now about ten village stations, most of which had churches, congregations, and schools, all of them rapidly increasing. Native catechists were employed to preach and teach, and these teachers met the missionaries periodically for instruction and improvement in divine things.

'And now the tide of popular favour flowed in upon the missionaries. Not only did their message commend itself to the consciences of the hearers, but there was doubtless in many instances a mixture of low and inferior motives in embracing the profession of Christianity. The mission-

[1] *The Land of Charity*, p. 269.

George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

aries were the friends of the Resident, and connected with the great and just British nation. Hopes were perhaps indulged that they might be willing to render aid to their converts in times of distress and oppression, or advice in circumstances of difficulty. Moreover, the temporal blessings which Christianity everywhere *of necessity* confers, in the spread of education and enlightenment, liberty, civilization, and social improvement, were exemplified to all in the case of the converts already made. The kindness of the missionaries, too, attracted multitudes who were accustomed to little but contempt and violence from the higher classes, and who could not but feel that the Christian teachers were their best and real friends. What were these to do with those who thus flocked to the profession of Christianity? Receive them to baptism and membership with the Christian Church, or recognize them as true believers, they could not and did not; but gladly did they welcome them as hearers and learners of God's word. The missionaries rejoiced to think that the influence for good which they were permitted to exert, and the *prestige* attached to the British nation in India, were providentially given them to be used for the highest and holiest purposes. They did not hesitate, therefore, to receive to Christian instruction even those who came from mixed motives, unless they were evidently hypocrites or impostors. And from time to time, as these nominal Christians, or catechumens, appeared to come under the influence of the power of godliness, and as the instructions afforded them appeared to issue in their true conversion and renewed character, such were, after due examination and probation, received into full communion with the Christian Church. Their children, too, came under instruction at the same time in the mission schools, and became the Christian professors and teachers of the next generation [1].'

3. VIZAGAPATAM. This important city, with a population of about 30,000, the chief town of a district of the same

[1] *The Land of Charity*, pp. 267–268.

name, is on the eastern coast of India, 400 miles north of Madras, in the district known as the 'Northern Circars.' Telugu is spoken, the tongue of from fifteen to twenty millions. Work here began in 1805. George Cran and Augustus Des Granges, the only members of the first company of workers for South India left in Madras after the commencement of the Ceylon and Travancore Missions, decided not to stay in Madras, but to take up work at Vizagapatam. The statement is made that Vizagapatam was chosen because of advice to that effect given by Carey to Mr. Hardcastle, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence [1]. There is also evidence that the first missionaries realized what very difficult mission-fields the large cities of India are, and that their call was to work among the natives. However this may be, Cran and Des Granges were welcomed by many of the European residents at Vizagapatam, and were invited to conduct English services in the Fort, for which they received a monthly salary from the governor. They also conducted services during the week for both Europeans and natives; and they opened a school for native children, the first three scholars being the sons of a Brahman. By November, 1806, a mission house had been completed, which cost, together with the site, 3,000 rupees. They then opened a 'Charity' School for Eurasian children, taking some of them as boarders. Towards this they received 1,300 rupees from residents and subscriptions for the support of the children. The two missionaries gave themselves with great diligence to the study of the language, and by constantly meeting and conversing with the natives, notwithstanding many disadvantages, made rapid progress in its attainment. They also began the task of translating the Bible into Telugu, and prepared two or three tracts. In these manifold and arduous labours they were greatly aided by a converted Brahman, Anandarayer by name, one of the most remarkable of the early Indian converts. The experience of this man is of exceptional interest, as he was the first Brahman converted in India by

[1] *Life and Letters of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, vol. i. p. 395.

a member of the London Missionary Society. Cran and Des Granges sent home the following account of this remarkable and encouraging event :—

'A Mahratean, or Bandida Brahman, about thirty years of age, was an accountant in a regiment of Tippoo's troops; and, after his death, in a similar employment under an English officer. Having an earnest desire to obtain eternal happiness, he was advised by an elder Brahman to repeat a certain prayer *four hundred thousand times!* This severe task he undertook, and performed it in a pagoda, together with many fatiguing ceremonies, taking care to exceed the number prescribed. After six months, deriving no comfort at all from these laborious exercises, he resolved to return to his family at Nosom, and live as before. On his way home, he met with a Roman Catholic Christian, who conversed with him on religious subjects, and gave him two books on the Christian religion, in the Telinga[1] language, to read. These he perused with much attention, admired their contents, and resolved to make further inquiries into the religion of Christ; and, if satisfied, to accept of it. He was then recommended to a Roman priest, who, not choosing to trust him too much, required him to go home to his relations, and to return again to his wife. He obeyed this direction; but found all his friends exceedingly surprised and alarmed by his intention of becoming a Christian, and thus bringing reproach upon his caste. To prevent this, they offered him a large sum of money, and the sole management of the family estate. These temptations, however, made no impression on him. He declared that he preferred the salvation of his soul to all worldly considerations; and even left his wife behind him, who was neither inclined nor permitted to accompany him. He returned to the priest, who still hesitating to receive him as a convert, he offered to deliver up his Brahman thread, and to cut off his hair—after which no Brahman can return to his caste. The priest perceiving his constancy, and satisfied with his

[1] Now called Telugu.

sincerity, instructed, and afterwards baptized him : upon which, his heathen name, *Subbarayer*, was changed to his present Christian name, *Anandarayer*.

'A few months after this, the priest was called away to Goa; and having just received a letter from a Padree, at Pondicherry, to send him a Telinga Brahman, he advised Anandarayer to go thither; informing him, that there he would find a larger congregation, and more learned Padrees; by whom he would be further instructed, and his thirst for knowledge be much gratified. When he arrived at Pondicherry, he felt disappointed, in many respects; yet there he had the pleasure of meeting his wife, who had suffered much among her relations, and at last formed the resolution of joining him. He then proceeded to Tranquebar, having heard that there was another large congregation, ministers, schools, the Bible translated, with many other books, *and no images in their churches*, which he always much disliked, and had even disputed with the Roman priests on their impropriety. The worthy ministers at Tranquebar were at first suspicious of him; but, by repeated conversations with him, during several months that he resided among them, they were well satisfied with him, and admitted him to the Lord's Table. He was diligent in attending their religious exercises, and particularly in the study of the Bible, which he had never seen before. He began to make translations from the Tamil into the Telinga language, which he writes elegantly, as well as the Mahratta. His friends would readily have recommended him to some secular employment at Madras or Tanjore, but he declined their offers, being earnestly desirous of employment only in the service of the Church.

'Having heard of the missionaries at Vizagapatam, he expressed a strong desire to visit them, hoping that he might be useful among the Telinga nation, either in church or school. This his desire is likely to be gratified, the missionaries having every reason to be satisfied with his character; and, upon their representation, the Directors of

the Missionary Society have authorized them to employ him, and to allow him a competent salary.

'A gentleman, who knew him well, says: "Whatever our Lord Jesus requires of His followers, he has readily performed. He has left wife, mother, brother, sister, his estate, and other advantages which were offered to him, and has taken upon himself all the reproaches of the Brahman caste; and has been beaten by some of the heathen, to whom he spake on Christianity; and still bears the marks of their violence on his forehead. He declined complaining of it, and bore it patiently."'

The assistance of so intelligent a convert as Anandarayer was a great help to the missionaries in translation work, and by January 20, 1809, Des Granges could write home, 'The Gospels of Matthew and Luke are complete in manuscript, and have gone through the first correction. The Gospels of Mark and John are begun. I have now four Brahmans engaged in this service. Anandarayer takes the lead; the others are all transcribers.' On April 15, 1809, an entry in Des Granges' journal runs: 'The translation of Matthew may now be pronounced complete; it has gone through many corrections. This evening delivered two copies, one for the Rev. D. Brown, of Calcutta, and one for the brethren at Serampore. Wrote also to them.' On May 16, 1810, he writes: 'The Gospel of Luke in the Telinga language was completed this day, and sent off to the Corresponding Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Calcutta.' The four Gospels in Telugu were printed at Serampore, whither Anandarayer had gone to superintend their passing through the press, in 1811. Through the Auxiliary which had been formed in Calcutta, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1810 granted a sum of £2,000 to be devoted to Indian Bible translation work during the years 1811, 1812, and 1813, half to go to the Serampore Mission, and half to the other agencies in India engaged in this work. Out of this grant the cost of printing the first edition of the Gospels in Telugu was met.

Neither of these pioneers in the Vizagapatam Mission

was long spared to this field of labour. Cran died January 6, 1809, at Chicacole, whither he had gone in search of health. Des Granges died July 12, 1810. The Directors in 1805 and 1806 made strenuous efforts to reinforce the South Indian Missions. In January, 1807, John Gordon and William Lee had sailed for India *viâ* New York. There they were detained for a long time, and finally landed at Calcutta in September, 1809. Lee reached Vizagapatam in December, 1809, and Gordon in March, 1810. The deaths of Cran and Des Granges were a great loss to the mission, and very depressing to the new-comer. Both seem to have been men far above the average, both were devoted evangelists, and the latter had in him the making of a first-rate Biblical scholar. Lee and Gordon carried on the work jointly until the close of 1812, when Lee went to Ganjam to open up new work there. After about five years' labour, owing to ill-health, Mr. and Mrs. Lee returned to Madras, the mission at Ganjam was closed, and at the end of 1817 they returned to England and retired from service. Gordon at Vizagapatam had been encouraged by the arrival of a colleague, Mr. Edward Pritchett. He, in company with Mr. J. C. Brain, had been sent to Rangoon, in 1810, to found a mission in Burmah. But war had broken out there, and Mr. Brain died a few months after landing. Pritchett returned to Madras, and settled at Vizagapatam in November, 1811. Anandarayer had rendered Mr. Gordon most valuable services in translation work and in the mastery of Telugu, services similar to those which he had previously rendered to Des Granges. Gordon devoted himself to the completion of the New Testament. The services in the town were maintained, and a school for girls was established under the care of Mrs. Gordon and Mrs. Des Granges. Gordon and Pritchett also itinerated 'thrice a week' among the neighbouring villages. But sickness was frequent, and greatly hindered the work of the mission. In November, 1814, Mrs. Gordon died. She was described as 'truly pious, amiable, and useful.'

In 1815 James Dawson joined the mission, and continued there in active service until his death in 1832. In 1818 the first complete Telugu New Testament was printed at Madras. The labour of revision and the completion of the version was the work of Mr. Pritchett. It was printed through the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society, who submitted the translation to experts in Madras, and upon their favourable report granted paper for 2,000 copies. These were printed in Madras under Mr. Pritchett's supervision during the latter half of 1818.

The conditions of mission-work during these early years are briefly put in a letter from Gordon and Pritchett written in 1813: 'We wish it were in our power to send you tidings of conversion among these heathen, but it is our lot to labour in a stubborn soil. But let none despair of success in the end, nor yet suppose that nothing has been done; for at least the minds of multitudes are dissatisfied in the vicinity of Vizagapatam; many have acknowledged themselves convinced of the evil and folly of their ways; and some that they are Christians at heart but afraid to confess it openly. Were it not for the unequalled timidity of this people, by which they are terrified at the thought of losing caste, and at its consequent inconveniences, we have no doubt we should have many converts. No converts can be gained, not even to a tolerable profession of Christianity, but such as have courage to forsake father and mother, and everything dear to them in this world, and fortitude and humility enough to live despised by all whose good opinion nature itself would lead them to value.'

4. MADRAS. No one of the original party of five who landed at Tranquebar in December, 1804, remained in the chief city of South-Eastern India. Dr. Taylor and W. Loveless had been sent out to found a mission at Surat. Dr. Taylor went on to Bengal, and on his return to Madras both were to go to Surat. Taylor never reached Surat, and Loveless by an unexpected series of events was led to settle in Madras.

In Madras, as early as 1726, a mission under the care of Schultze had been originated, chiefly by the aid afforded from the funds of the Christian Knowledge Society. But by the close of the eighteenth century the mission, under injudicious management, had fallen into disrepute. The English community was characterized by an almost utter neglect of both religion and morality. Hough, in his *History of Christianity in India*[1], states: 'The Lord's Day was so disregarded that few persons ever thought of attending church. The only exceptions were Christmas and Easter, when it was customary for most persons to go to church. The natives looked upon these festivals as the gentlemen's *pujahs*, somewhat like their own idolatrous feasts. Every other Sabbath in the year was set apart as the great day of amusement and dissipation.' Dr. Kerr, a chaplain of great spirituality and earnestness, also wrote of this period: 'If ten sincere Christians would save the whole country from fire and brimstone, I do not know where they could be found in the Company's civil and military service in the Madras establishment.'

At this time there were great difficulties in Madras in the way of Christian work among the natives. Loveless was in India only on sufferance, the Government influence was entirely hostile to the evangelization of the natives, and Ringeltaube's opinion, that great cities were most unsatisfactory as missionary fields of labour, applied then with special force to Madras. Hence Loveless was practically compelled to devote himself largely to the needs of European residents. He was, however, instrumental in founding two large schools, and in originating the Madras Bible and Tract Societies.

Early in his residence in Madras, and while Cran and Des Granges were still there, by the advice of Mr. Toriano, and through the influence of Dr. Kerr, the chaplain at Fort St. George, Loveless assumed the oversight of the Male Orphan Asylum. In this way he became self-supporting. A few years later he purchased a piece of

[1] Vol. iv. p. 136.

land in Black Town, and built Davidson Street Church, which was opened for worship in 1810. This building has ever since been a centre of spiritual life and inspiration. A writer in the Indian missionary paper *Forward*, for 1893, says:—

'If the old walls of Davidson Street could repeat what they have heard, what "notes of holier days" we now might hear. Hall and Nott, the first American missionaries to Bombay, held service here. Ringeltaube, in 1815, in a "very ordinary costume"—for he had no coat to his back, and wore a nondescript straw hat of country make—preached here his last sermon in India. After which he went on his mysterious mission to the eastward, and is supposed to have been murdered in Malayan jungles. John Hands, ill from overwork in Bellary, came to Madras to recruit himself by change of work. His fervid preaching attracted the multitude, and caused such a ferment in the place, that three young men went to the chapel one night with the avowed purpose of stoning him. The word, however, arrested them, and they departed ashamed, humbled and penitent; one of the three became a missionary in after years. Richard Knill helped on the good work begun by Mr. Loveless, but his service came to a sudden end by illness. It was always a great day when new arrivals from home came to the chapel. They had to preach as a matter of course, and in these occasional services occur the names of Henry Townley, Charles Mead, William Reeve, James Keith, and others whose record of noble service is "written in heaven."'

In 1816 Richard Knill reached Madras, but failure of health sent him to Travancore. A manuscript in Knill's handwriting exists, giving a history of these early Madras days. In it he says: 'For many years Loveless received no pecuniary aid from the Society. Providence so favoured him that he now liberally supports it. This is as it ought to be. This is what every real minister will do, if he can, but every missionary has not the opportunity. His boarding school, which is very

respectable, and in which his excellent wife takes a very active and labouring part, affords him a sufficiency to support his own family, and to do good to others. It enables him also to give an affectionate and hearty welcome to the servants of Christ on their arrival in India, many of whom have found his house as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. No missionary on his arrival in Madras should go to an inn for accommodation while Loveless is alive.'

A simple-minded, humble, devoted pastor, teacher and administrator, was the man who, contrary to his own anticipations, thus became a pioneer of the Madras Mission. Mr. Loveless, on the failure of his health in 1824, returned to England and shortly afterwards severed his connection with the Society. Under his care the mission, in which as preacher, evangelist to the natives, superintendent of education, and active agent in the preparation and spread of Christian literature, he had spent nearly twenty years, had been established upon a sound and serviceable basis.

5. Bellary. The foundations deep and lasting of the Bellary Mission were laid by a man whose name must ever stand very high upon the roll of South Indian missionary workers—the Rev. John Hands. He was born at Roade in Northamptonshire in 1780, studied at Gosport under Bogue, and sailed for India in 1809. He reached Madras in February, 1810. He had been destined for Seringapatam, but all efforts to get a footing there proved fruitless. Finally, with great difficulty, and only by the personal efforts of one of the chaplains, permission was obtained from the Government for Mr. Hands to settle at Bellary. This town, also the centre of a great district of the same name, lies north-west of Madras in the centre of the peninsula, about midway between Madras and Goa. Here the missionaries came into touch with people speaking a third great language—Canarese. Telugu and Tamil are also spoken in parts. Recognizing it as the missionary's prime duty to acquire as perfectly as possible the tongue

of the people he comes to benefit, Hands gave his days and nights to the study of Canarese. There were no dictionaries or grammars, nor was any Anandarayer available. He therefore set about making for himself the necessary helps. In 1812 a grammar and vocabulary were commenced, and a version of the first three Gospels completed. In the same year a church, consisting of twenty-seven European and East Indian residents, was formed. A native school and also a 'charity' school for 'the education, and when necessary the support, of European and East Indian children were established.'

In 1812 Mr. J. Thompson, intended as the colleague of Mr. Hands, landed at Madras, but as he did not hold the permit of the East India Company—and this, it is needless to state, at that juncture would not have been given—he was ordered to leave the country. While preparing to obey he was seized with illness, and died. In 1813 Mr. Hands decided to make the instruction in the school more distinctly Christian. To this at first the native opposition was very strong, and many children were taken away. But he persevered, the children returned, and soon a second school was required. In 1815 he visited the annual festival held at Humpi, at which about 200,000 natives used to assemble. On this occasion the practice on the part of the missionary and his native helpers of preaching at the festival was begun, a practice which has been followed ever since. Long itinerating journeys for preaching and distributing tracts were undertaken. In 1815 a Tract Society was formed. In 1816 Mr. W. Reeve arrived as the colleague of Mr. Hands. In 1819 the first native convert was received into the Church.

6. SURAT. Although this spot figured in the first paper on desirable missions presented to the Society in 1795, it was 1815 before work was actually begun. Surat is in the Bombay Presidency, some distance north of Bombay itself. In 1804 Loveless and Taylor, who had been appointed to commence the mission, reached Madras; but the former, as

we have seen, spent all his missionary life in that city, and the latter—the first medical missionary sent to India by the Society—wasted some years over real or fancied illness, and finally forsook the Society for a Government appointment. The mission was ultimately commenced by the Rev. J. Skinner and the Rev. W. Fyvie.

This sketch of pioneer work in South India may be not inappropriately closed by an extract from the Report of the Society for 1819: 'From the history of Protestant missions in India, particularly during the last few years, it is evident that a spirit of inquiry has pervaded no inconsiderable portion of its inhabitants; that the most obstinate and inveterate prejudices are dissolving; that the craft of the Brahminical system is beginning to be detected and its terrors despised, even by the Hindoos themselves; that the chains of caste, by which they have been so long bound, are gradually loosening; and that considerable numbers have absolutely renounced their cruel and degrading superstitions, and, at least externally, embraced the profession of Christianity. The renunciation of heathenism by numbers of the natives of Travancore, their professed reception of Christianity, the sanction and assistance given to the labours of Christian missionaries by the local authorities, and the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular language of the country are circumstances which appear to justify the hope that the Almighty, in His designs of mercy towards India, is about to communicate the blessings of pure religion to the inhabitants of this most southern portion of the peninsula.

'To these highly important facts we add the countenance afforded to Christian missions by the British authorities. Not only are the labours of missionaries aided by many of the Company's chaplains, but even by many pious officers in the army, and also by numerous European residents who contribute liberally, and who aid the work by personal counsel and exertion. So great has been the change in India within a few years, that a judge lately returned from that country declares that "individuals who left it some

years since, and brought home the prevalent notions of that day, can form no just estimate of the state of things *now* existing in India."'

This estimate must, of course, be understood as applying only to that section of the population which came under the influence of the missionaries, and which formed only a microscopical proportion of the people of the country.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols. ii–iv.]

CHAPTER IV

PIONEER WORK IN NORTH INDIA

Reference has already been made to the work of Nathaniel Forsyth and of Robert May[1]. Did space permit, it would be a pleasant task to describe in some detail the work in Calcutta of Kiernander and the influence of the Serampore Mission, and to indicate the powerful stimulus given to Christian work over Northern India by such devoted chaplains of the East India Company as Brown, Buchanan, Corrie, and Henry Martyn.

The removal in 1813 of Government restriction upon missionary labour led to an immediate development of Christian enterprise in Calcutta. The Directors of the London Missionary Society at once resolved to found a mission there, and for this purpose appointed the Rev. Henry Townley, with the Rev. J. Keith as his colleague. They reached Calcutta in September, 1816, and conducted services at first in the Freemasons' Hall, and then for a time in the Presbyterian Church, kindly lent to them by the minister, Dr. Bryce. They founded three schools, did a large amount of evangelistic work among the natives, and established, first at Chinsurah and then at Calcutta, a press for printing Bengali and English books and tracts. Mr. Townley also took a very active part in raising the funds for, and in superintending, the building of Union Chapel. For this building, which cost about £4,000, nearly the whole sum was collected in India itself. The foundation

[1] See Chapter II.

stone was laid in May, 1820, and the building was completed in April, 1821. Within three months of the opening services the total cost had been defrayed.

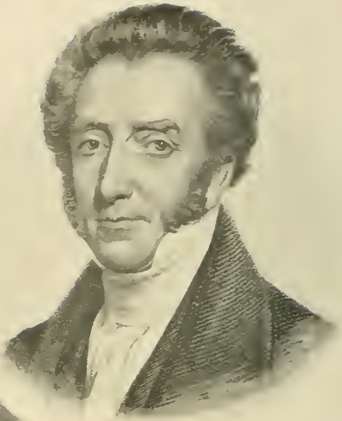
From 1815 to 1825 there was extraordinary activity and growth in missionary enterprise in and around Calcutta. The Serampore Mission was in full work, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Baptist and the London Societies were all most energetic. Many auxiliary Societies were initiated, and when Mr. Tyerman and Mr. Bennet visited Calcutta in 1826, they say in their report: 'By the concurrent testimony of all ranks and parties, the change for the better in India within twenty-five years has been surprisingly great in both the manners and practices of natives and Europeans. Irreligious persons acknowledge the change, and confess it has been a good thing to have such an increase of ministers and churches in Bengal and the North-West. The truly serious acknowledge that this amelioration has resulted from Divine Providence having disposed Christian people to send out so many pious and devoted missionaries, who have borne faithful scriptural testimony against vice and ignorance, whether in natives or Europeans, and in favour of truth and piety.'

These important and hopeful results had been brought about, so far as the London Missionary Society was concerned, by the labours chiefly of Henry Townley, James Keith, John David Pearson, Samuel Trawin, George Mundy, and George Gogerly. Other workers who were spared for only a brief period of service were John Hampson and W. H. Bankhead. Micaiah Hill, James Hill, and J. B. Warden reached Calcutta in 1822.

Although a foothold had been gained in India in 1813 for the Christian missionary which has never since been lost, the East India Company still exerted much of its powerful influence to the detriment of missions. Before a passage could be taken the missionary was compelled to take out from the India House a special licence, and to find security to the amount of £500 for good behaviour in

India, and as a guarantee that nothing should be done to weaken British authority there. Upon landing the missionary found that both Government officials and European residents looked askance at him. As a rule his presence was a rebuke to much in their own lives, and they both did all in their power to belittle the missionary in the eyes of the natives. To these they were described as low-caste people, quite unequal to conversing with Brahmans or even teaching Súdras. While at this period, 1820, there were in Calcutta two Episcopal Churches, two Roman Catholic, one Presbyterian, one Greek, and one Armenian, there was only one Nonconformist place of worship, in Bow Bazaar, where a tiny congregation of European and country-born Christians were ministered to by preachers from Serampore. While idol temples abounded, and idolatry of the most disgusting character was rampant, absolutely nothing had hitherto been done to bring the Gospel to the natives. The Government almost ostentatiously disregarded Sunday, outdoor work of building and other kinds being carried on upon that exactly as upon other days. The Government were dominated by the fear that Christianity, opposed as it necessarily was to caste and Hindu custom, would excite the fears and prejudices of the Hindus, and lead them to acts of violence against British rule. So far was this carried that a nominally Christian Government would not allow a Christian native to enter the Indian army. This unfounded fear, especially in the minds of the Government officials at Calcutta, had been greatly stimulated by the Vellore Mutiny in 1806, which had been, erroneously, attributed by many to the spread of Christianity among the natives. It was this panic that led to imperative prohibitions against the landing of missionaries, and did much to bring about the great reform of 1813. On the other hand, at this period, all over India subject to their rule, the Government were indirectly subsidising idolatry, and aided the officials of Hinduism to collect their idolatrous dues. The most scandalous example of this kind was the placing of the temple of Juggernât under the charge of the State,

Henry Townley
(Calcutta)



Micaiah Hill
(Berhampur)

Mrs. Mullens
(Calcutta)

William Buyers

J. E. Payne
(Calcutta)

and thus practically constituting it a Government institution.

In Bengal the Brahmans, who form the highest caste, are divided into three orders, of which the Kulin is the highest. Originally these were orthodox Brahmans, meek, learned, eager to visit holy places, ascetic, liberal. The lower ranks of Brahmans eagerly desire to attain this rank, and can do so only by marrying their daughters to a Kulin Brahman. This custom has led to a wide-spread and degrading profligacy. A considerable dowry is given at the marriage, the wife usually remaining at her father's house. The Brahman often marries into forty or fifty different families, and spends his life in going from home to home among his many wives, honoured as a god, and all the while living a life of sloth and debauchery that would disgrace a beast. So great is the desire to marry Kulin Brahmans, that age, disease, and deformity are no barriers to marriage. While not the most caste-ridden district in India, Bengal has nevertheless all through the century been rendered a hard mission-field by the power and resistance, both active and passive, of this terrible, dehumanizing system.

George Gogerly reached Calcutta in 1819 to superintend the printing press. He was energetic and able, and was largely and liberally aided by the Religious Tract Society, and at once printed and circulated large numbers of tracts and of school-books. The absence of any place of worship was a serious drawback. The first building used was in Manicktulla Road, and was constructed of bamboos and mats with a thatched roof. Here Mr. Keith and Mr. Gogerly preached three times a week. Here too they were on one occasion assailed by some religious ascetics, stoned and driven from the building. It was to supply the need of an appropriate centre of work that Union Chapel was built. Soon after a member of Union Chapel presented the Society with a freehold site at Kidderpore, upon which a chapel and a schoolroom were speedily built. Two other bungalow chapels were also opened in other quarters of

Calcutta. In these quiet unpretentious ways the Society began its share in the task of winning the myriads of Calcutta to the Gospel of forgiveness and of deliverance from sin.

At Calcutta, as at all Indian stations frequented by Europeans, in addition to work for Hindus, the missionaries felt bound to do what they could for the evangelization of their fellow-countrymen. The scandalous orgies of both sailors and soldiers outraged at times Hindu sentiment, and the immoral heathenism of not a few so-called Christians was a standing reproach, and caused the Hindus to blaspheme the Gospel which the missionaries preached. To facilitate Christian work among the multitudes of sailors visiting the port of Calcutta, a Bethel Society and Sailors' Home was established by Mr. Gogerly, which, though only partially successful and short-lived, led later on to the founding of a strong Bethel Home by Dr. Boaz. The Hastings Church in the Cooly Bazaar originated in services carried on at this time in an officer's private quarters just outside the Fort, for the benefit of the soldiers.

The losses sustained by the mission during the first ten or fifteen years through illness and death were very severe. This was due partly to the deadly climate of Bengal, partly to the pollution of the Ganges by the revolting customs of Hinduism. Within a brief period Mr. and Mrs. Hampson, Mr. and Mrs. Keith, Mr. and Mrs. Warden, Mr. Bankhead, and Mr. and Mrs. Harle were all carried off by death. Mr. Townley's health failed in 1823, and he returned to England. He died in 1861, and upon that occasion the Directors placed on record their high appreciation of his services as the founder of the mission, the builder and first pastor of Union Chapel; and they also stated that 'the entire expense of his passage, and that of his family, both outward and homeward, as well as his support during his stay in India, was entirely met from his own resources, a rare and noble offering to the cause of Christianity, amounting to several thousand pounds.' During the many years Mr. Townley lived after his return to England, he

diligently and ably served the Society as a Director, and he frequently aided its work by generous contributions.

BENARES was occupied for the Society in 1820 by Mr. M. T. Adam, who commenced the mission there on August 6. The method followed was similar to that at Calcutta. Services were held whenever possible, individuals were encouraged to converse with the missionary, *mélas* were visited, and in 1826 five schools were maintained. Christian work at Benares has proved very difficult and barren, but to the Deputation in 1826 the sacred city of India seemed a promising field: 'Benares, with its 650,000 inhabitants, Hindoos and Mahometans, in the proportion of five to one, appears to us a most important missionary station. It has also immense accessions of people when the pilgrimages are made and the festivals held. All these hundreds of thousands are accessible; they will hear you, converse with you, argue with you, and, generally speaking, take your books and promise to read them. At their ghauts, in their bazaars, before the schools, congregations may be collected every day.'

BERHAMPUR was occupied in 1824, and in 1826 the Deputation found there Mr. Micaiah Hill, Mr. Ray, and Mrs. Warden. Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, after their careful visitation in 1826 of all the stations in Calcutta, Kidderpore, Chinsurah, Berhampur, and Benares, sent home to the Directors a sober and yet a sanguine estimate of what had been and of what would be achieved. They note the improvement already wrought in the conduct of Europeans, and also the signs of a weakening of the tyranny of Hindu custom, but they overestimated the pace at which the improvement would go forward. Missionary organization and development were slower in Bengal and the North-West, and although the workers have been brave and devoted, the progress all through the century has been slower and less striking than in the South.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vol. v; *Pioneers of the Bengal Mission*, by George Gogerly.]

CHAPTER V

SOUTH INDIAN MISSIONS: 1820-1895

EACH great centre in India occupied and worked by the Society affords material for a volume full of instruction and full of attraction to the student of missions, and to the disciple who is praying for the triumph of Christ's kingdom. But to trace in detail the full course of these many streams of blessing is impossible. The broad features of the work are alike in both Northern and Southern India; but during the century Christianity found more fertile soil in the south among the low-caste section of the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese countries, than along the valley of the Ganges; it received a much more cordial welcome among the devil-worshippers of Travancore than among the haughty Muhammadans of the north. We shall, then, first trace the stream of Christian influence as it flows and broadens through Southern India. And it seems on reflection to be most satisfactory to allow the three great languages of Southern India to define the course taken by history.

The celebration of the completion of the first twenty-five years' history of the Society gave a great impetus to the work in South India. The reports which had been sent home by Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet of their visits to the Indian stations, and the great influence of the latter on the Board for many years after his return, led to considerable development of the Society's work in India.

I. TAMIL MISSIONS. This great Dravidian language, rich in the possession of a varied literature, is spoken along the whole south-eastern coast of India from Madras to Cape Comorin. It is the vernacular of about 15,000,000

people. With the exception of South Travancore, all the chief stations where Tamil is spoken are in the Madras Presidency.

1. The Madras Mission. Madras, like the other great Indian cities, and especially the great ports, has always been a difficult centre for Christian work. Yet many of the great Societies have felt it imperative to maintain there a staff of workers, and have devoted much time and money to Christian service. Here, as in the case of Calcutta, it would be a pleasant task to indicate the good work which has been carried on there throughout the century by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan, and many other Societies, and also to indicate the great and beneficial results achieved by the two great educational institutions under the care respectively of the Free and Established Churches of Scotland. But we can deal only with the work of the London Missionary Society.

In a missionary magazine entitled *Forward*, edited by W. Robinson, and first issued by him at Salem in 1893, there is a graphic sketch of the course of the Madras Mission after Loveless returned to England:—

'Before Mr. Loveless retired, the Directors of his Society greatly cheered him by sending out to Madras five missionaries, four of whom were remarkable men. Crisp, Nicholson, Massie, Knill, Traveller, all laboured in Madras, and the results of their labour are still seen. With the exception of Nicholson, who was cut off by cholera in a few months after his arrival, the other missionaries did a noble work, and helped to make the historic past of the London Missionary Society. Like most men of strong individuality, Traveller and Massie went their own way, and it was not the way of the Directors at home. Traveller built Pursewaukum Chapel in an incredibly short time after his arrival in Madras. On the day he arrived the idea was mooted, and he took it up with red-hot enthusiasm ; he could not, like Mr. Loveless, be content to hasten slowly,

and he went dead against the prejudices of certain Anglo-Indians. Probably if there had been less driving and more leading, things would have turned out more happily than they did. Mr. Traveller's connection with the Society ceased in 1823, but it is significant to note that he ever remained its faithful helper, and took the warmest interest in its welfare.

'Dr. Massie was simply a tornado let loose. He anticipated much of the later scheme of missionary higher education, but he was before his time, and would not wait until his ideas had taken root and fructified. His idea was to found a Christian University for India to be established at Bangalore, and he threw himself into the work of carrying it out with tireless energy. The difficulty is to find out where he did not go to secure subscriptions, for money poured in from all quarters. In those days of slow locomotion and costly postage it was a record feat to have accomplished what he did for his Mysore College[1]. In other respects he was out of the common run of men—thus, he was married five times. "Last of all the man died also," but not before he had left behind an extraordinary impression of his indomitableness. Dr. R. W. Hamilton once declared that the futility of resisting a certain measure was like attempting "to resist the rush of the Mississippi, or the impetuosity of Dr. Massie."

'Edmund Crisp was a striking contrast to the brilliant but erratic men who were with him in Madras. His devotion to his work never flagged, and he excelled in all departments of it as pastor, preacher, theological tutor. From the Tamil Seminary at Bangalore he sent out some of the ablest native ministers the Tamil churches have had. He was in charge of Davidson Street until the Rev. J. Smith came out in 1828. John Smith was the brother of Mary Moffat, and had his sister's enthusiasm and love for missionary service. He soon had fruit to his labour; the soldiers of the Cameronian Regiment liked his preaching, and some of them joined the church. A godly Sergeant-Major named Symonds opened his house in the Fort for

[1] See p. 105.

morning and evening prayer ; from ten to twenty soldiers regularly attended the meeting, and this is but one evidence of the spiritual activity which abounded in the church.

'Mr. Smith soon gathered round him an interesting band of young men of proved aptitude for spiritual work. The church has never been numerically strong, but its quality has been of the very best. In the fifteen years Mr. Smith had charge of it, the Church sent out the following missionaries :—the Revs. J. Bilderbeck, J. Gordon, J. A. Regel, H. Bower, D.D., W. Dawson, R. D. Johnston, C. E. Thompson, E. Marsden and others, who were valiant soldiers for the truth in South India.

'In 1843 Mr. Smith went to an Ordination Service at Vizagapatam. Two of his students were set apart for work among the Telugu people. Mr. Smith embarked in the Favourite, a coasting boat, for Madras. It was a dangerous part of the year—the month of May—and the boat is supposed to have been overtaken by a cyclone. Nothing was heard of her or her passengers again.

'William Porter has left the memory of his service deeply graven in the hearts of the people. His was an earnest, unobtrusive ministry. Singularly calm in judgment, warm and devout in feeling, he "Allured to brighter worlds and led the way." Other men have entered into his labours, but he is still remembered with great affection in Madras. Among Mr. Porter's successors, the Rev. S. W. Organe, who took charge of the church in 1867, has been conspicuous for his missionary devotion to the interests of Davidson Street. During his time the English Church, being self-supporting, ceased to be an integral part of the mission. The congregation has had much to contend against in the rivalry of other churches which have arisen. Black Town again has grown more and more the centre for mercantile offices, stores, and warehouses. The people have been driven into the suburbs, but they still cleave to the time-honoured chapel, believing that

> "Where saintly memories abide,
> Perpetual benediction falls."

'The other church around which mission-work centred in Madras in these early days was Pursewaukum, founded, as we have seen, by Mr. Traveller. When his connection with the mission ceased, the Rev. William Taylor succeeded to the oversight of the Tamil and English churches. He was an Oriental scholar, and the list of books and tracts he prepared in Tamil is formidable. He had large private means, and these he devoted liberally to the poor and to deeds of charity. In 1834 he retired from the Society's service.

'Taylor's successor was W. H. Drew, whose memory is held in grateful reverence by Christians all over South India. His ministry was blessed above that of most men. Under his fostering care the Tamil Church grew strong, and he had crowded congregations in Pursewaukum. William Drew went in and out among the people, and won them by his gentle goodness and his glowing piety. The call to rest came to him at Pulicat in 1856, where he was stricken by cholera. He had just time to reach his home in Vepery, and soon after "he was not," for God had taken him.'

As early as 1832 Mrs. Drew initiated girls' schools, and in later years her work was carried forward by Mrs. Porter. When the latter left in 1856, there were 98 girls in the boarding school, and 120 in the day schools. In 1834 a school was begun in Black Town, and Mr. Drew tried, without success, to establish a mission there.

Two remarkable men were at this time connected with the Madras Mission, but each only for a short period. John Bilderbeck, after being received into the Church at Black Town by Mr. Smith, after visiting England in 1831, was ordained and appointed to Madras. He laboured there during 1832 and 1833, and in the latter year removed to Chiltoon. In 1841 he resigned, and later on joined the Church Missionary Society. Robert Caldwell, B.A., was appointed to Madras in 1837, and from 1838 to 1841 was active in the work of the mission. In 1841 he joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and for the

next fifty years was famous among the great Indian missionaries of that Society. In 1877 he became Bishop of Tinnevelly, and he died at the Pulney Hills, South India, in August, 1891.

In 1851 the school in Black Town for native boys was established. It has ever since been known as the English Institution, because the instruction was given in English, and it has had a most successful history. The first superintendent was the Rev. F. Baylis, who began work there in September, 1851. By December, 1852, the number of pupils had mounted up to 220. Of these, 165 were Hindus, six Muhammadans, thirty-one native Christians, and eighteen East Indians. The second annual report thus describes the work done: 'Besides a good amount of Scripture, the boys have studied history, geography, grammar, and other subjects to a considerable extent. Only those who have engaged in the work can fully realize the difficulty of communicating knowledge through the medium of a foreign language.' In 1853 Mr. Baylis was transferred to Neyoor; in April, 1854, the Rev. George Hall, B.A., took charge of the Institution. He had been transferred to Madras from Jamaica. Mr. Hall continued in charge until 1876, when ill health compelled the relinquishment of the work which for twenty-two years he had carried on with conspicuous success. In 1857 a native church in Black Town was formed in connection with the Institution, and in 1861 Mrs. Hall established a high-caste girls' school in Vepery. The Rev. J. P. Ashton, M.A., who was appointed to Madras in 1859, and who became associated with Mr. Hall in 1860, taking sole charge of the Institution during Mr. Hall's furlough, has also placed on record in the columns of *Forward* his recollections of life and work in Madras and the Madras Presidency in the middle of the nineteenth century. Writing of the year 1860, he says:—

'Under Mr. Hall's able guidance, my work commenced in the Institution and the theological class, then half through its course of studies. It was a privilege, which I can never value too highly, to help those noble young men in their

studies. My work in the Institution prevented my touring except in the winter vacation, but this sufficed to give me a good insight into that department of work. But the experience I thus gained, combined with my frequent visits to the schools in the Tripassore and Pulicat districts, filled my mind with the importance of the work and the great call for more labour in a semicircle of thirty-five miles' radius round Madras as the centre. The matter was brought before the Madras Missionary Conference, and a map was drawn of the district with a view to subdivision of the work among the missions. The grand example of Ragland, Fenn, and Meadows in North Tinnevelly was fresh in our minds, and great resolutions were taken; but obstacles arose, and the enthusiastic proposer, left in sole charge of the Institution, Black Town Church work, and out-stations, was too much involved in other duties to lead the way.

'The District Committee of those days was a curiosity. It consisted of Hay of Vizagapatam, Porter of Cuddapah, Addis of Coimbatore, and Hall of Madras, and no additions of new men were allowed. It having been found that the brethren agreed better when apart than when together, no meeting had been permitted for a space of twelve years. All business was transacted by correspondence; and in those days, when there were no railways, and Mr. Porter was ever on the move, a letter would take a week or two before it could overtake him in the district, and a circular seldom returned to head quarters under three months; and if there was division of opinion, it might take another three months to go round again. This anomaly continued, though several new men had arrived and new stations were in process of opening in the Coimbatore and Salem districts. When Mr. Hall went on furlough, Mr. Corbold acted as his substitute, but was not allowed to be a member. He and I felt that this anomaly ought not to continue, but there appeared to be no means of redress.

'In the meantime the students above referred to had

been located in Coimbatore, Erode, Salem, Sunkerydrug, Tripatore, Tripassore, and elsewhere. Some prejudice was felt against these city men of high education, who were not so subservient as the worthy old catechists who were their predecessors. Corbold and I thought it would be a good plan to have a Conference of all the Tamil missionaries along with a gathering of these men for examination in a course of private study. Two of the best of the old set, Unmeiudian and Suviseshamutthu, were added to their number. The Directors favoured our plan, and we all had a happy and memorable meeting at Salem, in that grand old compound of ninety acres, in which the large Church, the Mission House, the two Boarding Schools, and the splendid Industrial School were situated.'

Mr. Ashton's graphic picture of the South India District Committee of 1860 must not be taken as applicable in any degree to the committee of recent days. For very many years the South India Committee has been the largest, the best organized, and the most business-like of the Society's Indian Committees. This is not due to deficiencies on the part of the other committees, but to the fact that the number and importance of the South Indian stations necessarily brings to that Committee a large number of able, experienced, and devoted men.

The Report for 1870 gives the ten years' progress of the mission as follows:—In 1860 the native church had twenty-nine members, in 1870 there were sixty-eight members, with the Rev. M. Cotelingam as native pastor. In 1860 there was a theological class of eleven preparing for the native ministry; in 1870, of these three were ordained ministers and six evangelists; but in 1869 from financial reasons, but with a most mistaken conception of the true conditions and requirements of the work, the Directors discontinued this class. The 389 scholars in the Institution in 1860 had by 1870 become 500; in 1860 there were no fees, in 1870 they realized 4,900 rupees.

In January, 1862, the Rev. A. Corbold reached Madras. From 1851–60 he had laboured in the Gujerat Mission.

He took charge of the Tamil Church at Pursewaukum and Mrs. Corbold of the Girls' Boarding School. In 1866 Mr. Ashton was transferred to Calcutta. From 1867 to 1871 Mrs. Whyte superintended the female educational work in connection with the high-caste school, and was succeeded by Miss Gordon. In January, 1872, the Rev. T. E. Slater was transferred from Calcutta, where he had been engaged in the work of the Bhowanipur Institution, to Madras. For three years he laboured in connection with the English Institution, together with the Rev. Henry Rice, and then gave himself to work among the educated natives. This, one of the later developments of mission-work, is assuming great importance in the chief centres of Hindu life. The work consists in visiting native gentlemen at their homes, and in receiving them at the missionary's home; in holding meetings and classes for students and non-Christian teachers; and in giving courses of public lectures[1]. In 1875, upon the resignation of Mr. George Hall, Mr. Joss of Coimbatore was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Corbold also resigned this year through ill health. In 1876 the Rev. F. Wilkinson, who had been at work for many years in Travancore, joined the mission, and became General Treasurer for the South Indian Missions. He also took charge of Pursewaukum Tamil Church. In 1881 he returned to Travancore. In 1878 the statistics of the Madras Mission were seven European missionaries—four male, three female—two native pastors, four evangelists, two out-stations, 139 communicants, 226 adherents; eight schools, 879 pupils; native contributions, 307 rupees.

In 1895, connected with the Society, there were six missionaries—three male, three female—three ordained native ministers, five preachers, eight Christian teachers, eight Bible-women, thirty Christian female teachers, 179 communicants, and 446 adherents; twelve schools, and 883 scholars; and the school fees amounted to £271, while the local contributions for the mission amounted to £79.

[1] For further details of work of this kind, see p. 117.

In 1877 Miss Brown and Miss Bounsall, two of the first lady missionaries appointed by the Society, arrived in Madras. The former took charge of the girls' schools at Chulai, and also in connection with Pursewaukum native church; the latter engaged in house-to-house visitation. In the first instance the houses of former pupils were visited, the wives of native pastors and evangelists rendering helpful service. In her report for 1885 Miss Brown gives some instructive illustrations of how far-reaching very often is the Christian instruction given in these and similar schools:—

'Two pleasing incidents have lately occurred, showing the value of these and similar schools, and the good they are calculated to do to the girls educated in them. One of the girls educated in Chulai school many years ago (when the late Mrs. Hall superintended it) married, and went to live in Triplicane. She never forgot the Bible instruction she received in school, and lately a strong desire sprang up in her heart to see some Christian women, and to speak about the subjects which filled her mind. A school belonging to the Wesleyan Mission is located in Triplicane, and every day she walked past this school in hopes of meeting one of the Christian teachers. As she was looking out in this way for some one to whom to unburden her heart, she happened to meet one of the Zenana teachers belonging to the Church of Scotland Mission, and seeing by her appearance that she was a Christian, eagerly accosted her and asked her to come to her house. This Christian teacher has visited her regularly since then to read and pray with her, and now the woman wishes to be baptized.

'The other incident is quite as striking. When Mrs. Whyte had charge of the Black Town schools, a little girl in school was so impressed by reading the lesson on idols in the second book of the Christian Vernacular Education Society's series (still used in the schools), that she entirely gave up idol-worship, and was so determined about it that her friends seemingly let her alone; perhaps her being a

widow made them careless about her, as widows are very unimportant members of a Hindu household. After she left school she was visited by a Zenana teacher belonging to the Baptist Mission, and for some years has been a believer in Christ. For some time back she has been very desirous to take her stand on the Lord's side, and has suffered a good deal of persecution from her relatives on this account; but a few days ago she quietly left them and came to Mrs. Dawson, the superintendent of the Baptist Female Mission, and on Jan. 31, 1885, was baptized at her own request by the Rev. N. M. Waterbury, of the Baptist Mission.'

In her decennial report for 1890, Miss Brown points out that in 1870 there were two girls' day schools in the mission, one with 60, the other with 28 scholars. In 1880 Chulai school had 104 girls, Pursewaukum 85. In 1886 the Chulai building collapsed during the monsoon, and for the next year the school greatly suffered in attendance. But in the course of 1888 and 1889 a handsome new building was put up at a cost of Rs. 7,000 and presented to the Society, and in 1890 there were 188 scholars. In 1890 Pursewaukum had 117 names on its roll. A measure of recent progress is found in the fact that in both schools all the teachers but *one* were Christians, and that one a widow earning her own living, and one over whom the school was expected to exert a Christian influence.

Miss Brown superintended the Society's zenana work in Madras also, and in the report already referred to she states:—

'Zenana visitation in connection with our mission has rapidly extended within the last few years. It was commenced in 1878, a year after my landing in Madras. We began with three pupils—old scholars of the Chulai school—and as the number of pupils increased, Zenana teachers were engaged to visit them regularly and systematically. We have now a staff of five Zenana teachers, and sixty houses in which are one or more pupils. These houses are exclusive of the houses visited by Rebecca, the

Bible-woman. An encouraging feature of our Zenana work is the increasing willingness of our pupils to pay fees, and as education among the women becomes more general and more valued, our difficulty in this matter will become less and less, as has been the case in regard to our girls' schools.

'One great difficulty in carrying on Zenana work is the lack of fully qualified teachers, and I purpose to establish a training class for Zenana teachers. Zenana teachers must be women of mature age and established character—mere school-girls will not do; hence our boarding school cannot supply the need, though it has been very useful in supplying teachers for our schools. An institution to give women a proper training and education for Zenana work would be a very valuable auxiliary to our work.'

Miss Bounsall took charge of the girls' boarding school, and also of the girls' school and the evangelistic work carried on in Kosapettah.

Miss Gordon, who since 1871 had been actively engaged in the work of the girls' school at the other end of Madras, in Black Town, was in 1879 placed upon the Society's staff. She continued her active service without furlough to England till 1889–90, and her death took place at Madras in 1894. She was a grand-daughter of John Gordon, who joined the Vizagapatam Mission in 1810, and daughter of J. W. Gordon, who began work in the same mission in 1835. Her work in Madras for nearly twenty-five years had been very quiet and unassuming, but she won the affection of those for whom she toiled, and she gave freely herself to the support of the mission. During Miss Gordon's absence in 1889 her work was under the care of Miss Lois A. Cox, of Adelaide, sent to India by the Australian auxiliary. Unhappily her health failed in 1891. She returned to Adelaide and died there in August, 1892.

In 1880 the Rev. G. O. Newport removed from Salem to Madras. He superintended the mission until 1885, when he returned to England. In the course of 1883 he had visited Australia as a deputation for the Society. Mr. Newport was

succeeded by the Rev. Maurice Phillips, who at Madras has carried on very systematic work in preaching in Tamil to the Hindus. In 1893 the Rev. R. J. Ward, who had been for many years a pastor in England, joined the Madras Mission and undertook the pastorate of Davidson Street Chapel.

During the decade 1880 to 1890, Hinduism in Madras and elsewhere, alarmed at the growing influence of Christianity, and fanned by the Theosophical Society, determined to use Christian methods in defence of Hindu faith and practice, and formed for their advocacy and enforcement a tract society and preaching society. For some years vigorous efforts were made to carry on by these agencies an active defensive and offensive propaganda. In 1887 Mr. Phillips refers to this movement:—

'I cannot describe the religious ferment now going on in Madras, and rapidly spreading all over the Presidency, better than by transcribing a few sentences from a Tamil tract published by The Hindu Tract Society, a Society lately established for the purpose of sending forth tracts and handbills against Christianity and in defence of Hinduism. The tract is addressed to all sects and castes. "Missionaries," says the tract, "come from England at great cost, and tell us that we are in heathen darkness, and that a bundle of fables called the Bible is the true Vedam (inspired book) which alone can enlighten us. They have cast their net over our children by teaching them in their schools; and they have already made thousands of Christians, and are continuing to do so. They have penetrated into the most out of the way villages and built churches there. If we continue to sleep as we have done in the past, not one will be found worshipping in our temples in a very short time; why, the temples themselves will be converted into Christian churches! Do you not know that the number of Christians is increasing and the number of Hindu religionists decreasing every day? How long will water remain in a well which continually lets out but receives none in? If our religion be incessantly drained by

Christianity without receiving any accessions, how can it last? When our country is turned into the wilderness of Christianity, will the herb of Hinduism grow?"

'After this wail over the decay of Hinduism and the apathy of its votaries the plan of campaign is sketched. Learned pandits must go forth and put the missionaries to shame by their dialectics. Tracts against Christianity must be published in all the vernaculars and distributed all over the land. Committees must be formed in all the towns and villages to warn the people against listening to Christian preachers.

'"We must not fear missionaries because they have white faces, or because they belong to the ruling class. There is no connection between Government and Christianity, for the Queen-Empress proclaimed neutrality in all religious matters in 1858. We must therefore oppose the missionaries with all our might. Whenever they stand up to preach, let Hindu preachers stand up and start rival preaching at a distance of forty feet from them, and they will soon flee! Let caste and sectarian differences be forgotten, and let all the people join as one man to banish Christianity from our land. All possible efforts should be made to win back those who have embraced Christianity, and all children should be withdrawn from mission schools."

'These extracts show clearly that Hindu zealots are fully alive to the fact that Christianity is a mighty power in India, and that unless it can be overcome it will ere long destroy the fond superstitions of thirty centuries. No more convincing testimony to the marvellous effect of the Gospel can be given than this of its enemies.'

But in 1891 Mr. Phillips wrote:—

'The glad tidings of great joy have been proclaimed daily in Madras and the out-stations during the year. We held 919 meetings, and preached 2,228 times to 61,063 people. We sold 404 portions of Scriptures, 2.503 tracts, and 3,600 of the monthly paper, *The Messenger of Truth*, and distributed gratis 10,785 handbills. Three evenings in the week we preached in the Bazaar at Gujelly to large

congregations. In previous reports we had to relate how, in consequence of our preaching, Hinduism was rousing itself like a giant from its sleep of apathy, and putting forth all its strength to thwart our work and hinder the progress of the Gospel. Now, however, we are equally thankful that the giant, feeling its strength unequal to the task, is retiring to sleep. In the city of Madras we were seldom annoyed during the year, and indeed only saw the agents of the Hindu Preaching Society once in force.

'Sunday afternoon lectures to educated Hindus have been delivered by missionaries of different denominations. The attendance was larger and the interest manifested was greater than in any previous year. These lectures are the only special agency in Madras for bringing the Gospel to bear on the educated Hindus and Mahometans who have left the schools or colleges.

'Tours have been made as before in the districts connected with the out-stations of Tripassore and Pulicat, and in both centres a living work appears now to be carried on throughout the year. Public profession of Christianity is still accompanied by such serious social penalties that it is rare. The number of members received during the year was only *seven*, but indications appear from time to time in unexpected quarters of the way in which the Gospel is silently working among the people.'

Madras is the great port of Southern India; it is the gate through which the missionaries enter to pass to their different fields of labour. It has been from early years a great centre of education, steadily growing in efficiency, in importance, and in influence, and as a centre where Western thought and civilization are beginning powerfully to affect the mind of the younger Hinduism.

2. COMBACONUM AND CHITTOOR.—Combaconum is a town situated on the south of Madras about twenty miles north-east of Tanjore. Its population is about 40,000. In 1825 Mr. Mead, leaving Travancore in consequence of ill health, commenced a mission there with the assistance of six

native readers, and at once entered on evangelistic work in the town and neighbourhood, and by degrees opened schools. The Directors of the Society for a time deferred giving their approval of the occupation of this town as a permanent station, probably on account of its proximity to Tanjore, an old and important centre of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. For two years Mr. Mead carried on the work with energy and success, but in 1827, as his health had improved, he returned to Travancore, where in August he met the Deputation of the Society, who arranged that he should superintend the western division of the Travancore Mission, making Neyoor his centre. On this account he did not return to Combaconum, but the work there was carried on with a reduced number of readers. In July, 1829, Mr. Edmund Crisp settled at Combaconum as the resident missionary, and work was conducted with an increased number of readers and with much efficiency and success. In 1833, as Mr. Crisp was suffering in health, Mr. Nimmo, an East Indian agent, who for the past ten years had taken part in the work at several stations in connection with the Madras Mission, removed from Chittoor to Combaconum in order to assist Mr. Crisp, and rendered valuable service in itinerating and other forms of work. In June, 1835, Mr. Crisp left Combaconum to proceed to Madras to take the place of a member of that mission whose health had failed. Mr. Nimmo was thus left in sole charge of the work, and in March, 1837, was ordained and placed on the list of the Society's missionaries. From this time until the close of 1851 he conducted the work with much efficiency, his long experience and his intimate acquaintance with the people and their customs well qualifying him to meet the various demands of the position. But in January, 1852, by the decision of the Directors, the station and district was handed over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a step rendered advisable by the near neighbourhood of Combaconum to Tanjore. Mr. Nimmo therefore removed and took up work at Tripassore. But the results of the labour of the Society's agents during the twenty-six years

of their occupation of Combaconum remained, though not in a form which would appear in statistical tables. Their persistent itineration, their frequent personal interviews with natives of all castes and creeds, their visits at Hindu festivals, their educational work in schools, and the wide circulation of Christian literature had formed a valuable foundation on which others might build.

CHITTOOR, lying about eighty miles due west of Madras, and properly belonging to the Telugu country, must be mentioned here, as it was worked practically as an out-station from Madras. A church of native converts was formed here about 1825 by Mr. E. Crisp of Madras. From 1831 to 1835 Mr. Nimmo was the resident missionary; from 1833 to 1840 Mr. Bilderbeck laboured here, and at Arni and one or two other out-stations of Madras; and from 1840 to 1842 it was under the charge of Mr. Alexander Leitch. Work at Chittoor appears to have been carried on in a somewhat intermittent fashion, and after this period it ceases to appear as a head station in the Society's reports.

3. SALEM. This town, about 210 miles south-west of Madras, gives its name to one of the twenty-one districts which make up the Madras Presidency. Salem District[1], with an area of 7,604 square miles and a population of over 2,000,000, is divided into nine taluks or sections, and these contain 3,594 villages. Except towards the south the district is hilly, with large plains lying between the hills. The chief river is the Kaveri, second in sacredness to the Ganges only. The language, with the exception of a part of one taluk, is Tamil. A somewhat detailed description of this district may serve for many others in central Southern India.

The majority of cultivators are comparatively poor, but seem quite contented with their lot. So long as the wants of the day are supplied, they think little of the future.

[1] In this sketch of the Salem Mission the author is largely indebted to a sketch written by the Rev. Maurice Phillips and issued in 1879.

Their greatest trouble is (like small farmers in England) the payment of taxes! They rise before dawn and go out to their fields, where they labour more or less all day. The morning meal is generally the cold remains of the previous night's supper, the latter being as a rule the only meal cooked. A piece of white cloth round his loins and another round his head form the only attire of an ordinary cultivator. His wife is equally simple in her mode of life. One or two cloths, ear-rings, and nose-rings, more or less costly, as the husband's circumstances admit, together with the Thali (sign of marriage, answering to our ring), form all her possessions. The children up to ten years or more go in a state of nudity, relieved perhaps by a piece of string round the waist. The *ravika* or jacket is worn generally by Musulmanis and by women of high castes, but rarely by the lower orders, except above the ghâts, where the colder climate makes it necessary. The wealthier classes dress more richly in public, but in their houses their attire is very scanty. The people as a rule are well-made and often handsome.

The great bulk of the people, including cultivators, artisans, and pariahs, though nominally ranging themselves among the followers of Vishnu and Siva, worship certain village gods and goddesses, remnants of aboriginal pre-Aryan cult, the most popular of which is Mari-amman, the goddess of small-pox and other ills that flesh is heir to; and hence she is propitiated on the coming of every calamity by the sacrifice of fowls, sheep, and goats. A rude temple to this goddess is found in every village and hamlet of any importance; and there are hereditary priests to officiate before her. If a village be too small to support a priest, his services are divided between two or three villages. All classes and religionists believe more or less in the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls.

The Salem Mission was commenced in the year 1827 by the Rev. Henry Crisp. Several schools which had been established and supported by the collector, M. D. Cockburn, were at once given over to the charge of the missionary.

Mr. Crisp, after having acquired sufficient knowledge of the language, entered with much energy, zeal, and devotedness upon his work. He built school-rooms and a chapel, and began to preach and itinerate in full earnest; but he died in 1831, only four years after his arrival in the district. His devoted wife had died in 1829.

For nearly a whole year the station was left without the superintendence of a missionary. In the course of 1832 the Rev. G. Walton, an East Indian, was sent from Bellary to Salem. He carried on the work as he had found it with faithfulness, collected a little congregation around him, and selected five or six men to be his assistants as catechists or native teachers. The schools then contained 350 heathen children, and on Sundays the number of hearers had increased from five to fifty. Mr. Walton from time to time, with some of the native teachers, made evangelistic tours to several parts of this vast district, which then comprised more than a million of souls. Their principal work, however, was in Salem and its immediate vicinity.

In May, 1840, the Rev. J. M. Lechler arrived. He was a German by birth, and had been associated with the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevelly, reaching India in 1835. Prior to settling at Salem, he had worked for some months in Coimbatore. In June, 1841, when the Rev. G. Walton died, he took entire charge of the mission, and laboured *alone* for twenty-one years.

Mr. Lechler was no ordinary man. He possessed both the power to conceive, and the energy and determination to execute, great plans for the propagation of the Gospel and the building up of a Christian church in India. His piety, zeal, earnestness, and reliance upon God, as well as his abandonment of plans when found to be unsuitable, are worthy of imitation by all missionaries.

The first plan which he tried was to establish schools over the greater part of the district where Christian books were taught, and where he and his assistants preached during their periodical visits. This plan failed be-

cause the masters were all heathen and could not be prevailed upon to teach the Catechism and Christian lessons.

The second plan was to collect scattered families willing to place themselves under Christian instruction, and to form them into Christian villages, giving them pecuniary assistance to start as cultivators. The catechists in charge proved unfaithful, and the people, when the assistance begun was not continued, went back to their old habits and beliefs! And 'thus,' writes Mr. Lechler, 'the plan of forming Christian villages, and of making them rallying-points for inquirers and dépôts of Christian truth, also failed almost entirely. In the neighbourhood of those villages, however, much good has been done; many a soul has heard the Gospel, many children have been rescued, brought in and educated in our asylums, and some of the higher castes of cultivators have furnished themselves with copies of the New Testament or portions of it.'

The third and most successful plan tried by Mr. Lechler was the establishment and maintenance of an Industrial School. In 1854 Mr. Lechler visited England and also Germany, and upon his return in 1855 was accompanied by T. G. Kubler as his assistant, and by two artisans, and brought out material for the establishment of this school. The special object was to teach carpentry, smithery, and bricklaying to the boys of the orphanage and any young men desiring to place themselves under Christian instruction. The school, though not fulfilling all of Mr. Lechler's expectations, did good work, and was only abolished after his death, as it was deemed unadvisable to continue it under the altered circumstances of the mission. Many Christian artisans in this and other districts were brought up in the Industrial School, and occupied respectable positions, who otherwise would have been only common labourers.

Mr. Lechler placed a high value on itineration, and 'regarded it as one, if not the most important, means of propagating the Gospel;' but he felt, as every missionary since in the district has felt, that 'it is to be regretted

that it can be practised so little where there is only one missionary in a station.'

According to Mr. Lechler's report for 1859, a year and a half before he died, the statistics of the mission were as follows:—Catechists, 11; out-stations, 4; communicants, 35; 'under Christian instruction, about 350.' The schools were: Boys' Orphan and Boarding Asylum, containing 30; Girls' Orphan and Boarding Asylum, containing 25; Industrial School, 25 lads; and six country day schools containing 75 pupils.

Mr. Lechler died very suddenly on June 17, 1861. Mrs. Lechler was then in England about to embark for India, and the sad news of her great loss only reached her after her arrival in Madras. She survived her husband for over thirty years; and was quite a leading spirit in the mission, especially on the Sherarog Hills, where she resided.

The Rev. Colin Campbell from Bangalore took charge of the mission after Mr. Lechler's death until the arrival of the Rev. Goodeve Mabbs in January, 1862. Mr. Mabbs, in consequence of ill health, was often away for lengthened periods from the district, so that he was able to do but little; and in November, 1865, he was transferred to Travancore, and the Rev. W. E. Morris took charge of the station. Mr. Morris threw his whole soul into the work, but after three years it proved too much for him. He was obliged to go home in February, 1869, to recruit his shattered health, with the hope of returning; but that hope was never realized.

In January, 1869, Maurice Phillips added the charge of the Salem Mission to Tripatur, where he had been stationed since 1862. He resided at Salem, and itinerated through the district. There were at the end of 1869 eleven out-stations, fourteen native preachers, 129 communicants. 475 baptized persons, including communicants; five boys' schools, containing 125 scholars, and two girls' schools, containing 84 girls, in connection with the mission.

In February, 1870, the Rev. Henry Toller and his wife

arrived to take the place of Mr. and Mrs. Morris; but within six weeks of their arrival, he was suddenly attacked with cholera, and died in a few hours. Mr. Toller was a young man who had just left Cheshunt College, full of zeal, who, humanly speaking, had a fair prospect of a long and useful life before him, but God, who does all things well, ordered it otherwise. Mrs. Toller returned home in the ship in which both had come out.

The Directors were greatly perplexed when they heard of the sudden death of Mr. Toller. They felt that they had lost four men at Salem during eight years, two by death and two by illness, and naturally feared the consequences of sending another man there. They therefore contemplated handing over the district to the Arcot Mission. The District Committee strongly and unanimously opposed the proposal. They pointed out the disastrous effect it would have in breaking up the symmetry of the field. If necessary to give up any station, either Belgaum or Vizagapatam, or both, on account of their distance and isolation from all other stations of the Society, could be better spared than Salem. They pointed out that much work had been done in the district; that valuable property for carrying on missionary operations had been procured; that the town of Salem only was unhealthy, and not the district as a whole; that the unhealthiness of the town could be avoided to a very great extent by living in the suburbs; and that as Mr. Phillips had had experience of the place, and did not object to live in it, he should be relieved of Tripatur and devote the whole of his time to Salem. In the end the Directors relinquished the idea of giving up the district, and Mr. Phillips continued in charge of the mission until 1884. During Mr. Phillips' furlough in 1873–74, the Rev. H. Rice, of Tripatur, superintended the work from that station.

In July, 1875, Evangelist Mutthu was ordained pastor over the church in the town of Salem, the church agreeing to pay ten rupees a month towards his salary and all incidental expenses of worship. In the same year the Anglo-

vernacular school was raised to the standard of a High School preparing scholars for the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University. The old mission house was turned into a school-room on the completion of a new house erected in a healthy locality outside the town, with the money realized by selling a part of the old mission compound. This High School was designed to give a high-class education on Christian principles in a town containing 50,000 inhabitants, and the capital of a district containing nearly two millions. Such a school has now become a necessity, without which missionaries can never exert the influence in the town and the district which they desire. Boys who have been in mission schools are generally the missionaries' friends, and often protect them from the abuse and insolence of crowds when preaching in the streets; and as they come from different parts of the district to pursue the higher education, they always prepare the way for preaching in their villages. This being a new and a most important work, the Directors transferred the Rev. G. O. Newport from Nagercoil to Salem in March, 1877, to take charge of the school and the work in the town and suburbs, thus leaving Mr. Phillips free to devote the whole of his time to itinerating and the out-stations. Ill health compelled Mr. Newport's removal to Bangalore in 1880.

The statistics of the mission at the end of 1878 were as follows:—Native minister, 1; native preachers, 8; out-stations, 12; communicants, 158; baptized (inclusive of communicants), 790; boys' schools, 6, with 335 scholars; girls' schools 2, containing 138 pupils.

The Rev. W. Robinson, of Tripatur, was formally appointed missionary of Salem in 1885. In December, 1885, he was joined by the Rev. A. A. Dignum, who was transferred from the Gooty Mission. For nearly three years the station then had the benefit of two resident missionaries. Mr. Robinson came to England on furlough in October, 1888, and returned to India in the autumn of 1890. During his absence the Rev. C. G. Marshall, appointed to Tripatur,

arrived and resided in Salem for a few months, to commence the study of the language and to become familiarized with mission-work. On his removal to Tripatur at the commencement of 1890, Mr. Dignum was left entirely alone for nearly twelve months. The Rev. R. C. Porter was appointed to the mission in 1893.

Mr. Dignum in the report for 1890 wrote :—

'With reference to evangelistic work in the district, I am afraid that I cannot report anything fresh or encouraging. It is a thrice-told tale that the area attempted to be covered is far too large to be thoroughly worked; or, in other words, that the means at our disposal are all too inadequate for the work that needs to be done. Only one of the four taluks—that of Atur—is fairly supplied with agents. In Salem taluk, however, which is the most populous and in every way the most important, we have no mission agents outside Salem except at Yercaud and Razipur. During the year I have spent 137 days in visiting the out-stations and in preaching in the villages, and the conviction has been more and more deeply borne in upon me that a visit once, or at the most twice, a year to the larger villages, unless followed up by frequent visits from strong, earnest, Christian native workers, will not, and cannot be expected to, produce any lasting good.'

Evangelistic work has been vigorously carried on in the town of Salem by the Rev. A. Devasagayam and Mr. Pakkianathan, who completed his course of study at Bangalore at the end of 1889.

Educational work has progressed remarkably in both branches. The High School, freed from Government control, has continued to improve. The number on the roll has largely increased. The heads of the most influential and wealthy Hindu families send their sons to the school, though its Christian character is constantly maintained, all the teachers on the staff being Christians. The girls' schools, though not large, have been very successful in educational results.

As in the other South Indian stations, for many years Christian work was carried on at Salem among the women and girls. But in 1891 new life was infused into this department by the arrival of Miss Lois A. Cox. In the year 1889, largely as the result of the visit of Mr. Wardlaw Thompson and Mr. Spicer, the Australian churches resolved to take a more active share in the work of the Society. In connection with this development Miss Cox volunteered for service, and to her belongs the honour of being the first missionary thus sent forth by the Australian churches. We have already referred to her work in Madras, and in January, 1891, she was transferred to Salem. There she was able to organize and commence, by the aid of Australian friends, four schools for girls. Unhappily her health failed, and in January, 1892, she returned to Adelaide, where she died on August 10. Brief as her career was, she has left a deep and inspiring influence upon the Salem Mission.

Only a few weeks before the compulsory retirement of Miss Cox, Miss Annie Crouch, of Hobart, Tasmania, arrived in Salem as her colleague; and only too soon found the main burden of the work resting upon her. The Church in Hobart from which Miss Crouch came, sent to her in December, 1892, a helper, Miss M. G. Lodge. The report for 1895 stated that in the four girls' schools there were 354 scholars, and that there were five Bible-women in active service. A Lois Cox Memorial Home—a boarding school for girls—was erected by Australian friends, and in 1897 contained twenty-one pupils.

Signs of the great change coming over Hindu society in its recognition of Christians and of Christianity have been evident in Salem. The Rev. A. Devasagayam stated in 1890: 'The chasm which once divided the Hindu from the Christian now no longer exists. They rub shoulder to shoulder on every possible occasion. Is it a social meeting, or one for political reform, a religious address, a lecture on science or literature, or a reception to a public benefactor, you are sure of noticing Brahman, Christian,

and Mussulman mingling freely and doing their work as if they all belonged to one brotherhood. This is an unmistakable sign of the decay of caste.' Yet persecution and hostility to the Gospel are not by any means dead, and in Salem, as in other centres, the labours of the nineteenth century have been but the preparation for the success of the twentieth.

4. TRIPATUR, a town of nearly 15.000 people, was occupied as a new centre of work in the north-east part of Salem district in 1861; and in September, 1862, the Rev. Maurice Phillips arrived from England as the first resident missionary. School work had been already begun there under the supervision of Mr. Lechler, and by 1864 the mission house was completed.

In 1863 a woman, the wife of a man who had been converted in connection with another mission, was baptized; and she, her husband, the catechist, and his family were formed into a Christian Church, and the Lord's Supper was administered. A vernacular school was opened in the pariah quarter with an attendance of twenty boys; and an Anglo-vernacular school at Vaniambady, a large town fourteen miles from Tripatur, with an attendance of twenty-six boys. In 1864 the late Mrs. Phillips commenced a caste girls' school at Tripatur, and took great interest in it up to her death in December, 1867.

In 1865 the Anglo-vernacular school at Tripatur was discontinued. The Government school-room was enlarged, and the standard of education raised, so that it was impossible for the small mission school-room and limited funds to compete with it, consequently most of the best boys left for the Government school. An effort was made to avert this. An appeal was made to the Directors for sufficient funds to raise the school to the requirements of the people, but they did not respond.

At the end of ten years after the commencement of the mission there were five catechists, four out-stations. twenty-one communicants, seventy-one baptized persons (including

communicants), three boys' schools containing 125 scholars, and two girls' schools containing fifty-five girls. Among the converts of this mission were five Brahmans, but one went back to heathenism under great pressure from his relatives.

In January, 1873, the Rev. Henry Rice was transferred from Madras to Tripatur, and after spending three years there was compelled, on account of ill health, to visit England, when the charge of the mission devolved again on Mr. Phillips.

Tripatur was for many years considered an out-station of the Salem Mission, but it became independent in 1875. Its missionary history since that time is, however, an illustration of the extreme weakness of the mission staff in South India for the purpose of overtaking the vast work which is offering itself on every hand. In 1881 the Rev. W. Robinson was resident at Tripatur in charge of the mission, and continued at his post until 1884. In that year the Rev. M. Phillips, of Salem, came to England on furlough, and Mr. Robinson had to take the oversight of the agents and work at Salem as well as at Tripatur. This double duty he performed in the next year also, and necessarily the larger district claimed a considerable portion of his time. In 1885 Mr. Robinson was permanently appointed to the charge of the Salem district, and removed to that place. But as there was no one else to take charge of Tripatur, he retained the care of this mission also. In 1887 the same arrangement continued, and the mission suffered further loss by the death of the devoted and able native pastor, Rev. C. Sundram.

At the close of 1888 the Rev. C. G. Marshall was sent out to take charge, but of course had to devote himself for the first year entirely to the study of the language. Mr. Marshall entered upon responsible charge of the mission at the beginning of 1890, and has been steadily at work since then. As the result of his growing acquaintance with the district and its inhabitants, Mr. Marshall stated :—

'Many of the villagers seem to know the main features of

Christianity very well, and some have renounced idol-worship and have placed themselves under Christian instruction. We have altogether about ten genuine inquirers, some of whom we hope shortly to baptize. In wandering about amongst the villages, one cannot help noticing that there is a restlessness among the people and a pretty general suspicion of Hinduism. The work of the catechists and the spread of Christian literature have done a great deal to produce this. If we had an adequate staff of agents, we might reasonably hope within the next decade to have more than double the number of Christians in the district. But at present, with one European missionary, one Bible-woman, and seven native preachers, we are attempting the evangelization of three-quarters of a million of people scattered over an area of 3,269 square miles! It is needless to say that the work is too much for us to do thoroughly. At best, we are able only to visit the chief towns and villages once or twice a year, and many villages never get visited at all. We are constantly being disappointed in hopeful inquirers, because they live too far away to admit of our visiting them often, and they fall away.'

In 1896 the lamented death of Mrs. Robinson led to a rearrangement of work which transferred Mr. Marshall to Salem during Mr. Robinson's absence in England, and placed Tripatur under the care of Mr. R. C. Porter.

5. COIMBATORE. This district contains 7,842 square miles, and a population of 1,700,000. The town is 306 miles south-west of Madras, and stands at the foot of the Nilghiri Hills. It has a population of about 40,000; Tamil, Canarese, and a corrupt Telugu are all spoken in different parts. The story of the Coimbatore Mission is from 1830 to 1861 the record of the wise and persistent labours of one able and energetic worker, the Rev. W. B. Addis, and his devoted wife. He founded and established the mission, and zealously superintended all its details for over thirty years. In broad features the work at Coimbatore resembled that at Salem and Bellary. Mr. Addis strove, and not

without success, to make it a native mission by the securing and superintending of a band of competent native pastors and evangelists. Mr. Sidney Long, who took charge of the mission in 1884, and who knew Mrs. Addis well during the later years of her long and useful life, has given the following sketch [1] of this very important department of the work. Mr. Long's description is important as illustrating the nature and quality of the work done not only in Coimbatore, but over the whole Indian mission-field by the now large army of native evangelists and catechists.

Few missionaries can have had any real experience of India without coming to the conclusion that India will be won to Christ by Indians rather than by foreigners. No workers in India need more sympathy, more prayer, more help than the evangelists and catechists who have sprung from the soil, and who are in much closer touch with their fellow-countrymen than any missionaries from the West can be. They frequently occupy posts of great loneliness, especially when a new station has been opened, and they and their family form the whole of the Christian Church in a dark place.

The catechist goes out morning and evening to deliver his message. He is not usually a man of special culture, and the more educated natives pass him by with a sneer. The Brahmans often despise him: he gets his hearers chiefly from the lower classes, but they are too taken up with the things of this world and often too degraded and poverty-stricken to give much heed to his message. His work he is supposed by those around him to have adopted simply as a livelihood, and he is asked again and again in all seriousness how much *money* he will *give* for a convert, and how much he will *get* from his superior for enrolling new names. Does the missionary find work hard and discouraging? The catechist has the same trials to meet, and has not the same stimulus in Christian literature and often in Christian fellowship. Is it the case that catechists are

[1] This sketch, extending over pp. 80 to 86, is from an unpublished life of Mrs. Addis, of which Mr. Long kindly allowed the author to make use.

often time-servers, and without zeal? Before we judge them, let us imagine ourselves year after year in their isolation, not infrequently boycotted and persecuted by the great mass of the people around, and then ask how faithful and how zealous we ourselves should be.

Mr. Addis from the first, realizing the immense importance of so doing, set himself to raise a good class of native agents. He did his best to equip them well, and accorded to them that hearty recognition, and gave them that confidence, which go so far towards ensuring the best efforts that one's fellow-workers can exert.

Another principle of great importance with him was this—not only should the work be done by Indians, but according to Indian methods. 'The mission is a native one throughout,' he often and quite correctly asserted. This meant economy and efficiency. Agents were not encouraged to adopt European style of dress, furniture, and food, neither were they educated in English, but only in their vernacular. Such customs as were good or harmless in their own life were maintained. The rules of the mission were very strict in some respects; one was as follows: 'All agents who appear in public with dirty or ragged clothes, or without having on jacket or turban, or who have long beards, shall pay a fine of one rupee for each offence!' A set of by-laws was drawn up about the clothing and deportment of catechists. The desire was to keep them as much as possible in touch with, and worthy to receive the respect of, their fellow-countrymen. Neither for them nor for those whom they should evangelize was mere change considered desirable. Change is not necessarily conversion. Mr. Addis was convinced that 'all the Hindus require to make them one of the most happy and contented people in the world is the knowledge of salvation through the incarnation of the Eternal Son of God, and the moral principles of the Bible.'

This avoidance of change made merely for its own sake was the rule throughout the mission, with catechists, church members, male and female scholars, and all whom it influenced. In these later days English education should

not, and cannot, be excluded, as was the case from 1830 to 1861, but in other respects the principles adopted by the founder of the mission have generally been maintained. Customs that were oppressive and wrong were of course fought against by Mr. Addis; for instance, in 1849, for the first time in Coimbatore, took place in the Mission Church the remarriage of a Hindu widow, in spite of great prejudice and opposition. She was a Christian, but in later years even non-Christian widows have been publicly remarried in Coimbatore.

Mr. Addis brought two earnest native workers from Nagercoil to help him in starting the mission. They very soon returned to their own country, and he was dependent on the agents he raised locally: his first assistant will be mentioned hereafter. When a few converts had been made, the most suitable of them who were willing were set apart for Gospel work, and received training in the 'preparatory class' which has been mentioned. Their studies were in the Bible, theology, geography of India and Palestine, general history, and simple medicine; they also devoted a short time daily to manual labour of some kind. Practically every agent employed by Mr. Addis during thirty years was thus trained by himself; two or three obtained some additional training in the London Mission Seminary at Bangalore. These workers were arranged into four classes, and were designated 'readers,' 'assistant catechists,' 'catechists,' and 'evangelists.'

When located in distant towns or villages, Mr. Addis was always very particular that they should have a dwelling-house, with a well, a school-house, book dépôt, and where possible a hall for preaching. This arrangement made the catechist independent, and gave him a modest status among his neighbours. Being provided with a well, he was safe from the worst form of boycot, namely, deprivation of water for drinking and washing purposes. He was, however, still liable to be deprived of the village dhobie and barber. The former he could do without, as he was able to wash his own clothes; but not having a barber's services was more

serious, as natives are very particular about removing their beards and also the hair on the forepart of their heads: and they not only find it a great difficulty to do this themselves, but consider shaving a menial and degrading occupation. The monthly salary given was 8 rupees, 5 annas, 4 pies. The evangelists had in addition an allowance of four annas, called *batta*, for each day on circuit; 'it was left to their conscience to do with less if they could, and in the majority of cases they managed on less.' The catechists also were constantly travelling, but in a more restricted circle. In the report for 1855 Mr. Addis remarked: 'They (nine or ten catechists) travelled between 6,000 and 7,000 miles during the year, and this is about their yearly average; they visited and made known Christ and His glorious salvation to the inhabitants of 2,375 towns and villages, performing all their journeys on foot, only being allowed a boy on one anna a day to accompany them with a bundle of Scripture portions and tracts for sale or distribution. They had nothing themselves beyond their regular salary.' By means of the presence of a Christian family in the midst of a heathen village, by the humble journeyings of these men to festivals and weekly markets for preaching, by their daily visits to villages, by their sales of Bible portions and Gospel tracts, how much has been done towards establishing the kingdom of Christ in India, the Last Great Day alone will declare.

Often they had to suffer from suspicion and from open persecution in various ways, but often also these workers made their way into the hearts of the people, and while in one village there existed opposition to the catechist, in another he was highly esteemed. Many of the catechists had a useful knowledge of medicine, and their skill in this respect was generally found to disarm prejudice. In some instances where a catechist had died or been removed by the missionary, the people begged for a successor, or the villagers in a neighbouring place sent a petition that they might be favoured like those who had a catechist resident with them. In one place the heathen gratuitously helped a new catechist to erect his house, in another gave the

choice of a locality to be purchased for such a purpose, and in another even gave the ground. Such kindness could not be refused, and the offers of food and hospitality to the agents when travelling were accepted, but no agent, for medical assistance rendered by him, or for any other service, was permitted to receive money from the people around him. Not infrequently such catechists as had won their way with the people would be detained in the villages they visited for several hours after nightfall by the farmers who had been in the fields all day; a suitable place, and lights and refreshments, would be provided so that they might at leisure read and talk about the Scriptures. In one village where a catechist had been working without any apparent success for some time, Mr. Addis recorded that this worker told the people that 'although he was thankful to them for all their kindness, yet that he had great sorrow of heart because they did not fully receive his instructions by outwardly acting according to them in forsaking idolatry, and that he thought of selling his house and removing to some other place. Thereupon they came to him in a great number and entreated him not to leave them, but to have a longer patience; they even went so far as to hold a consultation and to decide that no one should purchase the house, but that they would more attentively listen to his instructions in the future. This they in part fulfilled, and some time afterwards one of the most influential inhabitants openly declared himself a Christian, and together with his wife and large family, as also with several of his relatives and farm-labourers, constantly attended Divine Service. He was, some time afterwards, publicly baptized, and walked for several years according to the precepts of the Gospel, and died in the faith.'

Mr. Addis hoped to see the time when there should be at least one catechist for 50,000 souls—surely a sufficiently modest desire. That hope was expressed in 1843, over fifty-five years ago, and still such a state of things has not been realized. He felt, as his successors have done, how unsatisfactory is the visit of a missionary to villages two

or three times a year, and how much better is the permanent presence of even the poorest Christian worker who has the desire to spread the truth.

As late as 1897 some of the workers trained by Mr. Addis remained in active work in the mission, and they had their own distinctive marks, in the way they dressed, the removal not only of the *kudumi*, but of *all* hair from their heads, their skill in medicine, their tidy and methodical ways, not least in their skill as penmen, all having learnt to write a very good hand.

Of these workers, between 1830 and 1861, many interesting particulars might be given. It will, however, suffice if a brief account of one of them be recorded here. The first convert in the mission was Vedanâyagam. When Mr. Addis arrived in Coimbatore, he sought, as previously stated, for those who would be willing to teach in a Christian school, and particularly for those who would agree to teach the Christian books used. A learned Hindu who was acting as his munshi recommended a certain 'Nanjen,' an intelligent young man well versed in the Shâstras, and a strict observer of his religion. Nanjen agreed, provided he might have one day a week free for his Hindu ceremonies. He taught Watts' Catechism to the younger and Scripture to the elder boys. Others seeing that no harm resulted, volunteered their services also, and within a year six schools were in operation. Meanwhile, Nanjen was invited to the Tamil service in the cottage on the common, but at first refused. After a time his curiosity was too strong for him, and he attended. 'One Sunday,' to quote Mr. Addis's record, 'a tear was observed stealing down his cheek; the following week, when the missionary visited his school, he was surprised to find him at his post, although it was a heathen festival of considerable repute, and upon being asked how it was that he had not attended, he said with much evident emotion, "Sir, I have for ever done with such things." The feelings of the missionary may be conceived, but which of the two was most affected cannot be well said, for he quitted the school, and neither spoke

further on the occasion. But now the schoolmaster's trials began—his wife and children left him, and he being a fond father and a domestic man, this was a severe trial indeed, and when he came to the missionary to relate the matter, he could not control his feelings. But on being asked what he intended to do, he answered with much firmness, "Cleave to Christ, let the consequences be what they may."'

After a long period of probation he was baptized, and at the same time the name of Vedanâyagam was given to him. This being the first baptism in Coimbatore, it attracted much notice. After some time Vedanâyagam's wife and children returned to him and joined the Christian faith, but at first he had no companion like-minded, and his position was both solitary and very difficult. He underwent training and became an able evangelist, serving the mission for fifteen years, during which time no complaint of any sort was brought against him, and this in spite of the fact that latterly he had to act as *locum tenens* during one or two absences of Mr. Addis on account of ill health. He was cut off at the early age of thirty-seven, and his loss was greatly felt. His funeral was not only attended by those belonging to the Christian congregation, but by numbers of heathen, many of superior caste, and among them real sorrow for his removal was manifested.

Mr. Addis was for some years aided by his son Charles, who though subject to epilepsy did much valuable missionary service, but in 1861 ill health compelled both to resign. Mr. Addis died in 1871, but Mrs. Addis survived in India until 1898. In 1862 Mr. Morris came to Coimbatore, and from 1865 to 1869 Mr. Haslam was in charge. After an interval, in which Mr. Coles and Mr. Henry Rice in succession superintended the mission, Mr. Joss took up the work in 1870. In 1875 he was transferred to the English Institution at Madras, and Mr. H. A. Hutchison became the missionary in charge. The Coimbatore Mission during the last twenty years illustrates the difficulty of keeping up the staff and securing continuity of work in an

Indian station. In 1880 there were two missionaries, both young and vigorous men. One of them, the Rev. J. N. Hooker, B.A., who had but recently joined the mission, was a man of exceptional promise, able, devout, enthusiastic. To the outward appearance, therefore, there was the prospect of a decade of very vigorous and successful work, but the hopes cherished were speedily disappointed. Mr. Hooker died in July, 1882, the victim of over-exertion and exposure ; and Mr. Hutchison returned to England on furlough in 1883, to retire from missionary work altogether. The Rev. W. Monk Jones joined the mission in May, 1883, in the room of Mr. Hooker, and for eighteen months had the responsibility of this vast district entirely on his own shoulders, though he had only been six months in India when he came to the station. At the end of 1884 the Rev. S. J. Long joined him. By the time Mr. Long had become tolerably familiar with the language, and was able to take his full share of responsibility, the health of Mr. Monk Jones gave way, and in January, 1888, he had to return to England. Again the mission was left with only one missionary for nearly two years. At the end of 1889 the Rev. E. Hawker, B.A., was sent out. In 1894 Mr. A. W. Brough, from New South Wales, reached Coimbatore. Under his care a new building for the High School, one of the finest in South India, was erected.

Female mission-work had been carried on since 1882, in which year Miss Horton was appointed, but she left after three months, and no one was sent to occupy the vacant place until Miss Bounsall was transferred from Madras at the end of 1888, to superintend and to develop work among girls and women. Miss Cuthbert reached Coimbatore in 1893, but left on her marriage in 1895, and was succeeded by Miss German.

Such a history of change and disappointment, so strong a contrast to the story of the first thirty years, is naturally the prelude to a story of slow progress and scanty results. Yet in some directions there has been decided progress. The number of catechists and other native workers has increased,

and could easily be trebled to supply openings which are full of promise, if only funds were forthcoming for their support. Educational work is in a very healthy condition, notwithstanding bitter and unscrupulous opposition which has shown itself again and again. The High School in the town of Coimbatore attained its highest numbers in 1886. Then came a period of decline, at first on account of the opening of a number of adventure schools, and afterwards in consequence of the fierce anti-Christian agitation in the town, consequent on the baptism, though not in the London Mission, of a young Brahman. The number of scholars decreased to 169 at the end of 1889. The strenuous efforts of Mr. Asirvatham David, the head master, turned the tide, and the school closed in 1890 with an attendance of 221. 'The girls' schools have made steady and satisfactory progress during the decade. The advance is not merely in numbers and efficiency, but in the age to which it has been possible to retain pupils, and the consequent increase of the number of pupils in the more advanced class.'

Notwithstanding this long story and change and disappointment, at the close of the century the signs were all in favour of renewed life and energy and progress in this important missionary district.

II. Canarese Missions. Canarese is one of the four great languages which make up the Dravidian group, of great antiquity, highly developed, and possesses a rich and ancient literature. It is the speech of the inhabitants of the great native state Mysore and the regions contiguous to it on the north, and is spoken by nearly 10,000,000 people. The Society's work in this language has been carried on at three great centres: Bellary, Bangalore, and Belgaum.

1. Bellary. The origin and progress of the work here from 1810 to 1818 has been sketched in Chapter III. The year 1819 was notable from the fact that Mr. Hands then

began the printing at Madras of his Canarese version of the Scriptures. In the same year, after nine years' patient labour, the first native member was admitted to the Church, a Brahman, whose after career was, unhappily, inconsistent with his profession. In 1824 a new church, costing 7,000 rupees, a sum raised mainly by local contributions, was built. In 1824 Mr. Reeve returned to England, and Mr. Beynon, who came to take his place, began his long missionary career by three years' service at Bellary. In 1826 a printing press, under the superintendence of Mr. Paine, was established, and for many years rendered service of the highest value, printing the Scriptures, books, and tracts in both Canarese and Telugu.

In 1827 the Rev. Samuel Flavel removed from Bangalore, and for the next twenty years gave most efficient service as a native preacher. This man, whose name stands high in the history of early South Indian missions, was born in Quilon about 1787. While in the service of an official under the Ceylon Government, he found one day, under a tree, a copy of the Gospel in Tamil. This led to his conversion, and he became an eloquent preacher in different parts of Mysore. He was ordained in Bangalore, but the last twenty years of his life were spent in successful work in and around Bellary. He died in 1847. At the end of 1828 Mr. Hands, the pioneer of the mission, after eighteen years' toil, took a well-deserved furlough and returned to England. During this period he had acquired the Canarese language without any of those helps now available; he had translated into that difficult language and printed a large portion of the Scriptures, besides many other books and tracts; in addition to all this literary labour, he had from the first been the centre and life of the mission in all its various activities. He returned in 1832, but in 1835 was compelled to return to England; and though in 1838 he came back to India for a brief stay, he did not return to Bellary.

In 1830 the Rev. John Reid, M.A., took up the work. Like his colleagues in the other South Indian missions, he

was deeply impressed by the low moral state of the people, and by the great importance of sound educational work. He established orphan and boarding schools for boys and girls. For several years, as there was no chaplain at the post, he discharged the duties of that official. He continued active in the mission until his death in 1841. The colleagues and successors of Hands and Reid were the Rev. J. Shreives and the Rev. W. Thompson, whose son, Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, in 1881 became Foreign Secretary. Mr. Thompson was connected with the Bellary Mission from 1837 to 1848. In 1842 Mr. Paine died, and in the same year the Rev. J.S. Wardlaw, M.A., reached Bellary, and founded in 1846 a new English and vernacular school for boys, called the Wardlaw Institution. In 1852 the mission press was given up, and Mr. Wardlaw removed to Vizagapatam. The Rev. L. Valett was at Bellary from 1853–7; J. Macartney, 1857–62; J. G. Hawker, 1866–71; and E. Le Mare, 1873–7. But the chief burden of the work during the last fifty years has rested upon three shoulders: J. B. Coles, 1849–59, 1862–9, and 1875–86; Edwin Lewis, 1865–95; and Thomas Haines, 1870–90.

In 1851 two men from Honoor, a village eighty miles west of Bellary, came to Bellary for religious instruction. Ultimately both were baptized, carried the Gospel back to their village, and between 1851 and 1854 a number of converts, the result of their labours, were baptized.

In 1857, that is, forty-seven years after the mission was begun, there were at the station 2 missionaries, 4 native teachers, 267 baptized persons, 97 communicants, 10 male and 10 female school teachers, 2 boarding schools, 6 vernacular day schools, and one Anglo-vernacular school.

In a paper read before the Missionary Conference in 1858, Mr. Coles said: 'Those who first entered on this mission had to encounter many difficulties, which are now removed. They prepared the way, and gained experience for those who followed them. For many years the missionaries were the only ministers of the Gospel at the station, and performed all the duties of military chaplains.

This, though unavoidable, greatly interfered with the work of preaching to the heathen. Moreover, few missionaries have been able to continue many years at their post. Some have died; others have lost their health, and returned to England, or removed to other stations.'

During the century, in addition to the long list of devoted men and women who have laboured there, Bellary was favoured with the consecrated service of three remarkable men—John Hands, J. B. Coles, and Edwin Lewis. Although Mr. Coles began and closed his missionary life elsewhere, the great bulk of his service was rendered in Bellary. His was one of those unobtrusive lives which deserve remembrance all the more from the fact that with quiet faithfulness they do their appointed work.

Mr. Coles was born in London in 1819, and when he was still quite young his father removed to Portsmouth. The family attended the ministry of the Rev. John Griffin. On deciding to become a missionary, largely through having known Robert Moffat as a guest in his father's house, he studied with the Rev. John Cecil, first at Turvey, and then at Ongar. He was one of the first students at Spring Hill College, Birmingham. He laboured in Bellary, with a short intermission of two years in Madras, from 1849 to 1886. There his life-work was chiefly done, and his Christian influence most widely exerted. A good Hebrew and Greek scholar, he soon became proficient likewise in the Canarese language, through which he drew very near to the native Christians of the country. His life was mainly spent in vernacular preaching, and in guiding and building up the native church; he also served the cause of education, and was for years the head of the Wardlaw Institution; while he rendered an efficient ministry in connection with the English congregation at Bellary, a work refreshing to his own spirit, and greatly esteemed by the English Christians. He was in India during the Mutiny of 1857, and when urged to take refuge with the other Europeans in the Bellary Fort, he preferred to stay at his post in the mission house, surrounded by the native Christians.

During the severe famine of 1877–8, he exercised a fatherly care over many orphan boys whom he had gathered in; and these he trained and fitted for useful posts in life. He was a man of remarkably wise counsels, calm, clear judgment, and wide sympathies—a mentor especially in committees. His valuable gifts and accurate scholarship, accompanied by a singular unobtrusiveness and gentle influence, did quite as much for the building up of the mission as did the labours of others who were brought into greater prominence.

Mr. Edwin Lewis reached Bellary in January, 1866, and at once devoted himself to the work of itinerating the Bellary district. Gifted with great linguistic ability, he soon mastered the language, and became a fine Canarese and Telugu scholar. He also learned Hindustani that he might the more freely work among the Muhammadan population. Not only did he acquire unusual control over three vernaculars, but he was also able to render services of the highest value in Bible revision. Mr. Lewis spent the whole of his missionary life, 1866 to 1897, at Bellary. He was a man of fine appearance, of winning manner, of deep faith and simple fervent piety; and he came to be esteemed, by universal consent, an ideal itinerating missionary. He loved the work—the chat by the wayside, the strange and attractive meetings with those willing to hear him, the little Indian villages with their simple life. And wherever he went, the heart of the Hindu responded to the love that throbbed in the great brotherly heart of the missionary, and through that gate of love he entered multitudes of hearts that would have opened to no other influence. There have been throughout the century men equally gifted, equally wise, equally devoted to, and apt at, itinerating work; but certainly no man has excelled Edwin Lewis in this department of service which he made so specially his own.

A few examples and illustrations, in his own language for the most part, will enable the reader to understand better the itineration work done by European missionaries,

not alone in the Bellary district, but over the whole of India.

'It is well known that one very important means, to say the least, of spreading the knowledge of the Christian religion in India, is by missionaries going from town to town and village to village, teaching and preaching. This has been my work. We have lived amongst the people, talked with them in their houses, in their shops, in the market-place, in the heathen temple; we have let the people see that we were not in a hurry to speak to them a few words and then depart, but that, cost what it might, we were prepared to show them a new way. We have found everywhere attentive listeners, in many places intelligent and anxious inquirers. Many at home, I know, seriously question the use of this mode of work; but we have tried it; we have seen its effects; we believe in it most fully as one of the most effective means of spreading the kingdom of Christ in India.

'"But do the people who hear you preach in the streets understand what they hear? Do they remember it? Are they in anywise influenced by it?" We unhesitatingly answer, "Yes." Facts show how through this mode of preaching men become generally enlightened concerning Christianity.

'1. Far away from a mission centre, when we were passing through a large village, a number of men came to me, saying, "Are you a padre?" I said, "Yes. Have you ever seen one before?" They said, "We have. He told us about one God, and Jesus Christ who is the Saviour, and we want you to stay and tell us more." I remained some time in the village, and as I spoke to them, much that they had heard before was brought to their remembrance, and they clearly appreciated what they heard.

'2. I visited Adoni on one occasion, and spent some time in the corn-market, speaking with the merchants there. One man in the company came up to me, and pointing to a large stone near, said, "I remember you

sitting on that stone a few years ago, and speaking to us of this religion;" and he told me much that I had taught four years before, on that spot, and amongst other things the Parable of the Prodigal Son. He remembered also a discussion that had taken place on religion in another part of the town at that time.

'We preach to different kinds of people in India, and we have to preach to them in very different ways. In Narraindevara Kerry, a considerable town, a great many Brahmans live. Many of them are learned in the sacred books, and men of great intelligence. Once, when spending several days in the town, I sought out all the different classes of people there, that I might preach to them, and amongst others the Brahmans. In the public streets the congregation was assembled; old men from fifty years of age (a man is considered old in India at that age) to boys of eight or ten were there. They all know I am a padre. The lads looked me straight in the face, eager to hear what I had to say; some of the younger men looked amused, others stood aside and looked at me askance, with a half-sneering countenance; some who professed themselves learned—the Shastris—were ready to watch every word, and eager to entangle me in my speech. Not an illustration will be employed, not an argument used, not a statement made, not a doctrine propounded, that will escape their criticism. I know them well; they are prepared to argue, to discuss, to quibble. The older men think it foolish on my part to speak of any other god than the gods they have always worshipped and trusted in, and at the same time are inclined to be angry if anything is said in disparagement of their sacred books or their priests or their gods. A priest from the temple who is present, proud, haughty, and self-conceited, is almost ashamed to stand and listen, but condescends to wait awhile to hear what this white teacher will say about religion, a subject for which he thinks an Englishman cares little. Such is the group, a congregation of veritable Scribes and Pharisees. To denounce the gods of the heathen would be foolishness, to reason with

them would be of no use. I begin by telling them my own experience as a Christian; the things I have felt and tasted and handled of the Word of Life; how I believe in Jesus, who came into the world to save sinners. I speak of my trust in God, and confidence in Him through Jesus, of my hope for the future; of the love of God, of the love of Christ to all men; and before I have finished my address, they are ready to ask me questions about the Gospel of Jesus; very few are inclined to cavil, even when in after-conversation I compare their religion with the Christian, and condemn theirs.

'Another class of people I have had much to do with is the Lingait farmers. They are an intelligent and very conservative people; they are worshippers of Shiva, and wear about them the Linga, the emblem of Shiva. I came into a large village called Vicrapoor at a time of great drought; the agriculturists were all at home waiting, they told me, for rain. I had a large gathering, and spent the whole of one day amongst them. This was my first visit to this particular village, and one of the first questions put to me by the people was, "Who are you, sir? Why have you come to our village? What are you going to do?" My answer was, "I am a sower; I have come to your village to sow seed; I hope there is good ground here, that the seed I sow will bring forth a rich harvest." They were a little puzzled for a time, and argued about what I could mean; when their curiosity was greatly excited, I gave them the key by telling them that the seed I came to sow was good teaching of a pure religion. They saw through the whole, and in a moment said, "The ground, then, is our hearts." I then read and explained our Saviour's Parable of the Sower; and before I left they told me the sowing had been done.

'In some parts of the district where we have preached in this way we have already reaped fruit, and have other fruit almost ready to be gathered in. Sundoor is the chief town in a small kingdom of the same name, ruled by a native prince, and is about thirty miles distant from Bellary.

Resident there were two young men, Chennappa and Nagappa, both of highly respectable families and well-to-do in the world. Chennappa, a Lingaite trader, was a married man with two children, who had houses and lands and possessions, a mother and several brothers, all of whom were living in adjoining houses; Nagappa was a young unmarried man, a goldsmith, living at home in his father's house. These two young men were companions and friends in their inquiry and desire to embrace the Christian religion. I had often met them alone away from the town, under a tree in the field, or close by the jungle; and prayed with them, and talked with them of Jesus, and invited them to come. I had written to them notes when I could not see them.

'I knew they were struggling to be free, and deeply sympathized with them. It is not an easy thing to break away from father and mother, and home and friends, and to give up possessions and houses; and this they were trying to do. They prayed earnestly for strength, and entreated me to pray for them; and they had great faith in the power of prayer. At length I happened to be staying in Sundoor for twelve days, and saw them publicly or privately every day. They resolved to be baptized. It became known in the town that they were visiting me and likely to become Christians. The young prince, who was very bitter because three or four persons from his town had already become Christian outcasts, sent for them, reasoned with them, threatened them, forced them to place their foreheads upon his feet, and declare that they would never disgrace their caste.

'On the evening of my leaving Sundoor they wished to join me, and come to Bellary to be baptized. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon they left me to go home and see their friends, and were to steal away at 8 o'clock and meet me two miles out of the town, in a narrow glen between two immense rocks, and go on to Bellary. At 8 o'clock I was there; I waited alone till 9, looking and watching for them: they did not come. I looked anxiously till 10

o'clock, but no sign of their coming; 11 and 12 o'clock passed, still they did not come; I was sad at heart, and wearily and heavily went on my way to Bellary.

'I heard nothing of Chennappa and Nagappa for several weeks. Then Chennappa came suddenly to my house in Bellary, and before uttering a word fell down on the floor by my side, and sobbed and wept bitterly. I raised him up, spoke kindly to him, prayed with him; and he said, "My faith failed me. Oh, how weak I am! How will God ever receive one so weak, so faithless as I! Will God ever give me more faith? I must come; I will come; but oh, sir, 'tis hard to break away from all at home. What shall I do?"

'During the next month I went away on another preaching tour; and on my return home on Saturday evening, the first words I heard were, "Chennappa and Nagappa have just come in from Sundoor; they want you to baptize them to-morrow morning." My heart was indeed glad. On Sunday morning, in the presence of a large congregation, these two young men renounced idolatry; Chennappa gave up his Linga, Nagappa his sacred thread, and were baptized as Christians. Nagappa's father, who was himself not far from the kingdom of heaven, rather rejoiced than otherwise that his son had publicly declared himself a Christian. But the following day Chennappa's mother and aunt and brothers and others of his relations came to him, wept and wailed, entreated him. They had brought money with them to pay the priests whatsoever they might charge to purify him and receive him back again to his caste; but he declared to them his faith in Jesus, and begged them all to join him. 'Twas sad to see his mother weep; 'twas hard to resist her entreaties and refuse her requests; but he could not give up Christ to follow her and be with her. They went away home to mourn over him as dead; his wife would not join him; she was taken by her friends, who sympathized with her and pitied her as a widow; the children were regarded as orphans. Chennappa loved his wife, and would gladly

have received her ; he yearned for his children. He sought several times to see them in Sundoor, but was not allowed. The little boy died and was buried ; the father rejoiced that the spirit of his little one had been taken up into glory ; he was afraid that his little girl would be badly brought up amongst heathen relations ; and we did our best to get her for her father, but every attempt failed.'

Here is another example which illustrates how the Gospel is quietly making way in many parts of India :—

'Years ago, after a long tour, during which we had preached in more than fifty towns and villages, a man of the Rajput caste came to us and said :—"You have been preaching in many places with which I am acquainted ; the people are talking about it, and are often conversing on the words you spoke : near the town from which I come is a village called Maruvani, where are several men who have made up their minds to become Christians." We gave Kappa Sing as much instruction as we could in two days, placed some books in his hands, and sent him to his home. Eiyappa, a middle-aged man, a goldsmith by trade, very intelligent, well versed in Hinduism, one of the company Kappa Sing had spoken of, came into Bellary to visit us, and to learn all he could about Christianity ; and returned to report concerning what he had seen and heard.

'More than a year passed, when eight men from Maruvani sought us out and declared their wish to become Christians. They had read several Christian books, had heard the Gospel preached, and declared that there were prophetic words in their own Hindu books which pointed them to Jesus as their Teacher and Lord. They seemed to us very much to resemble the wise men from the East, who were guided by the star to where Jesus was ; we preached joyfully to them, and every word of the Gospel seemed precious to them. We told them they had better return to their homes and tell their companions what they had seen and heard, and come to us again as soon as they could. One of them, Virabhadrappa, said, "I shall not return till I am baptized ; if you are not willing to baptize

me at once, I will remain till you see fit." We baptized him, and he went away rejoicing to bring his wife and three daughters.

'In a fortnight five whole families, numbering nineteen persons, came, gave evidence that they were in earnest, proved that they knew a good deal of Christian truth, and were baptized. A few weeks after they returned home, twenty more persons followed their companions, and we had in Maruvani a Christian congregation of forty persons. This was altogether a new experience to us; we had been accustomed to receive one or two or three caste men at a time; and in most instances, on professing their faith in Christ, they had been cut off from wives, parents, and all their relatives. Here were men with their wives and children coming together, the women as earnest as the men—unbroken families. We gave God thanks for this, the beginning of better days! Another most interesting and significant feature of this gathering was that several castes were represented. There were three Rajputs, four Komatis, two families of Kabbérus[1], Lingaits, Goldsmiths; and one splendid young man, a priest, who was ruler over a large number of smaller priests, who held the revenues of several monasteries and temples.

'A single family won to Christ from any of the higher castes produces a profound impression upon the whole caste. It is like a breach effected in a strongly fortified castle. During recent years we have had many such additions to our numbers in the Bellary district; the effect has been great upon a large community of the heathen.

'There are many men and women in India who believe in, who love Christ, who have not publicly professed their faith. Amongst such was numbered for years one of the truest-hearted men I have known. We conversed together as Christian brethren, and our fellowship was refreshing and inspiring. I was troubled because he did not profess his faith; and one day said to him, "When will you be baptized?" He replied, "I can't say." I asked him to tell

[1] 'Fisherman's caste.'

me frankly the cause of his delay. He said with much emotion, pointing to his wife, " She is the cause; she does not believe as I do; she will not give up her caste. I love her dearly; if I were to be baptized she would leave me. and who knows what would become of her. I cannot leave her." We agreed to pray that God would turn her heart. We waited long; prayers were at length answered; the influence of the Christian loving husband wrought wonders upon the wife. One day, on my arrival in the town, he came to me jubilant, and said, " The happy day has at length come, my wife and her mother are both ready; will you baptize us this evening?" After the baptism we had a meal together, and I was struck with her utter repudiation of all caste observances, and said, " I am surprised to see how thoroughly you have put away caste." She caught up my words and said, " Did you say you were surprised? I am astonished that you should be surprised. Did not you and my husband pray that God would cast out all such devils from me, and now that He has heard your prayer and cast them out, and I am sitting in a right mind at His feet, you say you are surprised." This was a triumph of faith and love, for which we praised God with joyful heart.

'The Indian Christian home will be a great power in the land, and do much to commend the Gospel. One of our young men, a convert from Hinduism, married a young widow who was also a convert. The friends on both sides were astonished, and professed to be scandalized. The fathers were dead, the mothers living. The young people were for some time cut off from all fellowship with kindred, by whom they were treated as outcasts. Report said they had a very happy home; old friends could not resist the curiosity to visit them, and the most fastidious stickler for Hindu customs could see nothing to find fault with. The wife's mother was drawn at last, and made most welcome. Provision was made for her to cook for herself; for she could not eat what was cooked by a Christian, though her own daughter. The old lady had never been in such a

home before; she was prevailed upon to stay for weeks; her heart was won; caste prejudice vanished; she became a Christian, and has never left the home. The husband's mother came to see her son, and was even more demonstrative than the other in her praise of the Christian home. She said, "I have several sons. One left me and became a Christian, I thought he was an outcast; one became a fakir, and I felt proud of him. I see now for myself what they are. The Christian's home is like heaven, the fakir's home is a dunghill."'

In 1876 and 1877 one of the worst famines that ever devastated India raged over the central and southern portions. The distress in Bellary was terrible, and Mr. Coles and Mr. Lewis gave themselves to the task of distributing relief. Mr. Coles started a famine orphanage where the boys were taught trades. The distress in Bellary, Belgaum, Cuddapah, and other districts was terrible. The people sold their cattle, and houses, and clothes to buy food, and flocked naked and starving from the villages into the towns, there often to die by the hundred. The Government, when once alive to the magnitude of the impending disaster, took active measures to begin public works, and to establish relief camps. The selfish side of heathenism was illustrated by the fact that whilst from England hundreds of thousands of pounds were sent to relieve the perishing, very few wealthy Hindus contributed to the relief fund; and that while Government officials were straining every nerve and exhausting themselves in their efforts to relieve distress, the Hindu officials sometimes enriched themselves by robbing their starving countrymen of the money from the relief funds with which they had been entrusted.

The friends of the London Missionary Society contributed a fund of £10,665 to the relief, and this was distributed by the missionaries. In this labour Mr. Lewis toiled in season and out of season. He gave relief without distinction of caste or creed; and while many in their gratitude were wishful to become Christians, his invariable reply was that

they should wait until the famine was over, and then see. He had a great fear of 'rice-Christians.' His services were recognized beyond missionary circles. Sir Richard Temple visited the district three times, and on each occasion sent for Mr. Lewis to get his report on the state of affairs. The Governor-General and the Famine Commissioner also came, and on these occasions Mr. Lewis had personal interviews with them. Although Government officials were often robbed, and although Mr. Lewis often travelled by night, carrying with him five or six thousand rupees, and attended by only his horse-keeper, he was never once attacked.

Mr. Lewis visited England in 1884, and again in 1894. Prior to the last visit he had devoted much time to the Canarese and Telugu Bible revision, the committees for these both meeting at Bellary. In February, 1896, at the request of the Directors, he visited Australia, and travelled there for some months as a deputation for the Society. He returned to Bellary in December, 1896, but was only spared to carry on his loved labour there for a few months. He died after a brief illness, November 15, 1897, after thirty-two years of active service. His son, Edwin Herbert Lewis, joined the Bellary Mission the same year.

In 1887 Mr. Coles, who had been in connection with the Bellary Mission since 1849, was transferred to Bangalore to succeed Mr. Benjamin Rice. From 1870 to 1890 Mr. Haines, as the chief portion of his duties, superintended the educational work of the Wardlaw Institution. The Rev. H. F. W. Lester joined the mission in 1888, and in 1890 the Rev. Bernard Lucas was transferred from Penukonda to Bellary. The present condition of the district at the close of the century is clearly outlined in Mr. Lewis' report for 1890.

'The work in the district grows in importance, in interest, and success from year to year. Preaching tours have always had a charm for us. Years ago we hoped that in time we should see out-stations established and churches formed as the result of our preaching. We had six such out-stations at the close of 1880, with 123 Christian people; at the end of 1890 we had eleven stations, manned by nine

catechists, with 236 Christian people, sixty-nine of whom were communicants. In 1881 Gooty was handed over to Mr. Stephenson. In 1889 two others of our old out-stations—Anantapur and Bukkapatnam—were handed over to the new mission, which will in future be known as the Anantapur Mission. Hampasagara and Hadagally were made out-stations in 1883; Guntakal was occupied in 1886; Alur in 1887; Hudevu and Siragupa in 1888; and Kudatani in 1890. In the ten years eighty-four adults and 101 children were baptized in the district; thirty-four Christian people died. Each of the out-stations has become a centre of work and influence, and calls for much more attention than we can give. The power of native Christian home-life is more widely recognized than ever, and is telling upon the heathen population.

'The Church at Hospett, which is one of our oldest out-stations, has supplied us during the ten years with four young men who are employed as catechists, and promises more in a few years. A new chapel was built at Sandur in 1888, at a cost of 2,500 rupees. A chapel is now being built at Guntakal, and a school-room, which will be used as a chapel, is nearly finished in Kudatani.

'Colportage has been successfully carried on during the past decade. There are very few towns in the district where Scripture portions and tracts are not found, and every year we see evidence that the books distributed are read.

'In Bruce Pettah Church, in the town of Bellary, the attendance, both at the Canarese and Tamil services, has been good. A hearty response has always been given to the call for special services. The prayer meeting is well attended. A large proportion of those on the church rolls ten years ago have died; others have taken their places; there are now in the church more young people than at any previous time, and others are seeking admission. The Kowl Bazaar Church has been fluctuating. One year the membership has been strong, another year weak, as our people have been able to get employment in Bellary,

or been obliged to seek work elsewhere. The congregation was less at the end of 1890 than it was ten years ago.'

The Wardlaw Institution in 1890, on the transference of Mr. Haines to Belgaum, passed under the care of Mr. J. P. Cotelingam, M.A., one of the ablest and most highly educated native Christians in South India. Under his superintendence the Institution has become even more useful than in the past.

Mrs. Lewis was for many years most energetic in the work of female education. In 1892 Miss Christlieb, Miss Fooks, and Miss Haskard joined the mission, and the two former were stationed at Hospett. Miss Fooks married Mr. Hinkley, of Anantapur, and in 1896 Miss Beatrice Harband took up work at Bellary. Miss Christlieb carried on an active evangelistic work among the villagers around Hospett. Miss Haskard superintended the Bible-women and zenana work.

2. BANGALORE. Bangalore is the second city of South India, with a population of 100,000, and is situated on the highest part of the Mysore plateau, 3,000 feet above the sea, and possesses in consequence a very pleasant climate. It is midway between the east and west coasts; and so gets the advantages of both monsoons, without the full force of either. It consists of two distinct townships. One is the Petta, or original Hindu town, about two square miles in size, and with now about 80,000 people living in closely packed mud houses. Much trade is done here, and at the head of the main street stands the Fort. The other township is known as the Cantonment, or the Civil and Military Station. It contains the barracks and the European residences, and a native quarter with about 100,000 people. In the Petta and the district generally, Canarese is spoken; in the cantonment, Tamil and Hindustani. The climate has attracted to Bangalore a considerable European population.

This most important centre was early noted as a suitable spot for missionary labours, but the immediate occasion of

the founding there of a station was the report of a visit which Mr. Hands, in the course of an itinerating journey, paid in September, 1817. The Directors, aided by his report and strong recommendation, in 1819 appointed two Gosport students, the Rev. Stephen Laidler and the Rev. Andrew Forbes, to begin the mission. They reached Bangalore, which had already become a great military centre, in the early part of 1820. Mr. Forbes, on being instructed about three years later to remove to Belgaum, resigned; Mr. Laidler carried on the work until the end of 1826, when he returned to England, and soon after left the Society. The Rev. J. W. Massie joined the mission in 1824. His chief work was the attempt to found, together with Mr. Laidler, a seminary to be called the Mysore College. This project, which was outlined upon a very ambitious scale, and in the direction afterwards so successfully followed by Dr. Duff and others, the Directors ultimately could not see their way to sanction, and in December, 1826, Mr. Massie left Bangalore, and in 1827 resigned his connection with the Society.

Owing to the hostility of the native Government, Mysore being an independent state, it was very difficult to get access to the Hindus. Preaching in the native town was forbidden, and every obstacle was put in the way of native Christian evangelists residing in the villages. Thus the early mission-work was rather among the Europeans and the soldiers. A chapel was opened in 1821. Work among the Hindus was really begun by a remarkable native Christian named Samuel Flavel, already mentioned in connection with Bellary, and brought from Madras by Mr. Laidler.

The Mysore Province is Canarese country, but in Bangalore Cantonment there are large numbers of Tamil-speaking natives. Consequently Christian work has been carried on in both languages from the foundation of the mission. From the first also the importance of educational work has been recognized. The Rev. W. Campbell reached the station in 1824. He devoted himself almost exclusively

to the Canarese-speaking natives, and established a church and congregation about 1827, together with a boarding school and a theological seminary.

Mr. Campbell had permitted the parents of the children in the boarding school, who were paid for allowing their children to attend, to build houses and live in the mission compound, and thus form what was called the Christian village. In Campbell's judgment this was a model arrangement, and he wrote home the most glowing eulogies of his converts. What really happened was that the sums paid to induce the children to attend school enabled their parents to live in idleness. While outwardly professing Christianity, and attending Christian services, they remained in all other respects Hindus, maintained caste, and indulged freely in every form of native abomination.

From 1827 to 1834 William Reeve was stationed in Bangalore, and there completed his great work, the Canarese and English Dictionary. This considerable achievement is one of the many examples of what scholarship owes to missionaries. It was the first dictionary of the language, and will ever remain a monument of the industry and learning of this skilful and laborious pioneer. In 1834, through failing health, Mr. Reeve left India, and in 1836 became pastor of the Congregational Church at Oswestry. He died in 1850.

In 1834 Mr. Campbell built the Cantonment Chapel, on the site of the small one which had been erected by Mr. Laidler. At first English, Tamil, and Canarese services were all held in this building, but in 1837 a chapel for Canarese services was built in the Petta, and there ever since they have been carried on. In 1832 Mrs. Campbell's health compelled her return to England; and in 1835, because of Mr. Campbell's desire to follow his wife home, the Rev. Colin Campbell, whose original destination was Bellary, was sent to Bangalore. He was young, he knew hardly anything of the language, but in less than three months after his arrival Mr. W. Campbell left him to get on as best he could, and returned to England.

Colin Campbell had keener eyes than William Campbell, and very soon found reason to distrust the Christian village, and finally, in 1837, the village was dissolved. Although the teachers and converts all affirmed that they had given up caste, when an opportunity was provided for them to eat with the missionaries they all declined. It was then discovered that not only was caste maintained, but drunkenness and vice were prevalent, and the village was bringing much dishonour upon the Christian name. W. Campbell in England, not unnaturally, refused to believe that the converts he had praised so often and so highly could be so bad. He persuaded the Directors that the trouble was traceable to Colin Campbell's youth and inexperience. The Rev. John Hands, who was returning to India from a furlough soon after the village was dissolved, was instructed to go to Bangalore and put things straight. When he arrived he soon found that the missionaries on the spot were right, and that William Campbell was in the wrong. The details of this case are important, and also typical of the fate of similar experiments elsewhere. They show how dangerous it is to pay converts, even indirectly.

In January, 1837, Benjamin Rice and Gilbert Turnbull joined the mission; the latter to labour there only a few months and then to die in Sydney, the former to spend more than fifty years in active service. From 1838 to 1840 Mr. Hands was at Bangalore, and in 1838 the Rev. James Sewell joined the mission. During the next thirty or forty years these three—Campbell, Rice, and Sewell—were associated in the Bangalore Mission. Much itinerating work also was done in the district around. The vernacular schools were provided with good textbooks by Mr. Rice, and Mr. Campbell wrote a Canarese grammar.

In 1840 Mrs. Sewell established a Canarese girls' day school in the Petta, and in 1841 a second school was started. These were the first schools of the kind in this part of India, attracted a great deal of attention, and did much to prepare the way for female education. These schools had to contend with all the opposition which is awakened by

a novel movement. But they were patiently maintained by Mrs. Sewell and Mrs. Rice, and extended. In 1865 the Misses Anstey took charge of and further extended them. The movement was now beginning to be popular, and the four contained some 500 girls. Two girls of the weaver caste were baptized, and their baptism led to much litigation. Miss Anstey resigned in 1875. Since then the schools have been carried on by the Rev. B. Rice and Miss Muller, and zenana work has also been started.

In 1841 another important movement was initiated—the Theological Seminary. Students were collected from the various South Indian mission stations of the Society. The buildings were on the mission premises in the cantonment. Mr. E. Crisp began the work, and in 1845 J. Sugden arrived to assist him. The classes were conducted in Tamil, as Mr. Crisp had thoroughly mastered only that vernacular. Some attempts were made, without much success, to teach the students English. This Anglo-Tamil seminary lived only seven years. Some of the students were well on in years; there were no good vernacular books, and the Tamil missionaries not resident in Bangalore thought Madras a better centre for a Tamil seminary. Hence in June, 1849, it was discontinued with a view to re-establishment in Madras on different lines.

At the same time an Anglo-Canarese seminary was instituted with Mr. Sewell as tutor. In this the students were to be young men of acknowledged piety, with sufficient control of English to use it for the acquisition of knowledge. Their own language was also to be carefully studied. In this way it was intended to combine the advantages of both English and vernacular training.

In 1842 the Canarese boarding schools for boys and girls were re-established under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Rice, and they have been maintained ever since.

From 1840 to 1850 Mr. Colin Campbell was at Mysore, where a new station had been opened. In 1850 this was abandoned, because the Wesleyan Missionary Society had also opened work there, and it was not thought desirable

for both missions to be working where there was only scope for one. Out of the proceeds of the sale of the mission property at Mysore, a substantial Canarese church was built in the Petta, Bangalore. Mr. Sugden, after the closing of the seminary, acted as general missionary among the Tamil people. Mr. Crisp returned to England in 1848.

As a necessity of its position and advantages, Bangalore became an important centre for educational work, for Bible and tract production and circulation, for Bible revision, and in more recent years for Christian work among educated Hindus.

Benjamin Rice early perceived the enormous possibilities of education. In a letter to the Rev. T. Lewis, dated June 24, 1839, he writes :—

'I look upon education as a very important means of diffusing the Gospel in India, especially a good English education on Christian principles. The schools in connection with the General Assembly's Mission at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras are beginning to tell amazingly upon the people. Dr. Wilson, at Bombay, has lately baptized three young Parsees who had attended his school; and at Madras, I believe, there are many who are fully convinced of the truth of Christianity, and who are only prevented from making a public profession through fear of the consequences. The respectable natives are beginning to perceive what powerful engines these institutions are in the hands of the missionaries, and are warning parents, through the medium of the native newspapers, not to send their children. They have also attempted to establish opposition schools in which heathenism is to be taught. But these efforts are vain. In spite of all they can say or do, the schools are still full. The advantages of the superior education imparted are too manifest to allow of their being neglected. When it is remembered that every boy who passes through those institutions is thoroughly imbued with Biblical knowledge, who can estimate the amount of influence which a constant succession of such

youths, going forth and taking their stations in society, may exert upon the people at large[1]?'

The rapid changes caused by failure of health in almost all the South Indian missions has all through the century emphasized the views put forth by many of the ablest missionaries that more concentration and less attempts to cover too wide an area should be made. And yet at the close of the century facts tend to show that the governing bodies of the various Societies have not yet perfectly learned what seems so clearly taught by the experience of the past. In 1841 Mr. Rice points out:—

'The Divine dispensations in regard to missionaries in India are just now very trying. How many both of our own and of other Societies have been either obliged to abandon the field on account of sickness, or have been removed by death! If these things lessen our dependence on man, and lead us to lift up our eyes more earnestly and constantly to Him from whom alone our help can come, their result will be eminently beneficial. I cannot say, however, that I am altogether surprised at the sickness and death of so many of our brethren. The amount of mental labour and anxiety which a missionary, if he be ardently and faithfully devoted to his work, has in general to undergo in a climate like this, *must* break down his constitution or shorten his days. *Concentration of effort* and *division of labour* are what we want[2].'

During the sufferings and horrors of the Mutiny, the three Indian Universities were founded at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Mr. B. Rice returned from a three years' visit to England in 1856, and, realizing from his knowledge of India and the Hindus the expansion of life and thought that was coming, gave more time and thought than before to education. We have seen that as early as 1822 English was used to instruct Christian natives, and the premature Mysore College scheme has been referred to. It was not

[1] *Benjamin Rice; or, Fifty Years in the Master's Service*, by E. P. Rice, B.A., p. 58.

[2] Ibid. p. 68.

until 1847 that the use of English schools for the instruction of Hindus began at Bangalore.

'In that year an Anglo-vernacular school was started in Bangalore, the English studies being superintended by the Rev. J. B. Coles, and the vernacular by Benjamin Rice. For the first five years it was conducted in the mud building in the Pettah, which served the common purpose of chapel, mission hall, and school. When that building was replaced by the present more ecclesiastical place of worship, the school was transferred to a rented house opposite, where it had its home for the next ten years.

'It continued to contain about a hundred scholars until 1858, when Benjamin Rice, just returned from England with renewed health and zeal, brought his energy to bear upon it. It then rose rapidly in numbers; a second school was opened in the Cantonment, and in 1859 the two institutions contained 397 pupils. The rented house in which the school was held being very inconvenient for school purposes, it became necessary to seek for better accommodation. Within the crowded Pettah no site was available, but just outside the gate there was a shallow portion of the old Pettah moat. For this unpromising-looking site Benjamin Rice applied in 1861, not without exciting curiosity as to what use he could make of it. It chanced, however, that a pond was being excavated almost immediately opposite, and he asked that the soil might be cast into this hollow; and when it had been thus filled up, a neat little school was erected, which was the germ of the present High School building.

'A second branch school was opened in 1863, and the school went on and prospered. Until 1866 the three institutions had an average of 350 pupils. Since that date it has been under the care of Mr. Walton. It has shared in full measure the popularity of similar institutions, and has been the means of training large numbers of Hindu young men of the higher classes, as well as of giving a good education to the children of native Christians[1].'

[1] *Benjamin Rice*, pp. 151, 152.

In 1864, upon the return to England of Mr. Sewell, the headship of the Theological Seminary, together with the secretariat of the South Indian District Committee, also came upon Mr. Rice.

'The Theological Seminary contained students from the Canarese and Telugu stations of the Society who were preparing for the work of evangelists and pastors. The studies were conducted chiefly in English, and were of great interest to the tutor himself. The great difficulty of the work consisted in the lack of textbooks suited to the requirements of the country. Much labour was spent in the preparation of lectures for the students. A Church History in English was carefully compiled, some small works translated into Canarese on Christian doctrine and Homiletics, and a manual prepared of Bible History in connection with the general history of the world. The patience and pains he bestowed upon the students, and the interest he took in all their affairs, bound them to him by ties of affection.

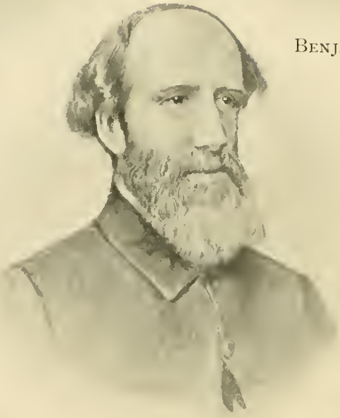
'He continued to preside over the seminary until 1872, and the standard of education attained by each generation of students was steadily rising. In the height of its prosperity, however, it was closed by order of the Directors, who had an idea that the number of native agents was already too large. The step was deeply regretted and strongly deprecated by all the missionaries of the committee, but their pleadings were in vain [1].'

This was a most unhappy decision on the part of the home authorities. It was due to the idea that the number of native agents already in the employ of the Society bore too large a proportion to the strength of the Christian community, and that, therefore, men were not needed. After a period of ten years the mistake was recognized and repaired as far as it might be by the reopening of the seminary in 1883, again under the charge of Mr. Rice. But many most valuable years had been lost; the momentum of a continuously growing movement was lost;

[1] *Benjamin Rice*, pp. 157, 158.

DEVADASEN
(Travancore)

BENJAMIN RICE, in 1860
(Bangalore)



JOHN HAY
(Vizagapatam)

J. B. COLES
(Bellary)

MRS. PORTER
(Cuddapah)

and the confidence of the native Christians that, if they gave themselves to the ministry, the Society would and could find work for them, received a shock from which it has hardly yet recovered. On Mr. Rice's death the institution passed under the care of, first, J. B. Coles, and then of G. O. Newport. The former died in 1891, and the latter in 1894, and the presidency passed into the hands of the Rev. Walter Joss.

The famine of 1877–8 swept away one-fourth of the population of Mysore, and Bangalore was the centre of many heart-rending scenes.

'Here, as elsewhere, the calamity suddenly swept onward with a rush which foresight could not anticipate, and which measures of palliation were unable to cope with. Actual starvation, with its attendant train of diseases, soon became common. The miserable inhabitants, losing all traditions of social cohesion, flocked into Bangalore by thousands, only to die in the streets of the cantonments. On the one hand, grain was poured into Bangalore by the Madras Railway; but the means for bringing the food to the hungry mouths were inadequate. When the rains of 1877 again held off, during July and August, the crowds at the relief centres increased, and the mortality became very great. It was in these circumstances, at the beginning of September, that the Viceroy visited Bangalore, and directed the adoption of a system of relief based on that followed in the Bombay Presidency. The labourers were to be concentrated on large works, and the relief establishment was generally augmented. The suffering reached its worst in September, 1877, when a total of 280,000 persons throughout the State were in receipt of relief, of whom only 24,000 were employed on works under professional supervision. In that month the famine deaths reported in the town of Bangalore averaged about forty a day, while double that number perished daily in the relief camps and hospitals.

'Benjamin Rice was a member of the local Famine Committee which sat during the crisis. And when large

numbers of fatherless children were left on the hands of the State, and were being entrusted to various philanthropic agencies and missions to be cared for, he resolved, although he had no resources on which to depend for their maintenance, to receive a number of boys and girls, and for this purpose to re-establish the long-closed Boys' Boarding School. Seventy boys and girls were thus received, all in a very emaciated condition. It was found that the boys had passed through much greater sufferings than the girls—for while the girls had, on the death of their parents, come straight to the Government relief camps, the boys had generally wandered about for some time, satisfying the pangs of hunger on the pith of trees and other injurious substances, and had thus contracted diseases to which they sooner or later succumbed. Many of the boys thus died, but almost all the girls survived; and those who should now see them, some in homes of their own, and some still in the school, would never imagine what scenes they had passed through in that time of trial[1].'

In January, 1887, the Rev. B. Rice completed fifty years of missionary service, during which long period he had visited England only once. An event so unusual and so full of interest was duly celebrated at Bangalore. He had devoted much attention to vernacular literature, and to the auxiliaries of the Religious Tract Society and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and also to the work of Bible revision. Many addresses and marks of appreciation of his long and varied services were presented to him from the Directors, the South Indian District Committee, the Mysore Wesleyan Mission, and other bodies and friends. In his reply it was but natural that he should take many retrospective glances, and the words of so competent a judge deserve more than passing notice.

'In India, considering the gigantic difficulties which have to be overcome, the progress made in missionary labour is remarkable indeed. It is not sixty years since an order was issued by the Indian Government that

[1] *Benjamin Rice*, pp. 159, 160.

"missionaries must not preach to natives." Now the officers of Government themselves praise the work done by missionaries. *Then* it was with difficulty that Hindus could be induced to send their children to Christian schools. *Now* they flock to them by thousands. *Then* few natives would take Christian books even as a gift. *Now* they buy them in great numbers. *Then* the education of women was looked upon with utter contempt. *Now* the education of the girls of India receives more attention than did that of the boys forty years ago. Nor is the increase in the number of native Christians less encouraging, the number in Protestant Missions having risen from 27,000 in 1831 to nearly 500,000 in 1881, when the last census was taken.

'Here in the Mysore Province also the progress has been very marked. When I came to India, Bangalore was the only Canarese Mission station in the Mysore. Now numerous stations and out-stations are established, and in active operation, throughout the country.

'So far as my own station is concerned, *all* the results of the past five decades of missionary work are known to God alone. So far as they are tabulated, the Report for 1836 states that the number of native Christians, Canarese and Tamil, *then* in connection with the London Mission was 100; communicants, 26. In 1886 the numbers reported are 444; communicants, 171. To these numbers should be added fully half as many again, for deaths and removals to other stations. In 1836 there were only two or three small schools—and school-books *none*. *Now* we have schools numbering hundreds of pupils, well supplied with teachers, books, and school apparatus. *Then* there were scarcely any suitable tracts for circulation amongst the people, and the Scriptures were only to be had in an inconvenient form, and in a translation which, though good as a first effort, yet needed much revision. *Now* we have a variety of publications—the Scriptures have been revised and published in convenient forms—and instead of being *given away*, Christian books are *sold*. The number of

native evangelists has increased. Native pastors have been appointed to the churches. Out-stations have been formed. And the progress of the mission would have been greater still, had the Directors of our Society been able to respond to the appeals we have made from time to time for extension of our work.

'Nor must the blessing which has attended the efforts of the female members of the mission be omitted; witness the pious and intelligent wives and mothers raised up in the Boarding School, and the flourishing girls' day schools that have been established.

'So much for the past: what of the future? Have we not good grounds for believing that progress will go on in an increasing ratio—that the results in coming years will be even greater than in the past? As a recent writer has truly said: "India is just entering upon a career of transition, preparatory to the establishment of a new order of things, and we have every reason to believe that the native Christian community, which is making steady and solid progress in every direction, is destined to play by no means an insignificant part in the regeneration of their country." Yes, faith can realize even now a glorious prospect. Steadfast and persevering effort is alone needed to bring about a grand consummation [1].'

The jubilee celebrations were barely over when the veteran's labours on earth ceased, and he passed to the higher service of heaven. On February 9, 1887, he gently slept away. Four years later another South Indian veteran, the Rev. J. B. Coles, died, on January 2, 1891. He began and he closed his long career of forty-seven years' service at Bangalore, although it was at Bellary that he spent the years 1849 to 1886 [2].

In 1874 the Rev. Colin Campbell, who for nearly forty years had been on the active staff of the Society, retired. When on the point of relinquishing work he said: 'Preaching to the heathen in town and country, in the

[1] *Benjamin Rice*, pp. 178–80.
[2] See page 91.

Canarese tongue, has been my principal work during all my time in India. I have laboured according to the grace given, and I praise God for what I have seen of the progress of the work since I came to India in 1835.' To succeed him in this special department of evangelistic and itinerating service, the Directors had in 1873 appointed the Rev. E. P. Rice, B.A., a son of Benjamin Rice; and he, for the next eighteen years, itinerated over the large district connected with Bangalore. In 1892 he, accompanied by Mr. Hickling and Mr. Cairns, established a new mission at Chikka Ballapura, thirty-five miles north of Bangalore, a place which for many years had been worked as an out-station. His work in Bangalore then passed to the care of the Rev. W. J. Lawrence.

Towards the end of 1882 the Rev. T. E. Slater removed from Madras to Bangalore, to carry on his special work among educated non-Christian Hindus. From Bangalore as a centre Mr. Slater also visited other large towns, such as Bellary, Belgaum, and Cuddapah. This is one of the most recent and most important developments of mission-work in India. The Government schools and universities are rapidly educating large numbers of the highest caste Hindus, and at the same time almost ostentatiously refusing to exert the slightest religious influence upon them. Government provides an education that almost necessarily and automatically shatters any faith they have in Hinduism, and makes English essential to Government employ. Hindus are thus exposed to the assaults of Western infidelity, and yet the Indian Government has so frowned upon Christianity, that until quite recently it was a positive disadvantage for a native in respect to employment to be an avowed Christian. Until recent years also there has been a lack of fully qualified native Christians. The mission schools now turn out large numbers of men annually, quite as well equipped as those who go through the Government schools, who in addition have received a good *head* knowledge of the Bible and of the essential Christian doctrines, yet

over whose hearts and consciences the truth has so far obtained no controlling power. In the hands of this class, able, intelligent, educated, bound to come to the front and to exert a controlling influence in social and in political life, a large part of the future of India lies. Missionaries of all Societies are feeling more and more the importance of bringing Christianity to bear upon these men; and to aid in the special work of teaching them, Mr. Slater and other experienced men have been set apart. Mr. Slater has been in the habit of giving in his annual reports a very interesting review of the attitude of the educated Hindu community throughout India, in addition to a description of the work annually attempted and accomplished in Bangalore and the district. Some extracts from that issued for the year 1894 will show how important, how attractive, how necessary, and how difficult this department of service has become. This contact of the best-educated and yet non-Christian mind of India with the Gospel and with the culture of the West, represents what will doubtless be the great conflict in India during the next century of missionary labour and Christian influence.

Mr. Slater refers to two movements which deeply stirred the currents of Hindu thought—the visit of Mrs. Besant to India, and her lectures there; and the career and teaching, especially at the Chicago Parliament of Religions, of Swami Vivekananda.

'All these outside influences, not forgetting the crusade of Swami Vivekananda in America and his eloquent exposition of philosophic Hinduism, have had the effect of stimulating national thought and pride; and just as a patriotic feeling in political matters manifests itself in the Indian National Congress movement, so in religion a spirit of revival is visible throughout the country, in some places even working towards an organized Hindu Church. It is one of the wavelets of the great roll of civilization coming from the West; and, regarded as a sign of the deep and wide changes that are slowly spreading over Indian society, it certainly deserves attention. Under the influence of

British rule, India is being stirred as she never was before. The prevailing feeling at the present time is one of general unrest. For good or for evil, many of the things that are old are passing away; much that is new to Indian thought and life is pressing itself forward. Instead of the studied silence of the past towards religious questions, there is a sense of dissatisfaction with many Hindu beliefs and rites; a constant discussion of religious themes, and a consequent unsettling of long-established faiths, and a reaching out after something purer and more reasonable. The same feeling is manifested in regard to social customs and political institutions.

'It is remarkable, however, that this feeling does not seek fulfilment in the same direction; but while striving after a *Western* ideal in regard to social and political amelioration, it looks to a revival of the most ancient *national* ideas in regard to religion. For the former, the modern Hindus welcome the light of Western guidance; but as for the latter, they seem at present to refuse to recognize the right of the West to guide them.

'This is sometimes explained by the conviction, said to be gaining ground among the educated classes, that the West is by no means superior to the East either in point of morality or of religion. Others who look deeper, and are inclined to be more friendly, see nothing in Christianity to justify the belief that its acceptance by the East should lead to moral corruption; they rather base the present somewhat defiant attitude of Hinduism on the more hopeful ground of the essential similarity between the two religions. It is becoming more and more patent, they say, to all careful students, that the great religions of the world—such as Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Christianity—do not differ materially in their essential principles and in their more important teachings; and that any future creed which the Hindus may accept, will have to come in the guise of an outgrowth from the system based on their own ancient revelation.

'In two directions, however, the inherent weakness of

Hinduism is manifesting itself. If it looks to a revival of the national faith in regard to religion, how is it that it looks to the West for its social and political ideas? In this strange divergence, it confesses its utter weakness as a social force; that there is nothing in its ancient institutions to revive which will fit the nation for its keen struggle for existence; but that for the elaboration of a better order in society it must look outside itself. This severance of religion from sociology; this failure of Hinduism as a reforming agency, a regenerator of society, an instrument of progress, robs it of half its strength, and encourages the Christian advocate to hope that, as the thoughtful men of India come to study the sociological results of Christ's religion in the West, and see it to be the pioneer of all true progress, the only effective agency in destroying the old evils, they may be led to pay a deeper respect to its underlying and distinctive truths.

'Another confession of the weakness of Hinduism appears in its new treatment of converts to Christianity. Hitherto a caste convert has generally been regarded as cutting himself off from Hinduism for ever, and he has been treated as dead. Now, however, this exclusiveness is relaxing, and the door is open for the convert to return. Hinduism. acted on by forces that can be no longer ignored, cannot afford to be as imperious and independent as it has been; and overtures are made to the deserters. This compromising attitude on the part of Hinduism is an unmistakable sign of weakness.

'Christianity and Hinduism are now meeting face to face; and the great lament which we as missionaries have to raise is in respect to the *tone of mind* generally prevalent in the country. To so many minds, religious truths appear to be little more than the material on which to exercise the ingenuity of controversy and speculation. There is enough and to spare of criticism and discussion; but serious thought and earnest inquiry are very rare. Besides the spirit of false patriotism that is abroad, the materialistic tendency of the age deadens the concern for spiritual things. Interest

in mere worldly pursuits and in amassing wealth seems to be just now all-absorbing; and the "gospel of getting on" gains more hearers than any other. If one had not firm faith in the instinctive religiousness of the Hindu nature, as well as in the unfailing power of the Gospel of Christ, and therefore the persuasion that a reaction in favour of positive religious belief must assuredly come, the outlook would be disheartening. But history is bound to repeat itself in India; and when the people have removed every god from their pantheon, they will turn in their need to the one true object of human hope and worship—God in Christ.

'With these mingled experiences, gained by constant contact with the educated classes, I have laboured through another year with ever-increasing interest and thankfulness. The work has been carried on upon the old lines—lectures, discussions, classes, house-visitation, literature; it being difficult to devise any new and more suitable methods. But something more than lectures and discussions and even classes is required in order to get into friendly touch and intimate relations with Hindu gentlemen, so as to understand their thought and religious position; and that is private interviews. Many of my most pleasant and profitable hours—generally in the early morning between eight and ten, and occasionally in the afternoon—have been spent in this way. All shades of thought are met with; from sheer religious indifference, up through the gradations of materialism, pessimism, agnosticism, pantheism, and theism, to the mind distinctly influenced by the teaching and spirit of Christ. In no country is the attitude towards religious questions so diversified, and the fermentation of thought so great.'

At the Calcutta Missionary Conference, 1892–3, Mr. Slater read an exhaustive paper on this great subject of work among the educated classes[1]. He showed that

[1] All the papers and speeches at this session of the Conference are full of valuable information upon this most important subject. See Report, vol. i. pp. 258–313.

although in 1891 only one-seventh of the population had received *any* education, and that only about three-quarters of a million—that is, one out of every 380—could speak English, yet in this number were included the leaders of society, of public opinion, of reform, and that no classes stood in greater need of the Gospel. He then gave a masterly summary of the present position of things in India:—

'Owing to pantheistic perversion, the depraved yet proud Hindu intellect, which fails to see any necessary connection between conviction and practice, needs to be regenerated no less than the heart and conscience. Intellect and culture, apart from moral stamina and will-power, have often proved perilous to the individual and to the State. The secular and destructive system of education that prevails so largely in India, fails to supply any new principle of good; and the Government has, in recent years, become alarmed at the growing want of reverence and obedience in its schools and colleges. Old restraints and religious sanctions are gone, and there are new dangers ahead. Drifting from the old moorings, without rudder or chart to steer by, many make early shipwreck of their souls. There is the intellectual rock of rationalism or agnosticism, and the moral rocks of unchastity and intemperance, on which it is to be feared an increasing number of young lives are driven. Losing faith in the Hindu marvels, and observing that many scientific minds of the West have rejected traditional Christianity, many incline to disbelieve in any revelation beyond that afforded by Nature, and to condemn all miraculous religions as inventions of designing priestcraft.

'One of the commonest complaints of the day is the weakness of the native ministry—the lack of highly educated and forceful men. The efficiency of natives in the past has been, the late Bishop Caldwell stated, "in exact proportion to their education and attainments." And if we are to get a supply of such men, we must look, in the main, to the educated classes. The leaders of Hindu

religious movements, such as the Brahmo Samaj, the men who have exercised power over their countrymen, have come from these classes: and thoroughly transformed in nature, sanctified through and through by the spirit of Christ, they must furnish the Indian Church with the best trained ministers, the skilled evangelists, the professors of theological schools, and the writers of its Christian literature. If we are to touch Hinduism proper, we must have men of native genius and temperament, of Eastern fervour and individuality, who, acquainted with Indian religious thought and life, shall sympathetically approach Hindu minds; men who shall not transplant English or American or German Christianity, and present a Christ, as Chandra Sen used to say, "in hat and boots," but who shall sow the seed of the Kingdom, and let it grow; who, nurtured on the various learnings of the East and the West, shall interpret the practical West to the philosophic East, and show that the religion of Christ is in accord with the best sentiments of India's best minds[1]. . . .

'The attitude of educated Hindus towards their own religion and towards Christianity depends very largely on the influences in which they have been brought up, and on the localities where they have been trained. The difference between those who have received a purely secular education and those who have had the advantages of earnest, thoughtful Christian teaching is frequently very marked. Even in those more advanced in life, who attended a mission school far back in their earlier years, the Gospel appeal often meets with a sensitive response.

'Brahmoism has, I believe, been wellnigh stationary since the death of Chandra Sen. In the south, at any rate, it is nowhere conspicuous. But the worthy elements of Brahmoism—prayer, repentance, moral struggle, self-effacing consecration to God, active philanthropy, and radical, social, and domestic reforms—are essentially Christian, and can flourish only in genuine Christian soil.

[1] On this subject generally see *Hindu Pastors*, by J. Ross Murray, M.A., formerly scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

In the meantime, Brahmoism is being overshadowed by the Aryan Revival.

'Set on foot by the Arya Samaj of North India, and fanned by that pride of nationality which has been stirring in the country, and by the zeal and propaganda of the Theosophical Society which extols the past glories of the East; above all, put upon its mettle by the advancing power of Christianity, this Indian renaissance or revival, not so much of religion as of philosophy, maintains that, in its purified form, Hinduism is well able to hold its own against every other form of faith. It has, without doubt, checked for a time the extension of the Christian Church, having come, in many cases, between Christ and the awakened conscience of the Hindus. Briefly described, it opposes Indian theism—the supposed monotheism of the Vedas—to what is called foreign theism, and thus enlists on its side the patriotic preference for Indian literature and thought.

'This development, which will naturally attract many of the best minds, has been sympathetically watched by Christian missionaries, and can be wisely guided only under the impulse of that larger, brighter, healthier thought now happily prevailing in the best theology of the day; though the final struggle in India will not be between Christianity and a purified Hinduism, but between Christ and unbelief. We may rest assured of two things: first, that only a simple and broad presentation of Christianity, appealing to rational intuitions, attaching less importance to dogma and far more to life, and in touch with all true social and political aspirations, will be accepted by progressive India; and, secondly, that Christianity will never become a national power as long as the people feel that it is prejudicial to their native customs and habits of life; that it denationalizes those who accept it, and so withdraws from them a large body of their countrymen.

'With these provisos, the outlook at the end of the nineteenth century, though perplexing and disheartening, is brightened with hope. It is a time of transition. The

way is steadily clearing. Bigoted hostility, though still deep and pronounced, is nothing like what it was. The best thought of India turns not towards Hinduism but towards Christ. He, who used to be blasphemed, is now revered. There is a general admiration of His life and ministry and moral greatness, an acknowledgement that He is the crown of character, the highest product of nature, though still a holding back from Him the sceptre of divine authority.

'Until the whole social system relaxes this must continue to be our greatest obstacle. Tyrannical custom, intense conservatism, popular sentiment, hereditary prejudice—to change which is to sin—are at once the strength and weakness of Hinduism. India's great need is that awakening of conscience and religious convictions, under a sense of sin and the power of the Cross, which shall courageously and loyally suffer "the loss of all things" that it "may gain Christ and be found in Him."'

3. BELGAUM. Belgaum is a district in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, and is the only station occupied by the Society in that presidency. The district covers 4,657 square miles, and has a population of about 900,000. The town of Belgaum—a military station—contains about 23,000 people. Marathi, Hindustani, and Canarese are spoken, the last being the leading vernacular. In 1820 the commanding officer at this station, which is about 120 miles north-west of Bellary, applied to Messrs. Hands and Reeve at Bellary to send him a missionary who could work among the troops, promising his support should one be sent. This request was granted, and Mr. Joseph Taylor went. He settled at Belgaum in September, 1820, and a Christian Church was soon organized there. In 1830 the Rev. W. Beynon was transferred thither from Bellary, and acted as colleague to Taylor until the latter's retirement in 1854.

From the commencement of the mission much time was devoted to the public preaching of the Gospel in Belgaum

and Shapore and surrounding country; and to the education of the young. Chapels were built, and English, Canarese, and Tamil congregations collected. By 1858 upwards of 400 natives had been baptized, of whom more than half were adults, chiefly Tamil people, and a few Muhammadans. Of the number baptized, the proportion of Canarese people is stated to have been from thirty to thirty-five. The first Canarese converts were two Brahmans, Dhondappa and Devappa, who were exposed to great persecution, and lost considerable property. They were enabled, however, to remain steadfast, and died in the faith of Christ at a good old age.

About the year 1830 Messrs. Taylor and Beynon extended their labours to Dharwar, where they were invited to establish a permanent mission, but were unable to comply. The station was subsequently occupied by the missionaries of the Basel Society. For many years Mr. Beynon was in the habit of attending the great festival of Yellamma, at which, among other odious rites practised, was that of visiting the shrine in a state of perfect nudity. By Mr. Beynon's exertions in memorializing the Government, this obnoxious practice, and also that of hook-swinging, was prohibited.

Mr. Taylor continued in active service until about 1857, and he died at Bombay in 1859. Mr. Beynon retired in 1870, after forty-five years' uninterrupted service, during which he had never revisited England. After a visit to England he returned to Belgaum in 1871, where he died in 1878. On the occasion of his retirement the address presented to him by the native community not only sums up his long life of quiet unobtrusive labour, but it also sketches the first half century of the Society's Christian work in Belgaum :—

'You have been to us a friend in need and a faithful counsellor in our difficulties. Your connection with the Belgaum Mission English school will be held in perpetual remembrance. This school has the great credit of being the first English school in Belgaum ; there was no Government school here until twenty years later. It has

supplied the various branches of the public service with competent young men; and to this day they are holding responsible posts in the revenue, judicial, engineer, postal, educational, and other departments. You and your late lamented colleague, the Rev. J. Taylor, have been the first to open vernacular schools for boys and girls in this place. Hundreds of children, who would have been otherwise the source of misery to their parents and of mischief to the public, have been thus brought under restraint and regularity, and fitted for higher branches of learning. Female education in this part of the country owes its origin to you.

'Those of us who have embraced the faith which you came to preach to our countrymen, beg leave to say a few words on the work of your mission. God has blessed your joint labours in the conversion of many souls. You have been permitted to see the fruit of your labours. You have not only sown the seed, but in some measure gathered the fruit. The tender plant of a native Church (both Canarese and Tamil) in Belgaum has taken root in the soil. The evidence of its life is seen in the organization of three churches and a regularly ordained native ministry to maintain the ordinances of religion.

'In the multiplicity of your duties as a teacher of the young and a preacher of the Gospel, you have not been wholly unmindful of literary labours. You were the first to translate into Canarese the first part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and some tracts which are still in circulation.

'We cannot close this humble address without paying a tribute of respect and gratitude to Mrs. Beynon, who has been indeed a helpmeet to you. She has always taken an active part in the work of the mission, and we gratefully remember her labours in the Sunday-school, and in the visitation of our families.'

In January, 1867, Mr. James Smith reached Belgaum, and in 1871 Mr. J. G. Hawker. From that time till 1895 these two were in charge of the mission. In 1886 J. W. Roberts was appointed for evangelistic work, but his health

failed after only two or three years' service. The Decennial Report, 1891, thus summed up the later condition of the mission.

'The care of the churches has, of course, occupied much time and attention. Schools have been carefully fostered, and in nearly all cases have shown a tendency to grow. The High School has been markedly successful. In 1881 it had 337 pupils; in 1890 it contained 433. In 1881 it passed five matriculates; in 1890 it passed thirty-one in Matriculation and University Final School examinations, which are of about equal difficulty. In 1881 the fees amounted to 867 rupees; in 1890 to 5,281 rupees. In the vernacular boys' and girls' schools and in the Sunday-schools there had been a noticeable increase.

'In evangelistic work the decade has been marked by a successful effort to carry the Gospel to every Canarese-speaking town, village, and hamlet within the bounds of the district. In accomplishing this purpose about 5,500 square miles were traversed (many of them again and again), 1,300 different towns and villages visited, and about a million of population touched. Accompanying and supplementing the efforts of the preacher have been those of the colporteur. Throughout the whole district two, and sometimes more, colporteurs have been persistently soliciting attention to their books, and have succeeded in leaving among non-Christian people 35,081 Scriptures and 23,735 tracts, receiving from them 1,130 rupees in payment.

'Knowledge has increased, desires have been excited, opinions have been affected; but only fifteen have been baptized from heathenism, and scarcely any of these as the result of direct effort. But the Kingdom of God is of such a nature that it comes not with observation, and while gathering few out of Hinduism into professed connection with the Christian Church, we have seen, with much joy, many indications of the Spirit's presence and working in the hearers of His Word.

'The English services conducted on Sundays and Thursdays for the soldiers have been well attended, and

have been greatly blessed. The native churches in Belgaum and Shapore make very slow progress, partly because the "offence of the cross" is still very great among the Hindu people of these towns, but partly also, it is to be feared, because the Christians themselves have very imperfectly learned of Christ, and exhibit a painful amount of weakness. Evangelistic meetings are carried on regularly in both places, and a considerable number of persons have come to hear the Gospel, some becoming frequent and interested listeners.'

In 1892 the Rev. Thomas Haines was transferred from Bellary to Belgaum, to act as the colleague of Mr. Hawker and Mr. Smith.

III. Telugu Missions. The Telugu language, the 'Italian of the East,' is spoken by about 20,000,000 Hindus who live along the lower basins of the Kistna and the Godaveri rivers. The mission-work among these people has been carried on at four centres: Vizagapatam, Bellary, Cuddapah, and Nundial.

1. Vizagapatam and Vizianagram. The early history of this station is given in Chapter III. The fact that twenty-seven years passed from the arrival of Cran before a single native convert was won illustrates the hardness of the work and the difficulty of many of these fields. Mr. Pritchett died in 1824, Mr. Gordon in 1828, and Mr. Dawson in 1832. For three years the station was without a missionary, but in 1835 the Rev. J. W. Gordon, son of the former missionary, took up the work. Considerable educational work had been done, and Mr. Gordon had a good knowledge of the vernacular. Under his care the firstfruits of the mission—two or three native women—were gathered into the church. In the same year the Rev. E. Porter joined the mission, and in 1836 a chapel, holding 300 people, was built. In 1837 there were four native communicants, and in 1841 fourteen. In 1840 the

Rev. John Hay joined the mission, and gave himself largely to educational work, Mr. Porter having great gifts as an evangelist. In 1844 the latter was sent to Cuddapah. In 1843 Mr. Gordon returned to India, after an absence, due to illness, of nearly three years.

About the year 1844 the Directors determined to abolish the small vernacular schools, taught by untrained teachers, who were found to exert over their pupils an influence sadly at variance with the main object of their appointment; and in place of them, to devote all the available strength and funds at the disposal of the mission to one Anglo-vernacular school of a higher order. But in those days, except in the presidential towns, very little inducement was held out to the natives to accept such instruction as was then offered to them. Education was then, as indeed it mainly is now, a mere marketable commodity, and the supply was equal to the demand. This was the first Anglo-vernacular school in the Madras Presidency.

For many years a printing press was maintained in Vizagapatam, and the Telugu Scriptures, books, and tracts sent out from it circulated wherever Telugu is spoken—from Madras to Ganjam.

In 1847 Pulipaka Jagannadham, who in the Anglo-vernacular school for the first time heard idolatry denounced as sinful, avowed his belief in Jesus Christ as the only Saviour. His conversion roused such a storm of opposition, that the magistrate in charge of the station felt it necessary to call for a large military escort to protect him on his way to the mission house. Mr. Jagannadham was ordained in 1857, and appointed to succeed the Rev. L. Valett in charge of the mission at Chicacole.

In 1853, a day school for caste girls was begun by Mrs. Hay, in which there were at one time as many as 100 children under instruction. The average attendance was about sixty. They were taught the elements of general knowledge, and the truths of the Gospel; and were also instructed in those branches of female industry that might be useful to them in future life.

In 1855 the Rev. John S. Wardlaw, M.A., was transferred from Bellary to this mission, for the purpose of more efficient co-operation with Mr. Hay in the preparation of a new and more accurate translation of the sacred Scriptures into Telugu, but was obliged by failure of health to return to England in 1858. Mr. Hay was also sent home in 1860; and at that time the Anglo-vernacular school was broken up, and Mr. Gordon was left in sole charge of the station.

Caste feeling is very strong and firmly maintained in Vizagapatam. The natives as they become acquainted with Christianity recognize that it is impossible to retain caste and yet to be a Christian. This was long a great obstacle in the way of those who wished to enter the mission school, in which all caste distinctions were ignored; but in later years the Brahman and the Pariah have been seen in close fellowship, aiding each other in the preparation of their tasks. Neither here nor elsewhere would it be fair to claim for direct Christian teaching all that has been done to undermine and abolish Hinduism. The public administration of justice in the courts; the abolition of rites once deemed holy, but which the most bigoted Brahman would now blush to acknowledge as having ever belonged to the religion of his fathers; the waning power of the Brahman as the Súdra rises to positions of influence; the absence of all respect, often amounting to positive disrespect, shown to caste in Government offices and schools; the mental activity called forth in the pursuit of secular wealth and position; the withdrawal of Government patronage from the temples and temple-worship;—all these have done their part in undermining the faith of the people, and preparing them for a great religious revolution.

About the middle of 1863 Mr. and Mrs. Hay returned to the station, and in February, 1867, the Rev. Henry De Vere Gookey came out, appointed to reopen the Anglo-vernacular school, which he did in the beginning of 1868. Notwithstanding the existence of a native High School, where the reading of the Bible was forbidden, and

which in a very marked degree was under the patronage of Government officials, as soon as the old mission school was reopened there was a rush into it, plainly indicative of the important fact that the reading of the Christian Scriptures is not an insuperable barrier in the way of those Hindus who seek sound education for their sons.

Mr. Jagannadham was at this time recalled from Chicacole to take charge of the native church and render assistance in the restored educational institution.

Severe family affliction necessitated the return of Mr. Hay to England, and the mission was then, 1869, left in the hands of Messrs. Gordon, Gookey, and Jagannadham at Vizagapatam, and Mr. Thompson at Chicacole. With such a body of workmen, the prospects of the mission might be regarded as favourable; but they were soon beclouded. In 1871 Mr. Dawson was absent, on the Nilgiris, dangerously ill; Mrs. Gookey died in 1872, and her husband was ordered home by his medical adviser. A brief sojourn on the hills seemed to restore his health, and before the end of the year he was able to resume his place in the school and engage in other evangelistic work at the station along with Mr. Gordon; while Mr. Hay, who had returned to the station in April, 1872, devoted a large portion of his time to the work of translation and revision. But in 1875 entire prostration of health rendered it necessary for both Mr. Gookey and Mr. Dawson to leave the country. Mr. Dawson died on his way home; and Mr. Gookey was forbidden by the doctors to return to India.

The educational institution again came under the management of Mr. Hay in 1875. That year Mrs. Gordon died, and Mr. Gordon, after some forty years of faithful labour, felt constrained to retire. In 1876 Mr. E. Midwinter and Mr. H. J. Goffin were appointed to the district. The former was barely allowed to survey the field and manifest his earnest desire to be engaged in it, when he was called away; and Mr. Goffin settled at Vizianagram. In 1878 Mr. Morris Thomas reached Vizagapatam.

Although distinct stations, Vizianagram and Chicacole

must historically be regarded in connection with the Vizagapatam Mission. Chicacole was first occupied as an out-station of the mission in 1838 by Mr. William Dawson, who received ordination in 1844, and continued to labour there until 1852, when he was removed to Vizianagram, where it was thought desirable to open another branch of the Telugu Mission. Mr. C. E. Thompson, assistant missionary, was then sent to Chicacole ; but the mission gradually declined by the removal of the Christians, about forty in number, to Vizianagram and Vizagapatam. In 1857 the mission was somewhat revived under the care of the Rev. L. Valett, but in consequence of the entire failure of Mrs. Valett's health, Mr. Valett was compelled to return to Europe, and he was succeeded at Chicacole by the Rev. P. Jagannadham.

In 1881 there were four missionaries in the three stations which formed the Northern Telugu Mission of the Society. Chicacole was occupied by the Rev. M. Thomas, the Rev. H. J. Goffin was labouring in Vizianagram, and Vizagapatam was supplied with two European missionaries, the Rev. John Hay, M.A., and the Rev. James Sibree, jun., and had in addition an ordained native minister. In reality, Vizagapatam had only one European missionary, for the Rev. J. Sibree had returned to England and then resumed his work in Madagascar.

Chicacole lost its missionary in 1882, when Mr. Thomas was transferred to Vizagapatam. It was worked for some time as an out-station of the Vizianagram Mission, but was in 1883 handed over to the Baptist Missionary Society. Vizianagram remained a centre of the Society's work until 1889, and was then with great reluctance given up, and the two missionaries who were occupying it were transferred to the district of Cuddapah. Vizagapatam alone remained, and it gave evidence of such vigorous rejuvenescence and progress that withdrawal ceased to be a possible contingency.

The Rev. John Hay retired, after a long and influential career of service, in June, 1882, and the Rev. Morris Thomas took charge of the mission in 1882. He was

joined at the end of that year by the Rev. G. H. Macfarlane. After a few months, however, Mr. Macfarlane was transferred to Vizianagram to take the place of the Rev. H. J. Goffin, who was compelled to return to England on furlough. In 1883 the Rev. E. Le Mare joined the mission, and worked in connection with it until the end of 1886, when he resigned and returned to England. Then Mr. Thomas was left alone until the end of 1888, when the Rev. John Knox was sent out. Mr. Thomas died, after twenty years' service, in 1898.

Fortunately, Vizagapatam has been exceptionally well off in the quality of its native workers, so that it has been easier than in some other stations to keep up the continuity of work. When Dr. Hay retired from the mission the chief feature in the work was the mission High School, which had under his very able management become an important educational centre, and had also been the means of modifying to a considerable extent the hostility to Christianity which had been formerly strongly marked in the town. Since the resignation of Mr. Le Mare the school has been under the care of the able Christian head master, Mr. D. Lazarus, B.A. The local European missionary exercises only a general control over the finances and management. In 1881 the school had 251 scholars on its roll, who paid fees to the amount of 2,611 rupees; in 1890 the number of scholars was 387, and the fees received amounted to 6,364 rupees.

The religious teaching in the school has been as faithfully attended to as the secular subjects. And though all but a very small percentage of the boys were heathen or Muhammadan, the Sunday-school, which was entirely voluntary, was attended during 1890, on an average, by 260 of the day scholars, no inducement being held out to encourage attendance beyond the distribution monthly of copies of a religious paper, *The Messenger of Truth.*

The native Christian church and community have also slowly but steadily grown in numbers.

Reference is made in Chapter IX to the lifelong literary and Bible translation work carried on by John Hay.

When, in 1882, he retired from the service of the Society, he returned to India to spend the remaining years of his life in labour upon his beloved Telugu Bible. On January 7, 1890, he completed fifty years of missionary service, and upon this memorable occasion thirty-three of the Society's South Indian missionaries joined in conveying to him their congratulations and their deep affection. As in the case of Benjamin Rice, his senior by a few years, he did not long survive his jubilee. At Madras, on October 28, 1891, he passed away, full of years and strong in the affection, not only of his relatives and friends and colleagues, but also in the grateful affection of many of the sons and daughters of India, to whom during his long life he had been the means in God's hand of bringing the light and liberty and joy of the Gospel. W. Robinson, of Salem, who knew him well during his later years, has placed on record a loving tribute to the beauty of his life and the greatness of the work he accomplished[1].

'Dr. John Hay was the profoundest Telugu scholar in India, and his acquaintance with other vernaculars was extensive. Sanskrit he studied, and with such marked proficiency that he could meet Hindu pundits on their own ground. A greater end was served by it, because it gave him a weapon of precision in conveying to Hindu minds an exact definition of theological terms. In one of his rare intervals of leisure he wrote an exquisite little tract, *Jesus is Mine*. This tract had a circulation of one million copies; it had all the tenderness and insight of Rutherford in his best letters; it brought light, comfort, and certitude to many a penitent but doubtful soul. Like all Dr. Hay's writings, this book was issued anonymously, and, as is the fashion in the common everyday blessings of our life, people accepted the gift and never thought about the giver. But he wanted no blare of trumpet; his purpose was to do "the quiet lightning deed, and heed not the applauding thunder which follows at its heels." I have known him nurse a sick man and be as full of gentle

[1] *Chronicle*, 1892, p. 10.

ministries as a woman. His generosity knew no limit when there was real distress to relieve, and he gave all he had to help the poor.

'His Friday evening sermons at the English chapel, Vizagapatam, were productions which would have made the reputation of a minister at home. Full of ripe scholarship and rich experience, simply and clearly told, they fertilized the souls of the people, and dropped like balm upon many a sad heart. His lessons to crowds of Hindu lads in the Sunday-school worked for righteousness.

'Looking back at the year I spent with him, the most abiding impression I have of him was his infinite capacity for work. I have known him begin his translation work at 3 a.m and keep at it till 3 p.m., with intervals for food; then teach two hours in the High School; preach if it was service night, and if it was not visit the poor and sick; get home at 7 30, have his evening meal, and work until bedtime. This was not a mere spurt of work, it was the habit of his life, kept up almost till the last. No Jesuit ascetic was more abstemious than Mr. Hay. From first to last he was a total abstainer from alcoholic stimulants, and his food was of the plainest kind. It was a wonder how he managed to do the work he did on so little food. Throughout his life he kept the thin, spare, erect frame he had when he came to the country. Looking at his well-poised head, his clear-cut face, and his lofty, dome-like forehead, you felt the presence of an old warrior-saint, such an one as Paul the aged, whom no opposition could daunt and whose indomitableness no obstacle could conquer.

'In the Telugu country his name is graven deep on the hearts of the people. They know how prompt he was to help, how tender and yet faithful to rebuke, how gently he would lead back the wanderer. Most of all, how he would cherish the lambs of Christ's flock. Among the apostles of India there has arisen none greater than John Hay.'

2. CUDDAPAH. This is another large district of the Madras Presidency, lying to the north-west of Madras.

It contains 8,745 square miles, and has a population of 1,125,000. The taluk and the town also bear the same name, the town containing about 20,000 people.

In 1822 the Rev. J. Hands, of the Bellary Mission, began work in Cuddapah by preaching and establishing vernacular schools. The Rev. W. Howell, who was appointed to labour in Cuddapah, was ordained at Madras in 1824. With the aid of G. J. Waters, Esq., Zillah Judge, and a few other friends, a mission house and a small chapel were finished in 1825, and in the same year a Christian fellowship was formed. A small number of people from the poorer classes became Christians; employment was found for them, houses for their accommodation were built near the chapel, and a school was established for their children.

For several years preaching was regularly carried on in and around Cuddapah; Scripture readers and colporteurs were employed, and schools opened in several villages. Occasionally baptisms took place, as that of Veerappa, a Brahman convert, in 1831; Venkappa, a Súdra farmer, and nine other adults of the Súdra class through the influence of Venkappa; and others of less prominence.

Mr. Hands frequently spent some weeks of the cold season in visiting the larger towns of the Cuddapah Zillah. In 1838 Mr. Dawson joined the mission, but was obliged to leave very soon on account of ill health. About this time the first out-station was commenced. The prisoners in the gaol were often visited by the missionary, and a man of the Mala caste[1] from Rudrawaram embraced the truth. On being released from prison he returned to his native village, and told his friends and neighbours what he had heard in Cuddapah. This led, in the course of a few years, to several families in that village and others in the neighbourhood renouncing idolatry and becoming Christians. In this way the work commenced amongst the

[1] In the Cuddapah district the Malas are equivalent to the Pariahs of the Tamil districts.

Malas in this and the adjoining district which has so largely extended in later years.

In the year 1842 Mr. Howell left the mission and joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. After his departure the work was left in the charge of a native catechist, but was superintended by missionaries at Bellary and Madras. Mr. Johnston and Mr. Gordon each took the oversight of the mission for a brief period. The Rev. E. Porter was appointed resident missionary at Cuddapah in 1844, but his first stay was not long, and the care of the mission again devolved on the Rev. J. Shrieves, of Bellary, who remained till January, 1849, when he was relieved by the return of Mr. Porter.

In the year 1851 many Malas living in villages to the north and north-west of Cuddapah expressed their readiness to renounce idol-worship, and to place themselves and their children under Christian instruction. The first village in which this movement took place was Paidala, forty miles north-west of Cuddapah, where twenty families relinquished idolatry. After eighteen months of instruction forty of these inquirers were, at their earnest solicitation, baptized. In 1852 the spirit of inquiry spread to the Malas of other villages, and at the end of the year fifty persons were baptized in Abdulapuram. In 1853 a few Malas residing in the villages of Polur and Jutur, near Nundial, in the Kurnool Zillah, came to Cuddapah, and whilst there were instructed in Christianity. Two of their headmen were baptized; and after they returned to their villages, upwards of a hundred Malas from those and the neighbouring villages placed themselves under Christian instruction.

From the beginning of 1858 to 1860 the chief points of interest in the mission were—the application made from different Mala villages to be enrolled as Christians, and their desire for Christian teachers to be sent to them. A few had apostatized at Dhur; and great opposition had been shown to Christians by Súdras and Brahmans. The report for 1858 says: 'Through their influence two of our Christian schoolmasters were shamefully beaten, and

the schools in consequence suffered severely for a time. Five of the principal offenders were apprehended, and after being tried and convicted were punished by the magistrate of the district. Four were imprisoned and one heavily fined. This had a most salutary effect on the enemies of Christianity in the neighbourhood of our out-station, so that the children have again returned to our schools, and the congregations are more numerous than before.'

From 1860 to 1862, during which time Mr. Porter was in England, Mr. Johnston removed to Cuddapah, from which station he superintended both the Cuddapah and Nundial missions. When Mr. Porter again returned to his work, he had as his colleague the Rev. A. Thomson, who died after being in the country eight months.

During the year 1864 seventy-three persons, of whom forty-one were adults, were baptized. The manner in which the Gospel sometimes spreads is shown in the following instance, adduced by Mr. Porter in his report: 'The people of Velavely, a village about two miles from Dhur, have been under Christian instruction for five years past, so that it cannot be said that they have embraced the Christian religion in haste. The first seed of divine truth sown in this village was a tract, which was left by our former catechist in the hands of a Súdra weaver, and another tract left in the hands of a smith. These both read the tracts carefully, and by these means were convinced of the folly of heathenism. They also read them to the people of the village. The new inquirers also heard the substance of these tracts, and were convinced of the folly of their superstitions. They then went to Dhur and asked for a teacher, and from him obtained further instruction. After this, one of the elders came forward and said, "Come, let us pull down our dumb idol, which we have served in vain for so many years, and embrace the new religion, which shows our sins and the goodness of God in sending a Saviour, who came and gave up His life for sinners." On hearing this, the people all agreed to pull down their stony god, which they had long served and it now forms part of the wall of the

new school-room. On Monday, November 21, they came to Dhur chapel, adults and children, *forty* in number, to be received into the church by baptism.'

On December 19, 1864, Mr. Joseph Mason was ordained as the first native pastor of the church at Cuddapah. In the latter part of 1864 the Rev. W. G. Mawbey and the Rev. D. Meadowcroft arrived in India, both for the Cuddapah Mission. Mr. Meadowcroft was detained in Madras for English work; and Mr. Mawbey took up his work in Cuddapah in the beginning of 1865, from which time he shared the various duties of the mission with Mr. Porter. In 1867 Mr. Mawbey removed to Madras to take charge of the congregation at Davidson Street, and Mr. Porter worked alone. This year a great change was made in the out-stations. Whilst at the close of 1866 *twenty-three* out-stations were mentioned, at the end of this year only *twelve* are reported, although an increase appears in the number of native adherents. Up to this time any village where Christians resided was denominated an out-station, but from 1867 only those where a teacher or schoolmaster is located have been so described.

In the beginning of 1868 Mr. Moses Williams was ordained in Cuddapah, and appointed to take charge of the church in Venturla. Mr. Porter retired from Cuddapah and from mission-work, having been thirty-three years in the field, twenty-three of which were spent in Cuddapah. Mr. Mawbey returned from Madras to superintend the district, and set himself heartily to work amongst the village congregations, leaving the church in the town in the charge of the native pastor. The out-stations were decreased to ten, and each station was required to subscribe for the support of its teacher. It was felt important to have a good number of young men under training as village schoolmasters, who might, in addition to their teaching, be able to conduct Christian worship amongst the adult members of the congregations. Some of the most promising lads were, from time to time, chosen out of the village schools and brought into Cuddapah, where they received

a more or less systematic course of instruction in the vernacular to fit them for this work.

Public preaching by the missionary and native evangelists continued to be carried on with great vigour far and near; the congregations were large and very attentive in the villages; there were many signs of an awakening interest in Christianity amongst the Mala population; and we find at the close of 1870 that there were again *twenty-three* out-stations, and a very considerable increase in the number of adherents. The efforts put forth by the native Christians themselves, in spreading Christian truth amongst their friends and neighbours, became more earnest and gratifying. The result was that one village after another came forward desiring to give up their idol-worship and receive Christian teaching: in 1871 *twelve* new out-stations were added to the list, and at the close of the year *fifteen* village teachers besides evangelists were employed

In 1872 there were still larger accessions; but 'as the people came over in promiscuous groups from the lower classes, it was thought advisable not to admit them to the ordinance of baptism without previous systematic instruction, and a fair trial of their steadfastness. This delay in baptizing adherents will account for the small number of baptized persons compared with the number of catechumens. A still greater inequality existed between the number baptized and those received as communicants, which arose from the reluctance of the missionary to receive into church fellowship any, unless there was good reason to believe that they were the subjects of Divine grace'

In 1873 twelve hundred additions to the number of adherents were reported, and Mr. Mawbey was put to great straits to provide teachers to instruct them. Much attention was given this and the following year to the improvement of the village schools. This was not without good effect, as may be learned from the fact that grants from Government, under the system of payment for results, were given to fifteen schools in 1874.

The year 1875 was one of great trial through the

prevalence of cholera in the district. Many Christians, as well as heathen, died; but Mr. Mawbey reported: 'I have known of two cases only in which, in the midst of this general time of trouble, there have been any drawings back towards heathen worship and ceremonies.' In November of this year, the Rev. J. R. Bacon arrived from England to join the mission. The statistics for the year show that at its close there were eighty out-stations; thirty-one native teachers; 147 Church members; 1,386 baptized persons; 3,925 adherents; and twenty-seven boys' schools, with 419 scholars. With the exception of Travancore no field in India could show such striking results.

In the month of August, 1876, Mr. Mawbey left Cuddapah for a period of furlough to England. It was expected that he would return early in 1879, and it was thought that the increased knowledge of medicine and surgery which he had acquired during his visit home would have been of the greatest service to him in his work in this district; but he was appointed by the Directors as medical missionary to Hankow, China.

After Mr. Mawbey's departure the whole superintendence of the mission came upon Mr. Bacon, and that too upon the eve of the worst famine from which India has ever suffered. The famine scattered village congregations, and prevented the possibility of carrying on the usual work. In his report for 1877 Mr. Bacon writes: 'The effect of the extreme distress upon the Christians of my mission will be understood by the fact, that out of 5,168 belonging to this mission at the close of 1876, no less than 750 deaths have taken place, and 418 are missing, having left their villages for other places where they hoped to obtain food or work; they have in all probability perished on the roads, as hundreds besides have done. I have thus lost 1,168 by death and other causes. The natural consequence of the famine has been to stop much of the ordinary work.' In 1878 prospects began to brighten; many of the village schools that had been discontinued were recommenced; more teachers were sent out from the training

class in Cuddapah to work in the district; and most hopeful signs appeared of an opening amongst the caste people, many of whom applied for schools to be established amongst them, and showed that they were interested in the teaching of Christianity.

The orphan school for boys and girls has for many years formed an important part of the work in Cuddapah; and the wives of successive missionaries have worked hard, and taken much pains to make it efficient in itself, and useful to the whole mission. At the opening of the year 1878 the boys' school-house was quite destroyed by fire. The portion of the building occupied by the girls was pulled down, as it was thought well to rebuild the whole. In the report for 1878 Mrs. Bacon writes: 'Instead of the old building there now stands a most spacious and substantial orphanage. It was planned, built, and inhabited in nine months and four days from the burning of the old.'

Mr. Bacon was reinforced by the appointment, in 1884, of Mr. W. H. Campbell, M.A., B.D., and, in 1889, of Mr. G. H. Macfarlane. The Decennial Report for 1890 gave a very hopeful account of progress and prospects, although here, as in other parts, the harvest is plenteous but the labourers are too few.

'The district still includes an area of 6,500 square miles, and such are the conditions of the work that no appreciable relief seems to have been afforded to the workers by the changes made. Of the five taluks which form the mission district of Cuddapah, only two—those of Jammulamadugu and Prodatur—are systematically worked. The others are visited for evangelistic purposes every year, and in one of them—the Sidhout taluk—a native evangelist has been labouring for some years past. But the people have not yet been encouraged to put themselves under regular instruction, because there are not teachers to supply their needs. The spirit of hearing and the desire to be brought under Christian instruction has continued as marked as ever throughout the whole of the wide field of this mission, and the influence of Christianity among the Súdras seems

now to be quite as strong and general as it has been among the Malas. "Our work amongst the Sudras promises to exceed that amongst the Malas. It is now passing from the stage of individual movement to that in which whole communities come under the influence of the Gospel. In 1890, for the first time in the history of our mission, we received a body of Sudras as adherents. In June, ten families of farmers and weavers came to us asking for a teacher; they brought with them, and this pleased us very much, the Malas of their village, and with them entered into an agreement to give up idolatry, receive instruction, and submit to discipline. Within the year seven of their number have received baptism. We have sent a teacher to their village, and we have good hope that the movement will spread."

'Mr. Campbell and Mr. Macfarlane have devoted themselves unweariedly to the work of itineration, directing and encouraging the teachers and evangelists, instructing the village congregations, and preaching to the heathen. There were in 1890 forty-three village teachers at work, but six congregations were still without regular instruction. At least twenty village communities, which had received partial instruction, *have gone back to heathendom within recent years, because there were no teachers for them.* The importance of the Training Institution, which has been established for the benefit of the Telugu Missions as a whole, and which has hitherto been situated at Cuddapah, is thus becoming *vital* to the continued success of the missions. During 1890 forty students were under the care of the Rev. J. R. Bacon, of whom eight completed their three years' term of training during the year, and found work to do at once. Fever prevailed among the students very seriously during the first three months, and was followed by an epidemic of influenza, which stopped all work for a time. In consequence of this, the Directors decided to remove the institution to Gooty, which is a much healthier station than Cuddapah, and more central for all the Telugu Missions. Accommodation is to be made

for a greatly increased number of students. By this means it is hoped that the pressing needs of this deeply interesting district may be more adequately supplied.

'From 1880 to 1890 a great growth took place in the number of native agents, and also in the Christian congregations and baptized Christian community. In 1890 there were sixty native agents at work, and 1,346 church members, as against 138 in 1881. The baptized Christian community increased by over 1,000, being in 1890 2,825, and the unbaptized adherents were limited only by the caution of the missionaries, who would not encourage people to come over to Christianity until they had some means of instructing them. The only part of the work in which there has been retrogression has been education. The quality of the instruction in the village schools has not improved, and the numbers under instruction have not increased. This is a very serious shortcoming, in view of the fact that the mission schools are the only means by which the villagers can obtain instruction, and until they learn to read the Scriptures their Christianity cannot fail to be exceedingly weak and unsatisfactory. The chief, if not the only, cause of this shortcoming is that "the extreme paucity of agents available for evangelistic work has compelled us to denude our schools of every man of even moderate ability in order to maintain our preaching staff."

'We rejoice to be able to record a steadily increasing work amongst the Sudras. During the past five years 149 have been received to baptism. This we regard as the most important feature of our work in the period now closed.'

'The chief drawback to the otherwise cheering state of this mission is that converts do not make the advance in Bible knowledge and spiritual life that we desire to see in them. There are several reasons for this fact. One is doubtless the extreme poverty of so many of them. Another is that during all the history of the Mission, until last year, the European staff has been so small that the personal intercourse and supervision required to develop

Christian character in our converts have not been possible. Further, the men whom alone we were able to place in charge of them to teach them were but imperfectly instructed themselves, and these men were frequently drawn away to strengthen the evangelistic staff. These Christian congregations need the time of two European missionaries to be devoted to them entirely. With a proper number of well-trained teachers to aid them in teaching the converts, two missionaries could have this work well in hand, while the other European missionaries were engaged in evangelizing in the less forward parts of the field.'

In 1891 a vigorous effort was made to reinforce the Cuddapah Mission. The Rev. J. M. Ure and Mr. T. V. Campbell, M.A., M.B., were sent out. To the latter was entrusted the work of establishing a Medical Mission at Jammulamaduqu. In the same year a new station was opened at Kadiri, and placed under the care of the Rev. H. J. Goffin. In 1893 two lady missionaries, Miss Darnton and Miss Simmons, were appointed to Cuddapah.

The Cuddapah Mission is the field in the whole of South India most ripe for a great Christian harvest, were but the faith and zeal and liberality of the church equal to the great opportunity. Thousands are ready and waiting to receive the Word of Life, could only suitable teachers be sent. It should be one of the main duties of the Society during the second century of its history to see that this rich and fruitful harvest is duly gathered in.

3. NUNDIAL, GOOTY, AND ANANTAPUR. The Nundial branch of the Telugu Mission was due to extension of work in the Cuddapah district in 1853.

Nundial is a large town, in the taluk of the same name, situated in the Kurnool district, and distant eighty miles from the town of Cuddapah. When Mr. Johnston settled there in 1855, there were *three* villages in the immediate neighbourhood, where 246 adherents lived, of whom, however, only a few were baptized. Two schools were at once established, into which thirty-four scholars were received,

and after a short time a boarding school was opened. During the first ten years of work, there was steady onward progress; the out-stations increased from three to seven, and, but for the lack of suitable native teachers, at least three others would have been taken up; the schools increased to *eight*, with an attendance of 156 scholars. The number of adherents also increased from 266 to 450, and the communicants from seven to twenty-two. A native evangelist with a Scripture reader was placed in Kurnool in 1864, and it was hoped that Kurnool would be permanently occupied as an out-station.

In 1870 Mr. Johnston went to England on furlough. During his absence Mr. Mawbey paid several visits to Nundial and the out-stations, and exercised general supervision; but Mrs. Johnston, who remained in Nundial, superintended much of the ordinary work, with the help of the native pastor from Ventúrla. The Report for 1872 shows a considerable increase. In it Mr. Johnston writes: 'At the beginning of the year the total number of persons connected with the Mission, baptized and unbaptized, was 729; at the close of the same the roll exhibited an aggregate of 1,590; of these 712 were baptized persons, and 878 adherents, who had placed themselves under Christian instruction, preparatory to baptism.' It was found impossible to provide these new adherents with regular and constant instruction. As in Cuddapah, so here there was great need of a staff of trained Christian young men for village teachers.

The Malas have frequently to encounter opposition from caste people when it is known they wish to become Christians. Mr. Johnston says: 'This spirit of antagonism on the part of the Sudras and others does not, I am inclined to think, arise so much from their feeling any concern whether the Malas become Christians or not, as from their dislike to seeing them raised to a better position than they had before, their children educated and capacitated for other employment than what fell to their lot heretofore.'

At the end of 1875 Mr. Johnston reported: 'While our statistics thus exhibit a large numerical increase, it would not be safe to infer, simply from that fact, that genuine spiritual results have been produced to the same extent; or, to speak more plainly, that all our adherents are Christians in the true sense of the word. There are no doubt some among them who, to the best of our belief, have been actuated by no other than right and spiritual motives in coming over to Christianity.'

The Rev. W. W. Stephenson arrived from England and joined the mission early in 1877. During that year many of the Christians in the district suffered extremely from the famine, and from various forms of sickness; and the numbers were very considerably reduced. In 1878 Mr. Johnston left India for England, after *forty* years of mission labour, nearly *twenty-four* of which were spent in this district.

In 1881 the mission was removed to Gooty, and has since been carried on there by Mr. Stephenson, and for a short time by Mr. Dignum as his colleague, appointed in 1882. In 1895 Mr. Ure was transferred there from Cuddapah. The work is on exactly similar lines to those followed in the Cuddapah district. In 1890 Mr. Stephenson reported:—

'The reason for there being no practical increase in the number of congregations I have stated more than once. It is simply owing to my unwillingness to take on additional congregations while we have not the means of teaching those already in our charge and nominally under instruction. Under these circumstances, to profess to take on more and instruct them would be a mere pretence. Many who have come forward desiring instruction have gone back because we could not place a teacher in their midst. We can add congregations almost indefinitely so soon as we can give teachers.' This is, and has been for years, the weak point of the Society's Telugu Mission, and arrangements have been made to remedy it as far as possible.

In 1895, during the absence of Mr. Bacon, the Training

Institution was under the care of the Rev. F. L. Marler, who was appointed to Gooty in 1889. As Christian work consolidates more and more in the Cuddapah district this Institution grows in importance. It is satisfactory to note that the level of native catechist sent out has been steadily rising.

4. ANANTAPUR. In 1890 a new station was opened at Anantapur. This station is intended to connect Gooty on the north with Bangalore on the south. Mr. and Mrs. Hinkley have made a very hopeful and prosperous beginning there.

IV. THE GUJERATI MISSION. Reference has been made on page 39 to the projection and the founding of the mission at Surat. This large town is in the Bombay Presidency, about 100 miles north of Bombay, on the west coast of India. Though among the earliest missions planned, it was not actually begun until 1815, when Mr. William Fyvie and Mr. James Skinner established the mission. Mr. Skinner died in 1821, but Mr. Fyvie's term of service was coextensive with the Society's connection with Surat. He was joined in 1822 by his brother, Mr. Alexander Fyvie, who died at Surat in 1840. Mr. Thomas Salmon, who went out as a printer in 1825, and became a full missionary in 1831, laboured there until the end of 1832, when he returned to England. Mr. W. Flower and Mr. W. Clarkson both joined the mission in 1839.

Preaching and educational work were actively carried on, and a great deal of time and attention devoted to the mission press. Mainly by the labours of Mr. Fyvie the Scriptures were translated into Gujerati.

The Surat Mission was isolated from all the other Indian centres of work occupied by the Society, and partly on this account was, in the year 1847, transferred to the care of the Irish Presbyterian Church Mission. Mr. W.

Fyvie, after thirty-two years of diligent and effective labour, retired from active work when the transference was complete.

The only other station occupied in the Gujerati country was Baroda, about 100 miles north of Surat. This station was begun in 1844 by Messrs. Clarkson and Flower. But the latter, who retired in 1846, died in 1847 ; and in 1847 Clarkson removed the mission to Dhevan, on the Mahi River, later known as Mahi Kantha. Mr. J. V. S. Taylor, son of the veteran Belgaum missionary, reached Baroda in 1846, and removed with Clarkson to Mahi Kantha. Clarkson retired in 1854, the mission was transferred to the Irish Presbyterian Missionary Society in 1858, and in 1859 Mr. Taylor became a missionary of that Society. In this way the Society's connection with Gujerati came to an end.

V. Tamil and Malayalim Missions in Travancore. The remarkable early history of this mission has been narrated in Chapter III. The later history is both instructive and suggestive, and deserves the careful consideration of all students of Christian missions. In numbers of adherents, native churches, native workers, and assistants it has been the most successful field, with the exception of Madagascar, hitherto occupied by the Society. At the same time it must be borne in mind that Christianity has, throughout the century, exercised comparatively feeble influence on the one hand in modifying the heathenism and caste tyranny of the Government, and on the other in winning the adherence and self-denial of members of the higher castes. That is, until quite towards the close of the century the adherence of large numbers of Shánars and Pariahs to Christianity has left practically untouched the currents of life in Travancore, which most directly and powerfully affect public opinion and Government action.

In 1825 the missionaries in charge of the work at Nagercoil were Charles Mead and Charles Mault. Messrs. Ashton and Cumberland were there as assistants, and

there were twenty-seven native readers. The report for that year contains a list of nearly *fifty* out-stations, worked by the native readers under the superintendence of the missionaries.

Nagercoil was the centre of a vigorous evangelistic and educational work. The native church was large in numbers; there were several important schools for boys; and, as early as 1823, a good girls' school had been started; and this notwithstanding the fact that in no part of India has hostility to female education been more marked than in Travancore. A printing establishment had been set up, liberally aided by the Religious Tract Society of London, and from this centre large quantities of Tamil books and tracts were annually circulated throughout Travancore.

For many years Mr. and Mrs. Mault were the life and soul of the Nagercoil Mission; and much of the later success was due to the energy and consecrated skill with which they laid the foundations of organized work. The difficulties in the way of, and opposition to Christianity, common to all Indian mission-fields, were in Travancore somewhat more serious and bitter.

'Caste,' writes Mr. Mault in 1827, 'is viewed through very opposite mediums by missionaries as well as others. Some suppose that it is compatible with Christianity, and that they can exist together; while others are of opinion that the form of religion may and does exist, but that the life of religion in the soul cannot, where caste is retained. If brotherly love and humility form a part of real religion, and if it cannot exist without them, I think it is impossible to reconcile caste as compatible with the Gospel of Jesus Christ: and it affords me unspeakable pleasure to state that those whom I have reason to believe are real converts to Christianity in Travancore are of the same opinion, and have renounced it.

'For several years after our arrival in Travancore such was the opposition to female education, not only among the heathen, but likewise among those who made a profession that we could only succeed in obtaining five or six

girls, and these were from the families of persons who were dependent on the mission for a livelihood; but in this department there is a very visible improvement; we have now more than fifty females under instruction on the premises, and nearly as many attend the schools that are established in the different Christian villages.'

In another letter, dated June 10, 1829, Mr. Mault enables us to see how the Gospel spread so rapidly in this out-of-the-way corner of India, and how the numerous native churches sprang into life:—

'Agateeseram is situated twelve miles east of Nagercoil and two miles west of Cape Comorin, in the midst of an extensive forest of palmyra and cocoa-nut trees. In the year 1818 a few families in this village renounced the service of the evil spirit, which is the principal object of worship among the lower castes in this part of India, and took upon themselves the profession of Christianity. While they enjoyed tranquillity and the smiles of the world their numbers continued to increase; but this was of short continuance, for a persecution commenced by the instigation of the principal man of the village, and the consequence was many relapsed into idolatry. Such was the enmity manifested at this time to the Gospel, that the shed in which the Christians met for divine worship was burnt down, and the very name of Christian became a reproach in the place. Under these circumstances scarcely anything remained of the form of religion but the school, in which Christian instruction was imparted, till the commencement of the year 1823, when J. Clarke was appointed to this place to read the Scriptures, who, being a person of much energy and activity, a revival soon began, and a considerable congregation was raised. The school-room, where the small congregation had been accustomed to meet for public worship, became too small, in consequence of which a neat chapel was erected, principally at the expense of the people.

'At this period the Word was not published without effect, for one person named Nullatamby was truly awakened,

and led to flee for refuge to the hope set before him in the Gospel. As he has taken an active part in extending the religion of Christ, I shall make a short digression to give a little further account of him. Having experienced the Gospel to be the power of God to salvation, he was anxious to bring others to a participation of the same inestimable blessings. He commenced by telling all he knew of Christ to his neighbours, and then visited the villages in the vicinity for the same purpose; and his labours of love were not in vain. By him two converts from Mahometanism first heard that He who died on Calvary is the Saviour of the world. Through him the Gospel was introduced into the village of Sandadypathoor, where there is now a flourishing cause. His sister and her husband, belonging to the congregation at Calvilly, two humble and consistent disciples of Christ, were first led to seek for mercy through his influence.

'The outward condition of the congregation continued to prosper, and many from time to time were added to the number of the professed followers of Christ. In 1827 so great was the increase, that the chapel became too small for the regular worshippers, and it was enlarged by the industry of the congregation.'

A letter from the pen of Mrs. Mault illustrates in the first place the skill with which the early missionaries endeavoured to make their missions self-supporting, and in the second, gives a dark picture of the grievous hardships with which those whom they tried to benefit had to contend. The lace-making described in this letter has continued to the present day, and is noted all over India. The slavery, happily, came to an end in 1854. The letter is dated June 2, 1830.

'In the year 1821, to assist in defraying the expenses of the school, lace-making was introduced on a small scale, and from that time to the present, greater facilities for disposing of the lace being afforded, it has been gradually enlarging; the profits of which, together with subscriptions from England for the support of twenty-two

girls, and occasional donations realized in this country, enable us at the present time to provide board and education for sixty children.

'To be able to read well is conceived to be of great importance; no girl is therefore allowed to turn her attention to other pursuits till she can read the New Testament, when she is permitted to enter one of the working classes, if her time is not too nearly expired to admit of it. These classes consist of those who make lace, and those that learn plain needlework; the number employed at the former is twelve, and that of the latter is seven, which are kindly superintended by Mrs. Addis. As the people of this country have not yet arrived at such a state of civilized improvement as to require needlework, and as we are too remote from European stations to obtain work thence, but little can at present be done in this department beyond the wants of the school and our own families. In reference to lace-making, it may be remarked that to the proceeds of this branch the school is indebted for more than half its support; and, could a more regular supply of materials from the liberality of British Christians be calculated on, the number of workers would be immediately increased, and the school augmented in proportion.

'Many of these poor children are orphans without a friend to care for them, who, but for this asylum, would be left to perish in ignorance, vice, and wretchedness: a friendless child in this unfeeling land is an object pitiable beyond expression. Moreover, not a few of these girls are *slaves*; and it is our wish that they should, if possible, obtain their freedom while they are in the school, that, when they leave it, they may go *free*. No arguments are necessary to prove the importance of this measure, when it is stated that slavery as it exists in this kingdom is in some respects worse than that of the West Indies, inasmuch as the owner feels himself under no obligation to provide for his slaves any longer than it is convenient to employ them, hence he calls them to work during seed-time and harvest, and

then dismisses them to gain for themselves and children a scanty and uncertain pittance in the best way they can, till the returning season. As the owner takes no notice whatever of the children of his slaves, till they are old enough to work, it is easy to account for some of this unfortunate class being in the school; and some faint idea may be formed of the sensations of a poor girl, when her master appears to take her away, from the following instance. An interesting girl, apparently about eleven years of age, was discovered near our premises in a state of exhaustion through hunger. She was brought in and supplied with food, and as soon as she recovered strength, she told us she was a slave, but, owing to her master denying her sufficient for sustenance and severely flogging her, she had run away; her emaciated frame and the marks on her body abundantly confirmed her statement. It was with the greatest reluctance she informed us where her owner resided; even the mention of his name seemed to make her tremble.

'In eight or ten days a stern-looking man made his appearance, and demanded his slave. The girl, who had heard of his approach, had hid herself; but when she found she could conceal herself no longer, she came and begged in the most feeling manner, that he might not be allowed to take her away. Every effort possible was used to induce him to give her up, and a sum more than her estimated value was offered him, but in vain; he was unmoved, his iron heart had no relentings. "I want not your money, but my slave," said he, as he walked away with her. No sooner was the poor girl seen following her master to his home, than the school-girls rushed out, and with tears entreated for her release, but all was unavailable. This, my dear friends, this is the slavery from which we wish to see all delivered, that are trained up in our school.

'The plan adopted to secure the freedom of the slave scholars is to teach them in preference to others to make lace, and as soon as their earnings amount to more than their support, to allow them a small portion of their work,

to reserve for the purchase of their liberty. Eight girls have gained their freedom by industry, since they have been here, and others are labouring in prospect of soon doing so.

'The instruction that has been received here has been the means of raising two female schools in the villages near, besides the attendance of many girls in our other schools; and we hope that in time many of our scholars will find openings in their native places to impart instruction to their own sex. Experience and observation teach us not to overrate the advantages of instruction. Education may be given, and religious principles inculcated, but these alone will not change the heart, for that is the work of the Spirit of God; nevertheless we are encouraged to use the means, and to exercise faith in the divine promises.'

From 1827 to 1830 Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Addis were at Nagercoil with Mr. Mault. They removed in 1830 to begin the Coimbatore Mission. In 1827 the mission was divided into eastern and western departments, and in 1828 Mr. Mead began a new station at Neyoor, Mr. Mault taking sole charge of the eastern section.

Mr. Mault sent home early in 1830 a report of the preceding half-year's work, in which he sets forth very clearly the difficulties due to the character and surroundings of the people. But he also gives strong testimony to the character and usefulness of the readers or evangelists:—

'Among a people of such habits and dispositions as the lower classes in this country, it is no difficult thing to perceive that the readers stationed in their villages need to be men of good common sense, prudence, and piety. Judging from the manner they have exercised their talents among the people, the success that has attended their labours, we have no hesitation in saying that some possess these qualifications in no ordinary degree; and others, though inferior in many respects, we believe to be conscientious men. In our absence they conduct the public worship of God nearly on the same plan as in our Congregational churches in England, frequently in a way

that secures the attention of the audience and promotes their edification. Their residence in the midst of the congregations serves to render them well acquainted with the character of every person in their flock; and if they observe the absence of any at public worship, during the interval of service or on the following day they visit them and inquire the reason, and give such admonition as circumstances suggest. As often as practicable they visit every family under their charge, to impart catechetical instruction, and read the Scriptures and other books; and to exhort those that can read to a diligent perusal of the word of God. In the times of affliction they afford such instruction to those who are deprived of the benefit of the public worship as their state may require. The readers look upon these seasons as peculiarly fitted to arouse the careless, and bring the thoughtless to reflection. Such is their allowed superiority in knowledge to most around them, that their advice is frequently sought, and is freely given; but in the disputes of their neighbours they take no part.

'The care of their respective congregations is but a part of their work, for they continue to go into the villages and highways around them to publish salvation to all that will listen to it. The seed thus sown has in many instances brought forth fruit. in others appearances are favourable, which hold out encouragement to expect that a harvest will be gathered in due time, where we have hitherto met with little or no success. Some, whose attention has first been directed to the truths of Christianity by the readers, have been led to us for further information; and have lately shown more solicitude to obtain a knowledge of Christianity, and books on that subject, than we have ever before witnessed.'

Connected with these readers a curious system of special subscriptions had been initiated in England. An individual or a group of individuals in Great Britain subscribed annually the cost of one of these readers, and he was considered in a special sense the reader or agent of the

subscribers who supported him. Special reports, entailing great labour upon both reader and missionary, were sent home, and if these were not forthcoming subscriptions often lapsed. Repeated representations of the inconvenience of this system were sent home from time to time, finally, especially when, about 1850, the whole system was energetically reformed, this practice ceased.

In 1827 Mr. W. Miller joined the mission, but he died after eight years' labour. In 1834 Mr. C. Miller was added to the staff, but he died in 1841. In 1838 J. T. Pattison, James Russell, John Abbs, and a medical missionary, Archibald Ramsay, were sent out. The last named retired in 1842. Mr. Pattison was stationed at Quilon from 1838 to 1844, when the Board dissolved his connection with the Society. The other two gave many years' service. Mr. Abbs, after eight years' residence at Neyoor, removed in 1845 to Pareychaley. In 1840 the South Travancore Mission had 15,000 adherents, and 7.500 scholars, of whom nearly 1,000 were girls.

The Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, who reached Nagercoil in 1842, devoted himself mainly to the highly important work of the seminary for the training of native agents. In 1846 Ebenezer Lewis, who had been at work for six years in Coimbatur and Madras, joined the Nagercoil Mission. Upon his arrival it was re-divided into three districts, Nagercoil, Jamestown, and Santhapuram, under the care respectively of Mr. Mault, Mr. Russell, and Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Whitehouse, after eight years' experience in Nagercoil, sent home under date of March 5, 1851, a statement of the condition of the Travancore Mission after nearly half a century's work, so clear and so important as to deserve permanent record. So far as we know it has never been printed before:—

'The origin, continuance, and increase of many of our congregations are to be traced to oppression. People have been driven to Christianity by fear, and not drawn to it by conviction. They came, not because they think that the

religion taught is true, but because they think those who teach it have influence with the ruling powers in the country, and are therefore able to protect them. Thus any body of religionists, whether Papists or Mohammedans, or any thing else, provided they be thought to have power and willingness to protect and aid those who embrace the faith they teach, would meet with considerable success in gathering professed converts; and the more liberty of conduct the teachers will give their converts, the more will flock to them. A proportion is often to be noticed between the degree of oppression and the number of converts newly presenting themselves. And in certain months in the year, when the demand of the Government upon the people in making preparation for heathen festivals is very burdensome, the number of those who seek exemption by embracing Christianity is the greater.

'Some years ago, through the influence of the British Resident, a proclamation was issued, declaring that the natives who embrace Christianity are not liable to be called upon to perform the various services for the heathen temples, demanded by law of those who continue to be heathens. Much vigilance is necessary to prevent the lower officials from depriving Christians of their right of exemption, but up to the present time the higher authorities act consistently with the proclamation, the issue of which they, without doubt, greatly regret. And, as in many cases, it was not truth which drew, but trouble which drove people to Christian profession, the moment the trouble has passed and protection has been obtained, many return to idolatry, sometimes to return again and again to Christianity as convenience may suit. From the operation of these principles by far the greater number of converts come to us, frequently in tens, twenties, or a village at once. But though many soon renounce Christianity (if indeed they can be said to renounce that which they never really embraced) many remain, and the adherence which originated in inferior reasons often becomes one of superior reasons—a rational conviction of the truth of Christianity.

In intelligence, energy, and all other good characteristics, I think the Travancoreans stand lower than other Hindus, low as they are; so that were it not for the temporal advantages connected with Christian profession, I believe even Christian professors would have formed a very small band.

'The members of our congregations may be divided into three classes: first, those who have become Christians for the sake of protection or other temporal advantages; second, those whose relatives were Christians, and who are the same because their fathers were such; and third, those who have embraced Christianity through conviction of its truth. Of these classes the last is, as may be expected, the smallest; the second is increasing with time. Some individuals may belong to two or even all the classes, and many have risen from a lower to a higher.

'Such are the materials on which we have to work, and they for the most part belong either to the Shanar or Pariah caste. If we were more lax in discipline, if Christians were left to learn or not, and to act just as they please, and if caste distinctions were recognized, more of the higher caste natives would join us; but as we make the Scriptures the rule for practice, and the acquirement of Christian knowledge absolutely necessary, and disregard and discountenance caste distinctions, only a few of those who are considered of higher caste have embraced Christianity. No missionary but one who has been brought up in the country, and has been constantly used to caste distinctions, or who has looked very uperficially at the subject, can fail to see the chilling and contracting influence of caste, and how counteractive it must prove to the warming and expanding power of Christianity. Those churches in India where caste is recognized are very grave-yards of Christian hopes.

'From a more than thirty years operation of these collecting or retaining influences, above referred to, a large body of Christian professors is now met with around us; among whom there are many who are more than professors,

who are actuated by Christian principles, and, considering their circumstances, are very interesting characters. But with this before me, I cannot say that the time is surely near when India will be the Lord's. I cannot understand how some can say so. It is true we have numbers, but numbers of what class of people,—the lowest, the poorest, and the most degraded, people who have little or no influence in the country, people who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by becoming Christians. We have numbers, but even among them only a small minority feel the power of the truth. How then can it be said that India will soon be the Lord's, when the mass of the people, the intelligent, the wealthy, and the influential, though they may in many cases assent to the truth of Christianity, feel nothing of its power? The felt power of Christianity alone can bring such to number themselves with the followers of Christ; and with such multiplied hindrances as there are to such a step, for some of them to become true Christians will indeed be a triumph. Nothing but a strange revolution in things can cause Christian profession quickly to become general, and without such a revolution nothing but an extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit's influence can bring over the higher classes of Hindus to us. This is a view which observation and common sense lead to; and one held, I think, by all intelligent modern missionaries.

'With the numerous openings for Christian instruction alluded to above, an early question with the missionary was, In what form is instruction to be given, and by what agents? The Scriptures, and Watts' first, second, and Scripture catechisms, translated into Tamil, together with tracts on various subjects, were and still continue to be put into the hands of the readers for the instruction of the people, and these readers were the best qualified persons that were obtainable. Deficiency on the part of the teachers and of those who were to be taught tended to prevent progress. The minds of the converts were so constantly occupied by matters of fact around them, so unused to think and deal

with anything abstract, and so unaccustomed to hear grammatical Tamil, that Watts' catechisms were almost unintelligible to the majority. Besides this, the readers were so obscure in their views and so limited in ability to illustrate and develop the principles laid down so simply, as we think, in the catechisms, that but little improvement was made.

'These defects still exist, though of course not to the extent of former years. The elder brethren who had most to do in the construction and early working of the machinery of this mission were, and in a measure are still, of the old school. They left England in the days of catechisms and learning by rote. Since they left, education has been more clearly understood, and more systematically, philosophically, and successfully carried on. Thus old educational fashions have been continued here, and have been adopted by later comers, because they were the modes of procedure which they found were being pursued. The importance of paying great attention to the training of agents has not been felt so strongly as it should have been; at least, the amount of effort to this end seems to indicate this. The difference between knowing and being able to teach does not seem to have been recognized very clearly; and thus, while instruction has been given to the agents, little or nothing has been done in training them to teach; yet with most of the people, simple as children, ignorant and degraded in the lowest degree, teaching powers of a high order are required. With such a people Watts' catechisms must be simplified; tracts, such as we have, which are in the sermon form, mostly translations from English tracts and sermons, are obscure and hard to be understood; and sermons, in making which some of the readers succeed pretty well, are ineffective. Some in the congregations who have had greater advantages can readily understand and profit by the tracts and sermons, but the majority cannot; and we, as foreigners, and speaking grammatical Tamil, find it a great difficulty to reach the minds of the *majority*, and I believe rarely succeed in doing so. With

such a state of things—and I have not exaggerated—a most vigorous teacher training is of the highest moment. The want of it has weighed heavily on my mind for some time.

'I am sure if our readers and schoolmasters were better teachers we should see greater progress. I have been quietly experimenting on this point lately. I have regularly visited a small congregation every Sunday morning, and, in the presence of the reader, *talked with* the people on a subject; sometimes I have let him talk, and listened, and put in a word or suggested an illustration occasionally. Now I am sure the effort has been useful, both to the reader and the people. The congregation is that at Tattanviley.

'I have at my side one or two, whom I have trained, and who fully understand my views of what teaching should be; and thus, with the seminary in full working, weekly training classes, and perhaps a normal school for school teachers, I hope with their help to bring about a better state of things. But this must not supersede constant diligence, on the part of those who have the charge of districts, in directing the studies and guiding the mental operations of the agents employed by them. Many minds drawn out and disciplined in the seminary in former years have, on being employed as readers, sunk into mental sloth and been suffered to rust, by not requiring enough mental effort of them, and by joining them in classes with teachers of inferior powers and attainments. With a very little mental exertion the machine will work after a fashion; and some agents, seeing this, have been satisfied with this fashion, and give only the effort required for this, and have sunk in mind and been like cyphers, holding a place but nothing in value. The catechism and *memoriter* system has done much to produce such merely mechanical doings.'

Mr. Whitehouse, who by his skill, energy, and perseverance did much to revolutionize for good the system of training in the seminary over which he presided, and in the schools throughout Travancore, further emphasizes the

unsatisfactory character of the mission in a letter dated August 30, 1852. In this letter he expresses views which the experience of the last fifty years goes far to confirm:—

'Situated as much of India is as to government and laws, the persecution to which Christian converts in those parts can be subject is mainly of a petty kind, confined chiefly to the family and social circle of those who have embraced the truth, and the scope for persecution has been greatly narrowed lately by the "Lex Loci" Act. While a large number of the young men educated in these institutions will reject idolatry as absurd, it is to be feared that many will find rest in a frigid deism, yet we may expect that the number of those who will go on to know and trust in the Lord will increase, and thus they will by degrees form a body who after a time will be tolerated and then received as a part of general native society.

'But I see no such prospect for Travancore, as things are now going on. There is no spirit of inquiry on any subject among the natives, whether high or low. Though all the Shánars and Pariahs in the country were to become Christians, there would be no sensation among the influential classes. The case is just this: a Christian mission was commenced in Travancore by persons supposed to have power and influence; hundreds of oppressed outcasts, accounted to be the dregs of society, fled to it as a great charity and asylum, and not as an institution designed to improve the spiritual condition of the people. A field for effort was at once presented to the missionary, and his time and strength were expended in giving instruction to persons who did not care about the instruction and only wanted the protection of the missionary. Agents from the same classes were employed to teach the people, who themselves needed to be taught, who because of their position in society hardly dared to speak to those of high caste, and who were unable to meet any but the most feeble of the arguments, or answer any but the simplest inquiries of heathens and others about Christianity. Even now very little is done among the higher classes. A few schools

have been established among them, which must always be conducted by high-caste masters, and which would be instantly deserted if low-caste men were appointed to the office. The almost undivided attention of the missionaries is given to the protection and oversight of the Christian congregations, and the result is a large circle of professing Christians, four-fifths of whom would be heathens or anything else to-morrow if they thought they would better their condition by it; and, connected with this, a great expense for the support of readers whose capabilities are very small, and whose instructions are sought for by only a small minority.

'I think the Scotchmen have been the most long-sighted in their proceedings. *They* also present an attraction: instruction in the English language and science, which is an attraction to the higher and influential classes, especially at the seats of Government. They draw around them thousands of native youths, and in them in a short run of years they will influence the head and all the chief members of Hindu society. In them they are sending forth minds that only want time and wisdom, and they will enlighten, elevate, and reform the Indian social community. Progress has commenced, and if the church does not stay it by looking too much to human instrumentality and too little to the great Regenerator of society—the Spirit of God—it will go on with accelerated velocity, and thirty years hence surprising advance will have been made. But in the present system of Travancore missions, I expect thirty years hence things will be found but little in advance of their present position.'

Pareychaley was the last main station in the Tamil district to be occupied. It passed under the care of Mr. Abbs, and from 1838 to 1845 he supervised it from Neyoor. In 1845 he removed to Pareychaley, and continued in active work there until his return to England in 1859.

Side by side with the Tamil Mission, work has been carried on, though without conspicuous success, in the Malayálim country. The two main stations were formed, Quilon

in 1821, and Trevandrum in 1838. In 1827 Mr. J. C. Thompson took up work at Quilon, and laboured there for twenty-three years, until his death in 1850. For a brief time in 1832 he had a colleague, Mr. W. Harris, but his health soon failed, and Mr. Thompson was left alone. It was not till 1837, after ten years' residence, that a native church was formed, and then with only six members. At his death the Christian community numbered about 200. He was succeeded by Mr. Pattison, referred to above.

In 1851 Mr. Mead, who had been associated with the mission for thirty-five years, for the most part at Neyoor, married a young Pariah, and thus destroyed at a stroke his influence and usefulness. He retired from the Society's service the same year. Somewhat similar circumstances led to the retirement of Mr. Cox from Trevandrum in 1861. The ill health of Mr. Whitehouse compelled his retirement in 1857. Mr. C. C. Leitch took up medical work at Neyoor in 1853, but was drowned in 1854. Mr. J. J. Dennis reached Nagercoil in 1856, and for some years carried on most vigorous and useful work; but in 1862 his health failed, and after a visit to England, which failed to restore him, he died at Nagercoil in 1864. Mr. Duthie in 1859 assumed charge of the Nagercoil seminary, and at the close of the century's work (1895) he was still there in full and active service. Mr. Duthie's colleagues during this period were—Mr. G. O. Newport, 1867 to 1877; Mr. S. Jones, 1871 to 1877; Mr. W. Lee, 1877 to 1884; Mr. A. L. Allan, 1884 to 1895; Mr. A. Thompson, 1888 to 1891.

At Neyoor the succession of workers in the same period was—F. Baylis, 1854 to 1877; F. Wilkinson, 1860 to 1865; I. H. Hacker, 1878 to 1895. The Medical Mission, the most successful in India under the care of the Society, of which a detailed account is given in Chapter VII, has been successively in charge of C. Leitch, 1853 and 1854; Dr. Lowe, 1861 to 1871; Dr. Smith Thomson, 1873 to 1884; E. S. Fry, 1885 to 1892; and Arthur Fells, 1892 to 1895.

Trevandrum is the capital of Travancore, a town of

60,000 inhabitants, and important as the centre and seat of the native Government, and also as the residence of the British Resident and British officers. It was not until 1838 that Mr. Cox succeeded, through General Fraser, in getting a grant from the rajah of a piece of waste land upon which mission buildings could be built. At that time there were about forty Christian adherents in the town and district. Mr. Cox laboured steadily at Trevandrum until 1861.

Samuel Mateer, whose name with that of James Duthie has been closely associated with Travancore for over thirty years, reached Pareychaley, to which he had been appointed, in 1859. In 1861, on the retirement of Mr. Cox, he took temporary charge of Trevandrum and Quilon, and in 1863 his head quarters became Trevandrum, while in 1866 Mr. Wilkinson took charge of Quilon. For the next twenty-five years, except during furloughs and temporary charge of Quilon, he was continuously in the Trevandrum district.

About 1855 persecution by the Súdras again broke out, and in 1856 matters were so serious that pressure was brought to bear upon the Madras Government to intervene. This Lord Harris did, and the rajah promised to do what he could to improve matters. But unhappily the British Resident, General Cullen, was a man with no sympathy towards Christian work; and having resided in India for nearly fifty years, had practically ceased to be an Englishman and had become nearly a Hindu. Only with great difficulty could he be induced to exert any useful influence. The origin of the troubles was the same as that which had caused an outbreak at an earlier date, in 1827—the indignation and anger of the high-caste people at the education and beneficial influences brought to bear upon the low-caste and the out-caste population. The old indecent heathen law required women of low caste to go about naked down to the waist. Naturally the Christian native women were taught to disregard this custom, and about 1856 many had begun to wear the 'upper cloth' which distinguished women of the higher castes from those of the lower. The proclamation of the Queen's supremacy, either through

ignorance or design, was twisted for a time into a declaration *against* the continuance of Christian work. The police and lower officials were very bitter and oppressive against all Christians. Men were beaten, imprisoned, and often falsely condemned; chapels and schools were destroyed; the clothing of women was torn from them in the markets and in the streets. After a long controversy between the rajah's officials and the missionaries, who were very reluctantly compelled to invoke the aid of the Madras Government, Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was then governor, promptly and effectively interposed. On July 26, 1859, a proclamation appeared stating that there was no objection to Shánar women dressing in *coarse* cloth and tying it round their shoulders. In 1864 another proclamation extended this right to women of the Ilaver and all lower castes. In this grudging way the native Government yielded to pressure. For a time Christian natives were thus prevented from wearing fine cloths, and from wearing them in a manner not openly conveying an acknowledgement of inferiority. Time has, to a large extent, abolished the grievance. During 1858 and 1859, so great was the excitement aroused by these events, that about 3,000 persons renounced heathenism for Christianity.

In 1860 Travancore was visited by a grievous famine, and for the first time on a large scale relief came from Great Britain. Multitudes died; but multitudes, who would certainly have died, were saved by this benevolence. 'Nothing,' wrote the Dewan or Prime Minister, 'can be a nobler spectacle that that of a people, thousands of miles remote from India, contributing so liberally to the relief of suffering here.' In 1861 no less than 4,000 Shánars joined the Christian community.

From 1862 to 1867 great progress was made in the Pareychaley and Neyoor districts, and in 1867 alone the Christian community received nearly 4,000 new adherents. Mr. Mateer, making a tour through the villages inhabited by these people, tells us that he found there 'a remarkable spirit of earnestness, diligence, and attention.' He found

scant time, even for refreshment; in every village the building set apart for worship was crowded with people, 'eager to hear the Word of life.'

On February 13, 1866, an important forward step in the policy of the Travancore Mission was taken. C. Yesudian, who had long been head master of the seminary at Nagercoil, was ordained as an assistant missionary, and was placed over twelve congregations in the northern part of the Nagercoil district. At the same time three others were ordained as native pastors: Devadasen, a Brahman convert, who became pastor of Nagercoil Church; Zechariah, of the church at Neyoor; and Masillamani, the grandson of the first Christian convert in Travancore, of the church at Dennispuram. In the following year, 1867, at Trevandrum, seven additional native pastors were ordained. The rearrangement of work caused by these events led to the removal of Mr. Wilkinson from Santhapuram to Quilon.

Devadasen, one of those ordained in 1866, had a remarkable history. He was first employed by Mr. Mault as a school teacher, when still a heathen. After four years' training he married a wife, then only five years old. After five or six years' service he began to read the Bible, and he was stimulated by learning from another Brahman that the Puranas were only legends. Finally he resolved to become a Christian, but fearing persecution asked to be sent to another mission. But at length his courage rose to the occasion; he broke his sacred string, and prior to baptism he ate with Mr. Mault. His conversion greatly enraged all his friends, who said he was mad. His wife was not allowed to join him; and later he married a Pariah Christian, with whom he lived for ten years. Some time after her death his old heathen wife sent him word that she was now willing to become a Christian, and finally he married her in the Christian form. For many years he presided over Nagercoil Church.

So rapid had been the growth of the Christian community during the decade 1860 to 1870, that in the latter year

there were in Travancore nine missionaries, eleven native ordained ministers, 210 native preachers, 2,331 church members, 30,969 adherents, 138 boys' schools with 4,168 scholars, and 23 girls' schools with 883 scholars. The local contributions in 1870 reached £905.

In 1890 there were seven missionaries, eighteen ordained native ministers, 174 male and 67 female evangelists and catechists, 279 congregations, 21,706 baptized persons, 6,004 church members, 321 schools (of which 32 were for girls), 10,869 boy scholars and 3,779 girls. The local contributions amounted to 15,441 rupees.

To detail the history underlying these figures, and to indicate the multitude of attractive and instructive facts they represent, is impossible. They represent the practical conversion from heathenism to Christianity of a whole community. It is true that the individuals for the most part belong to the lowest classes in the social grade, but such is the uplifting and ennobling influence of Christianity and education that the Shánar and Pariah classes are now beginning to possess a determining influence upon public opinion and social life. The Brahman and the Súdra still despise them as inferiors, but they are disagreeably surprised at times to find the Christian Pariah rivalling them in education and in capacity for public service. Slowly and surely in this, as in so many other fields in the world's story, God has chosen the weak things to confound the mighty, and the despised and the things that are not to bring to nought the things that are.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Manuscripts, and Official Reports; *History of Protestant Missions in India*, Sherring; *The Land of Charity*, by S. Mateer; *The Gospel in South India*, by S. Mateer; *The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill*, by C. M. Birrell; *Benjamin Rice*; *or*, *Fifty Years in the Master's Service*, by E. P. Rice, B.A.; *Twenty-two Years' Missionary Experience in Travancore*, by John Abbs; *Missions in South India*, by Joseph Mullens; The Reports of the Conferences of South Indian Missionaries at Dotacamand in 1858; and at Bangalore in 1879; also Reports of the Calcutta Conference, 1882, and the Bombay Conference, 1892.]

CHAPTER VI

NORTH INDIA: 1825–1895

North India has during the nineteenth century proved the hard and relatively unfruitful field of missionary toil. The bonds of Hindu idolatry and custom seem harder to break there than in other parts. Muhammadans, possibly the most difficult of all to bring under Christian influence, abound. Benares and other holy Hindu centres, and the entire valley of the Ganges—the great sacred river—have up to the present proved but barren soil for the seed of Christian life and thought. Still for the last seventy years of the century Christian work was earnestly carried forward, not without some encouraging successes. Enumeration of all the workers and all the stations occupied would only present long lists of names and dates, and tend but to weary and confuse the reader. So far as the external history is concerned, it must suffice to indicate the chief centres of labour, and the men and women who have impressed their personality most deeply upon the work.

1. Calcutta. As the capital of India, the seat of Government, and the centre of administrative and social life and influence, this great city, which stretches for seven miles along the banks of the Hugli, and which is inhabited by at least 700,000 human beings, has naturally a prominent place in the attention and concern of all the great missionary Societies. We have already traced the beginnings of the work there. In 1826 the missionaries of the Society resident in Calcutta were Samuel Trawin, James Hill, and Charles Piffard, with George Gogerly as superintendent of the press. Mr. Hill was the pastor of Union Chapel.

The work was similar to that carried on in all great centres of population—English services, vernacular services, bazaar preaching, meeting inquirers, educational work. Union Chapel has always been a strong centre of Christian work, self-supporting, and a liberal contributor to local funds. In bazaar preaching at different centres three or four of the missionaries have been always employed. One of the most successful workers in this department was the Rev. A. F. Lacroix. He went to Chinsurah in 1821 as agent of the Netherlands Missionary Society. In 1827, when that Society relinquished work in India, he offered his services to the London Missionary Society, and was gladly accepted. He removed to Calcutta in 1829, and in 1837 he took up his residence at Bhowanipore, a suburb on the south side of Calcutta. While taking some share in educational labour, his great service was vernacular preaching and itinerating. During 1842 and 1843 he was in Europe, but he returned to Calcutta in January, 1844. In 1856 his health began to fail, and on July 8, 1859, after thirty-eight years' service in India, he died at Calcutta. The whole Christian community mourned for him. Native Christians carried his coffin, the Bishop of Calcutta followed him to the grave, Dr. Duff, one of his oldest friends, preached the funeral sermon. A contemporary record states: 'Having obtained a mastery over the Bengali language (in which, perhaps, he was excelled by no European) he was pre-eminently qualified for the office of a preacher among the Hindus, and the power and success with which he laboured in this vocation multitudes in India, both Christians and heathen, can testify.' Mr. Sherring also tells us, 'He could always secure a large audience by the charm of his manner and voice, and by a felicitious use of idiomatic Bengali in enunciating his well-arranged ideas, often associated with beautiful imagery, which delighted his hearers, and sometimes attracted them to himself by a peculiar fascination [1].'

The native Christian church under the care of the Society in the capital is at Bhowanipore, and was opened

[1] *Protestant Missions in India* (1884), p. 108.

in 1823. Under the care of Mr. Lacroix and other workers this church steadily grew in influence, and became partly self-supporting. Much evangelistic work was also done in and around the city at Kidderpore, Rammakalchoke, and other centres.

Time and labour were also very freely given to the all-important work of education. From the commencement of the mission, schools for boys and girls, and efforts to train catechists and native teachers, held a foremost place in the plans and efforts of the missionaries. In Calcutta the educational work carried on by the Society centred in and around the Bhowanipore Institution. This was founded in 1837, and was modelled upon Dr. Duff's famous Institution.

In that year Mr. Lacroix obtained a suitable native house with a compound, and established the Christian Institution upon a permanent basis. Prior to this there had been vernacular boys' and girls' schools, and in 1836 these were under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell. Mr. Lacroix took to his new school the boys formerly taught by Mr. Campbell, and also those taught in an English day school at Kidderpore. The number of pupils thus brought together was sixteen Christian boys and six Hindus. Very soon the numbers reached sixty, and by 1851, in the Institution and two branch schools connected with it, there were 800 pupils. Mr. Lacroix also instituted a theological class, with the object of supplying native teachers and preachers. In the school the training was largely in English, though the vernacular was also used, and the course of instruction was thoroughly Christian. The classes for native agents were, of course, conducted in Bengali.

The Calcutta Mission of the Society has been sustained by a long series of able scholarly and devoted men. In 1850 Mr. Lacroix and Mr. Mundy were nearing the close of their long service—the latter died in 1853, the former in 1859. Their colleagues were J. H. Parker, Joseph Mullens, E. Storrow, W. H. Hill, Dr. Charles Buch, and Dr. Thomas Boaz. Mr. Parker came to India in 1844, and gave himself

to evangelistic work in the Cooly Bazaar, and also to the superintendence of vernacular schools. He died in 1858. Thomas Boaz reached Calcutta in December, 1834, to take the pastorate of Union Chapel. As usual in the case of the pastor of this church, he rendered what service he could in addition to the general work of the mission. In 1847 he visited England to urge the claims of, and to raise funds for, the rebuilding and enlargement of the Bhowanipore Institution, and in this special service he met with great success. While in England the King's College, Aberdeen, conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. He returned to India in 1849, but his health failed in 1858, and he returned to England. He died in London, October 13, 1861.

Joseph Mullens reached Calcutta in 1844, and divided his labours between Cooly Bazaar Church and the Bhowanipore Institution. In June, 1845, he married a daughter of Mr. Lacroix. Much of his time was given up to Bengali preaching. In June, 1849, Mr. Lacroix and he visited Cuttack and Puri to preach to the multitudes assembling at the great festival. In 1853 he made a tour through South India, and in 1855 took a prominent part in the Missionary Conference held at Calcutta that year. During 1855 and 1856 he took an active share in shaping the constitution of the Calcutta University, and he acted as one of the first examiners. Mrs. Mullens was most energetic and successful in work among women and girls[1]. On the failure of Dr. Tidman's health, in 1865, Dr. Mullens was appointed Foreign Secretary. At the request of the Directors, prior to his return to England, he made a tour of inspection to all the stations of the Society in South India and in China.

Mr. W. H. Hill was the son of Micaiah Hill, and took part in the Calcutta Mission from 1848 to 1861, when he returned to England, and in 1863 from ill health retired. Dr. Buch joined the mission in 1849 as one of the superintendents of the Bhowanipore Institution, but resigned

[1] For details of her work see Chapter VIII.

in October, 1850, and accepted the Principalship of the Government College at Bareilly. On June 1, 1857, he was shot by the mutineers. Mr. Storrow was appointed to Bhowanipore in 1848. During the absence of Mr. Boaz he acted as pastor of Union Chapel, and upon the resignation of Dr. Boaz in 1860 he was invited by the church to succeed to the pastorate. Illness compelled his retirement in January, 1866, and he was never able to return to India.

In 1860 the new members of the staff were S. J. Hill, W. Johnson, and J. E. Payne. All of these gave many years of service to the mission. Mr. Hill took up vernacular work in 1852. He also was a son of Mr. Micaiah Hill, and the brother of W. H. Hill. He was resident in Calcutta when accepted as a missionary. From 1853 to 1858 he was at Berhampur. From 1858 to 1861 he was in Calcutta, and after Mr. Lacroix's death he preached in the bazaar chapels in addition to the superintendence of Bhowanipore native church. From 1861 to 1864 he was in England; and in 1864 he returned to Berhampur, where he died in 1891.

By 1851 the work at Bhowanipore had so greatly increased in importance and success that the missionaries determined to rebuild the Institution and make it one of the finest, best equipped, and most efficient high schools in India. The foundation stone of the new building was laid by Dr. Boaz, the pastor of Union Chapel, on April 8, 1851, and he also preached the sermon in the morning. In the evening Mr. Lacroix, in the course of his sermon, put admirably the cause of education from the missionary standpoint, and his testimony was all the more weighty as it came from an acknowledged master of vernacular preaching and evangelistic labour.

'When the first missionaries arrived in Bengal, acting up to our Lord's command to preach the Gospel, they devoted nearly the whole of their time and energies to the proclamation of the glad tidings of salvation to the adults through the vernacular language. And truly, a more scriptural

and excellent mode of proceeding could not have been adopted. Yet experience soon showed that this was not as comprehensive as could have been desired, owing to certain local circumstances and peculiarities in the native feelings and habits, which rendered its use, to a certain degree, of limited application. The fact is, that comparatively few only of the most respectable and influential classes attended the preaching of the Gospel in bazaars and other places of public resort, because they objected to mixing in a promiscuous assembly with persons of the lowest ranks and castes. Hence the missionaries had often to lament the absence, on these occasions, of the very individuals whom, from their position in society, it was of high importance they should influence. Again, it was found that preaching to fluctuating assemblies, though the best, and in fact the only means of reaching the generality of the population, did not always allow to the missionary sufficient time and opportunity to declare the whole counsel of God to his hearers, or to instruct them thoroughly in the doctrines of Christianity.

'The missionaries deplored these adverse circumstances, and asked God for His guidance and interference: nor were these withheld. Almost suddenly, a door of usefulness was opened which promised to be the most effective auxiliary to preaching, inasmuch as it, in a great measure, supplied the advantages which the former did not afford to the extent wished for. An almost universal desire to become acquainted with the English language and Western literature had existed among the young men belonging to the most respectable families in the land: of this the missionaries, among whom Dr. Duff was foremost, availed themselves to establish schools, where not merely a secular education of a superior kind should be given, but where in a special manner the saving truths of Christianity should be taught and inculcated.

'This succeeded beyond all expectation. Hundreds and thousands of young men, many of them appertaining to the influential classes, flocked to these schools, and continued

in them long enough to go through a regular course of Christian education, including a close study of the Bible, its doctrines, precepts, and the evidences on which it is received as the Word of God. Numbers of the pupils acquired such a proficiency in this knowledge as to equal, if not in some instances to surpass, the attainments of many young men brought up carefully even in Christian Europe.'

The missionaries in a report dated March 27, 1854, were able to announce the completion of their great enterprise. 'Four years ago, the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta presented to their Christian friends in North India the plan which they had then adopted for extending the usefulness of the Society's mission at Bhowanipore. This plan included several distinct objects.

'First. They desired to erect a new institution, for the general purpose of native Christian education among the Hindus, including a college department, and having sufficient room to accommodate a thousand scholars. This building was to take the place of the old bungalow, in which the same missionary purposes had been carried out for fifteen years, but which had become too small.

'Secondly. They wished to provide a residence for native students for the Christian ministry, or for young men dependent on the care of the mission. Nothing of the kind had existed hitherto, and its want had been greatly felt.

'Thirdly. It was desirable to improve the accommodation provided for a few Christian boys, and for the large boarding school for native Christian girls which has flourished at the station for so many years.

'Fourthly. They were anxious to erect a dwelling-house for one of the missionaries resident at the station, for a double reason: first, that only one such house exists where two are needed; and, secondly, because the rent of such a house would always serve as a fund for keeping the whole of the mission buildings in repair.

'And lastly. They desired to provide, if possible, a small chapel for the use of the native congregation.

'They can report, with much thankfulness to God, that all these designs have been completed, and that all the material agencies requisite for the effective maintenance of a missionary establishment are now in the missionaries' hands, in a way and to a degree which they have never enjoyed before.

'The mission dwelling-house was completed a year ago, and was at once occupied. The students' residence and the institution for Hindu scholars were opened on February 2, 1854. Of all these buildings, the institution is by far the most conspicuous and most important. It has a very noble appearance, and occupies a most commanding position. It is the finest and most prominent object not only of the missionary station, but of Bhowanipore and its neighbourhood. Its length is 180 feet, and its width 95. It is built in the pure Doric style, which, in addition to its exceeding beauty, is admirably adapted for this country. The internal arrangements are as convenient as the external is noble. Across the west front of the building lies a large hall, 90 feet long by 38 feet wide, and 35 feet high. From the ends of this hall two rows of rooms branch off towards the east, leaving an open court between them, intended to furnish light and air to the centre of the building. A corridor runs round this court and connects all the rooms together. The hall of course rises the full height of the building, and is covered by a light roof supported on iron trusses: the rest of the building is two-storied. Several of the rooms are large, and furnish the library, lecture-rooms, and class-rooms for the students and scholars. The institution contains comfortable accommodation for eleven hundred boys and students. The cost of these valuable buildings, and of the land on which they stand, has risen to a large sum. Though the missionaries have studied economy as far as possible, they have expended in securing them no less than £7,000.'

This report is signed by six well-known missionary names: A. F. Lacroix, J. Paterson, T. Boaz, LL.D., J. Mullens, W. H. Hill, and E. Storrow.

The Government of India, while under the control of the East India Company, was very leisurely in its attempts to foster education; and had always manifested an active and unreasonable hostility to the inculcation of Christianity in any form; the Company's settled policy being to secure as absolute a neutrality as possible in all matters affecting religion. The first grant for educational purposes was not made until 1813, and then amounted to only £10,000. It was not until 1853 that any vigorous effort was made to deal with the great question of education. Until 1854 there was also much absurd hostility, even on the part of missionaries, to the use of English as a great educational medium. The Calcutta *Christian Advocate* for April 3, 1852, contained an able article, which sharply contrasted the Government and missionary methods of education. As the importance of missionary education has been in the past, and is in many quarters still, greatly misunderstood, the view maintained in this article deserves careful consideration.

'In order that this question, whether the Government or missionary method of education is the preferable, may be answered aright, it is necessary to remember that the people of this country are for the most part Hindus, and that their sacred books treat of almost every subject; astronomy, geography, physics, law, medicine—all occupy an important place in the Hindu Shastras. That the earth is sustained on the head of an immense serpent; that the diameter of the earth's circumference is some 4,000,000,000 miles, or more than sufficient to fill up with solid matter the whole of the earth's orbit; that the earth is stationary, and that the sun, moon, and planets revolve around it; that the sun is 800,000 miles from the earth the moon double that distance: these, and a thousand other things equally false and absurd, are taught in the Hindu sacred books, and are part and parcel of Hinduism.

'Now to teach Hindu youth that the above and similar statements are false and ridiculous, is "to interpose between the father and his child in the inculcation of religious opinions not approved by the parent [1]." What the parent regards as sacred truths—as matter of divine revelation—the child is taught to reject with contempt, as no better than absurdities and lies. His confidence in the Hindu sacred books is necessarily and wholly destroyed. He must necessarily regard Hinduism as a miserable superstition, and soon laughs to scorn the faith of his fathers. And this result follows with equal certainty, whether the youth is taught in Government or missionary institutions. True science, wherever and by whomsoever taught, kills Hinduism. No one who possesses correct views of history, geography, astronomy, and chemistry can believe in the divine authority of the Hindu sacred books, or have any proper confidence in the Hindu religion.

'What, then, are the real points of difference between the missionary and Government systems of education?

'1. The missionaries openly and frankly avow their intention of destroying, as far as they can by the exhibition of truth, all confidence in Hinduism—they practise no concealment—their motives, their objects, are all freely and constantly proclaimed. But in the case of the Board of Education, the undeniable fact that all, or nearly all, the science taught in its schools is directly contrary to the teachings of the Hindu Shastras, and destructive of Hinduism, is carefully kept in the background; the people are assured that no religion whatever is taught in these schools; that there is no interposing between the parent and his child by the inculcation of religious opinions contrary to the faith of the parent; and thus the fears of the people are quieted. Moreover, hopes of preferment, wealth, and influence are held forth to overcome any reluctance on the part of the parent, and to draw students to the Government seminaries; and then, these children are in effect taught that the sacred books of their fathers are a wretched tissue

[1] This was one of the stock objections to Christian education.

of absurdities and falsehoods, and wholly unworthy of the confidence of enlightened and educated men.

'2. The whole expense of Government education is drawn from the people; not from those who profit by these schools, but from the public at large. They may see, and many of them do see clearly enough, that the education imparted by Government is fatal to Hinduism. But there is no help; they must bear their portion of the expenditure on account of education, the same as any other public burden. The expense of the mission schools, on the contrary, is defrayed by the free, voluntary contributions of Christians in this and other lands; and the Hindus are not compelled to support nor to patronize them in any way whatever. Thus, while no one can complain of what is done by the missionaries, it is easy to see how a genuine, honest Hindu might regard it "as tyranny of the worst kind on the part of the state," thus not merely "to interpose between the father and his child in the inculcation of religious opinions not approved by the parent," but to make him and his fellow religionists defray the whole expense of such a system.

'3. The youth of the Government schools, as we have seen, are taught that which destroys their confidence in Hinduism, and they are then left, without any religion, to grope their way, as they best can, to the knowledge of God and final salvation. Nay, those who stand forth as the representatives of the Government system too often commit the fatal blunder of setting forth secular education as all that is requisite for man to acquire; and thus the youth of the land are not only taught to despise their ancestral creed, but they are virtually told that they need no other! The result, unless averted by other agencies, must necessarily be a heartless, reckless, self-conceited infidelity. In the missionary schools, on the contrary, while confidence in Hinduism is gradually destroyed, the claims of a better faith are set forth and honestly and affectionately commended to the hearts and the judgment of the scholars. They are taught that the fear of the Lord is the beginning

of wisdom, and that man's true dignity and happiness, yea, the chief end of his being, is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.

'If the question be asked, Which of these systems is the best? we see not how any Christian man can hesitate in preferring that in which truth in all its relations can be exhibited, and by which the benign, ennobling influence of true religion is brought to bear upon the youth of the land.

'The Government and the missionaries, however, sustain very different relations to the people of this country; and if both engage in the work of education, they must necessarily adopt somewhat different systems. They are not, we conceive, at liberty to adopt a system *in all respects* the same. But the systems adopted need not be, and ought not to be, in any sense, antagonistic. The only difference required, and the only difference to be tolerated, is that one system should be more comprehensive and more perfect than the other.

'The missionaries derive their commission from the Great Head of the Church, to preach the Gospel to the high and the low, to the old and the young; and to propose that they should limit their instructions to merely secular subjects, is to ask them to renounce their commission, and to abandon the work to which they have been called. On the other hand, we should deeply lament anything like an attempt at proselyting on the part of Government. Government functionaries should ever act as Christian men; they should give of their substance, and in every proper way seek to support and extend Christianity. But there is no spiritual authority for propagating Christianity by the civil power. And it would, we conceive, be most unjust, and in direct opposition to the spirit and the teachings of the Gospel, forcibly to wring taxes from an unwilling people to be expended in propagating among them a religion which they do not believe. Besides, a state-propagated Christianity, as experience proves, will generally be of little worth. A living Church alone can propagate a vital, genuine Christianity throughout the world. And to

devolve this work on civil Governments is a fatal error. This, in such a country as India, would be to place the Gospel in a false position, and to rob it of its beauty and its power. In such circumstances, it would come to the people, not as a Divine message of peace and love, but as a conquering enemy, trusting for success to the strong arm of the state. This, we feel called on to say, is not the heaven-appointed agency for the conversion of the nations. And it is matter of deep regret if any missionary of the Gospel in India has ever given occasion to the native population to suppose, that he and his associates either expect or desire the active co-operation of the civil power in propagating Christianity among the people of this country.'

Considerations of this kind influenced the Christian men who at this period did so much to raise the standard of education in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other great Hindu centres.

In 1855 the settled policy of charging fees in the missionary educational institutions was generally adopted. This, for a brief period, checked their growth, but has in the end vastly increased their influence and their efficiency. In 1880–1 the fees in the Bhowanipore Institution amounted to no less than £900, and the Government grant to £180.

It is often urged against these institutions that they employ many non-Christian teachers, and that the results in the way of conversions are very scanty. Both these contentions might be admitted without seriously weakening the case for these schools. But as a matter of fact nearly all the cases of conversion from among the higher classes have been the result of educational work; and no one scholar can pass through any one of these institutions without gaining at the least a fair head knowledge of the Bible.

As an example of the good work done at Bhowanipore, we may quote the following striking conversion—one out of many. The narrative is from the pen of Mr. E. Storrow:—

'Sibbhurdu Ghosal, a Brahmin, is eighteen years of age. For some time he was a pupil in the third class of

our institution, but was removed about three years ago, and sent to the once well-known Union School. This was done by his brothers, not because he had displayed any leanings towards Christianity, but from prejudice against our institution as a missionary school. In January, 1852, when Mr. Lacroix, Mr. S. Hill, and some of the converts were at the Gunga Saugor festival, a tract on caste was given him; this led him to see the folly and wickedness of that abominable custom; but it was a few weeks after this that the work of God seems really to have commenced in his heart; and here I would notice a peculiarity in his case. Most educated young men begin with the discovery that *Hinduism is false and Christianity true*, and then proceed from the *intellectual* to the *religious* or *moral* aspects of the two faiths. He began with the latter. He was struck with a profound conviction of his own vileness and guilt—even among Bengalis he was esteemed very wicked; he was also struck with the contrast between the extreme wickedness of all the people around him, and the perfect purity and loveliness of the Saviour's character. I asked him if he did not, after these convictions of sin first seized him, trust to some of the numerous penances of Hinduism for deliverance. He said, "No, it was all too vile;" he felt that Christianity alone would do for a sinner. He then began to visit our converts, and had intercourse with Mr. Mullens, who was pleased with his sincerity, and just state of feeling. He therefore took refuge with us on Tuesday, June 29. Since then he has seen his relatives several times, and manifested the most unshaken adherence to the Gospel. He was baptized on Sunday evening, July 4, by Mr. Mundy, at Union Chapel.'

For the last fifty years of the century Bhowanipore has been one of the great typical missionary educational institutions of India. Thousands of the flower of Hindu youth have passed through its curriculum. We have no means of accurately estimating the enormous influence it has wielded. What it became, the following extract from the Report for the Centenary Year, 1895, shows:—

'The original aim of our institution was evangelistic, to win Hindus for Christ by means of a sound Christian education. As the Christian community of Bhowanipore gradually attained importance, our institution came to be of considerable value also as a training school for young Christians. Yet this long remained subordinate to the primary aim. It is now, however, becoming daily more possible to evangelize the educated young men of Calcutta by other and simpler means than the educational method—by preaching, personal intercourse, the press; while the necessity for providing as thoroughly as possible for the higher education of the Christian community daily asserts itself more clearly. In order that they may be fit to hold their own—whether they be missionaries or laymen—in the swiftly advancing world of Calcutta, a sound intellectual education is indispensable; while they will receive nowhere but in a well-conducted missionary institution such moral and religious discipline and instruction as will brace them to be strong, pure Christians among the temptations and scepticisms of modern India. Our policy at present, therefore, aims at the gradual modification of our methods of work so as to make the institution above all things effective in training Christians. We have been always eager to have the staff as far as possible composed of Christians. We now aim at a completely Christian staff, as necessary for a Christian institution. But it is by no means easy to obtain a sufficient number of efficient Christian teachers and professors. The demand for such men is everywhere very great: the educated men of the Christian community are wanted to be preachers and missionaries, and to superintend country schools, as well as to teach in the institution; while the lucrative posts obtainable under Government, and the prizes of the legal profession, attract many promising young men. Yet we look forward with hope.'

Here are two recent examples of direct result in the way of conversion:—

'The dux of the matriculation class in the institution

had long been an inquirer, and he was brought to decision in February, 1894. Mr. Farquhar and Mr. Wilder both felt that he was ripe for baptism, but his decision to return home immediately on receiving the rite made the missionaries hesitate; yet when they saw the earnestness of his faith, and the many tokens of the work of the Spirit on his heart, their hesitation was removed. Then his trials began. and he was removed hundreds of miles away, to the great regret of all, for he had secured a large place in the affections and esteem of many. Severe persecution followed, such as seldom falls to the lot of young men in this land, but, from what has since been heard, it is believed that special help and strength have been given him, and in the midst of all he continues faithful to his Lord. At one time everything, including his Bible, was taken from him, but now he has Christian fellowship, and brighter days may yet be before him.

'Babu Ramkrishna Lahiri had been with us for some time, and was anxious to have his wife and child with him, but his efforts failed; yet he had faith that she would come in time. Feeling that further delay on his own part was wrong, he took the important step. In his public statement he says that the truth was implanted in his heart while he was a pupil in the institution. His father's death compelled him to enter on life's responsibilities before his education was finished. He acknowledges that he was frequently led into evil ways, but the school impressions never passed away. It was a severe illness which led him to look more seriously to Jesus and to determine to be true to his convictions. Thus seed, early sown, at last bore fruit. Not very long after his baptism, his prayers were heard and his wife came away from the Hindu home and the patrimonial estate. At the husband's request she was received into the Converts' Home, and, after due instruction, she and her child were baptized in the Bhowanipore Church.'

Side by side with the Bhowanipore Institution the native Christian church there has extended its influence. By the

year 1861 it had so developed as to be able to choose its own native pastor, the Rev. Surju Kumar Ghose, and to find 900 rupees, then about £80 per annum, towards the expenses of the church. In 1868 Mr. Ghose became Bengali editor for the Calcutta Tract and Book Society, and the church, of which he still continued pastor, became entirely self-supporting. In 1867 the native Christians built a new church, finding the bulk of the needful money themselves.

William Johnson, B.A., arrived in Calcutta in February, 1859, and was for more than thirty years connected with the Bhowanipore Institution, and with the theological class of native Christians at Bhowanipore. In 1861 he took charge of the native churches at Ramakhalchoke and Gangrai; and in 1867 of the Cooly Bazaar Church. From 1867 to 1869 he was in England; but in 1870 he returned to his work at Bhowanipore and Cooly Bazaar. With the usual furloughs he continued his work in Calcutta until 1889, and he retired from the Society's service in 1891. J. E. Payne reached Calcutta in December, 1860, and for the next twenty-five years was occupied in the varied work of the mission. Teaching, examining, writing articles and books, acting as pastor now of Cooly Bazaar, now of Hastings Chapel, and now of Union Chapel, he used to say of himself, 'As for me, I'm Jack of all trades.' He was deeply interested in the welfare of the native church in Calcutta, and gave much of his time and strength to this department. He died at Calcutta, August 30, 1886.

In 1867 the new members of the Calcutta staff were J. P. Ashton, M.A., John Naylor, B.A., T. E. Slater, and W. J. Wilkins. Mr. Ashton came from Madras to Calcutta in 1866, first as a temporary measure, but continued there the remaining twenty-nine years of the century. Mr. Slater was at Calcutta from 1866 to 1870, when his wife's illness took him to England, and in 1871 he returned, but to Madras. Mr. Naylor was at Calcutta from 1866 to 1875, and his health failing he resigned in 1877.

W. J. Wilkins was connected in various capacities with the Calcutta Mission from 1866 to 1884.

All the departments of service were vigorously superintended. Of the Bhowanipore Institution we read: 'Though missionary colleges have not given numerous converts they have produced a deep impression on native society. So far as the native Church has influence in this great city it has been mainly obtained through our educated converts.' Of vernacular work Mr. Wilkins writes: 'Preaching to the masses in Calcutta is very unsatisfactory. The people listen for a few moments at long intervals; and when we say anything which offends their prejudices, or appears to them to be Quixotic in goodness, they walk away to revel in vices allowed by their religion. That a missionary loves the heathen, and is really interested in them, they cannot understand. And instead of thanks he often receives only ridicule.'

In 1880 the only new name is J. F. Taylor, B.A., and for the first time the names of lady missionaries appear upon the decennial list—Miss Heward, Miss McMicking, and Miss Linley. A very important forward step was taken, during this decade, in recognizing the importance of female missionary agency, and in utilizing its great and varied powers. Mr. Taylor was at Calcutta from 1879 to 1885, when he removed to Almora. Miss Heward was at Calcutta from 1876 to 1881; Miss McMicking from 1878 to 1882; and Miss Linley from 1878 to 1895.

The staff in 1891 consisted of six male and three female missionaries, with five native pastors and missionaries. The new names are W. B. Phillips, A. P. Begg, B.A., W. R. Le Quesne, F. F. Longman, and J. N. Farquhar, M.A., with Miss Fletcher and Miss L. J. Robinson. The native pastors were T. K. Chatterjea, T. P. Chatterjea, Ishan C. Das, N. L. Doss, and S. C. Ghose. The Decennial Review then issued gives a hopeful and encouraging picture of the manifold missionary life and work in the capital of India at the close of the century:—

'Steady advance in every department might be given as

the record of the Calcutta Mission for the last ten years. The advance has not been such as to satisfy the aspirations of the workers, but it has been tangible and real, and withal so considerable as to call for much thankfulness.

'In 1884–5 the B.A. classes in Bhowanipore College were resumed, and since that period twenty-six young Bengalis have passed the B.A. examination. The results in the Matriculation and First Arts Examinations have been much in excess of those of the preceding decade. The pressing importance of making special provision for the education of the sons of Christian converts has been increasingly felt. At the commencement of the decade arrangements had recently been made by which two boys were boarded at Kaurapukur, under the care of the native evangelist. The number was afterwards increased to sixteen. Now the Directors have provided for the commencement of a boarding department in connection with the Bhowanipore College, by which twenty to twenty-five boys will be accommodated. In this way an opportunity will be given for some of the more promising lads in the villages receiving a thorough and liberal education. The fruit of the earlier provision at Kaurapukur is showing itself in a small class of the theological students and young catechists.

'The native Christian Church in Calcutta and in the rural districts is growing slowly but steadily. The congregation in Bhowanipore has passed through a time of trouble, which weakened it considerably, some influential members leaving its communion. Yet, when the trouble passed, it began to grow again, and has ended the decade with a membership of 123, being an increase of upwards of 50 per cent.

'"In 1884 the Rev. T. P. Chatterjea commenced a new church in Mirzapur Lane, which has been called the London Missionary Society's Calcutta Church. The membership has risen from eight to thirty-five, and the congregation numbered eighty-nine in 1889. Mr. Chatterjea has had many encouragements in his work. Some of his people are Nepaulese who have settled in Calcutta. In 1888

another small church was commenced for the especial benefit of some of the female teachers of the American Zenana Home and of the pupils of the American Union School for Bengali Girls. This congregation meets in the school-room of Union Chapel. The number of members is twenty-one. Not far from these churches is the Bow-bazaar Wayside preaching hall, where the Gospel has been regularly proclaimed for many years."

'In 1883 a new out-station or rural mission was commenced at Goburdanga, and Baboo Ishan Chunder Das appointed as the resident evangelist. For about three years he lived in a hired house. Ground has since been secured, and a small bungalow erected in native style, and a little sitting-room and bedroom set apart for those who visit the station from time to time, the remaining room being occupied by the catechist.

'The progress in female mission-work has been remarkable. It was in its infancy as a distinct branch when the decade commenced, and the prejudice against any attempt either to educate the girls or to instruct the women in the zenanas was strong and general. A great change has come over native opinion since then. Though there are still a large number who will not admit the agents of missionary societies to visit their houses, and others who still maintain the old prejudice against the education of women, the number is decreasing year by year.

'The number of girls' schools in the mission is fifteen, and the number of houses visited for instruction and Bible teaching has been 105, and for Bible teaching alone about two or three thousand. The growth of this last part of the work has been marvellous during the last ten years. Miss Heward commenced this form of work, and visited about eleven houses a month for Scripture teaching only. Miss Linley has developed this branch of labour by securing the services of older women, who can be trusted to go by themselves. In this way thousands of houses, belonging to rich as well as poor, to Brahman and Sudra, Hindu and Mahometan, have been visited. The zeal and consecra-

tion of the women have grown, and their work is done in faith and prayer. The truth is already influencing the lives of some, and one at least is a firm believer in Christ.

'For the purpose of providing accommodation for female missionary workers a zenana house was built in 1882. The end of the decade has seen the commencement of an Industrial Home for Christian Women, which, though only commenced in 1889, has already proved a means of substantial help to a considerable number of women as well as a means of training them for useful Christian service.

'Ten years ago there was not a single Bible-woman at work in connection with the mission; now there is a large staff of them, and they are proving increasingly efficient. Bible work among the women of the village stations has also been begun of late years, and has increased in a most encouraging way. During the past year some interesting tours have been made by the Bible-women, in parties, and with most encouraging results.

'In the month of March last year Babus Ishan Chandra Das and Sarat Chandra Ghose were ordained to the ministry of the Gospel in Bhowanipore Congregational Church. Mr. Das has charge of the Baduria out-station, with its small church and the higher-class English school, as well as its evangelistic work and vernacular schools for boys and girls. Mr. Ghose is the superintendent of the village church at Kaurapukur, Gangrai, Ramakhalchoke, and other villages to the south, and in the Sunderbuns.

'In the same month the Law Memorial Preaching Hall, erected by the generous help of the Rev. William Law, of Tasmania, was opened. The building is situated at a point where four important roads meet, so that it is admirably placed for evangelistic purposes. It is used every evening for preaching in English, Bengali, and Hindi, and has been a valuable means for extending evangelistic work in connection with the college.

'A large amount of effort has been expended on tract distribution and in open-air preaching for a long time past, and this branch of the work has been maintained throughout

the past year with great zeal. A commencement has also been made in a new form of work, which promises large opportunities of meeting with young men. Mr. Longman writes: "There is a great work to be done in Calcutta amongst the students who come here from all parts of Bengal to attend the different colleges. Most of them reside in the city proper, in the neighbourhood of the larger colleges. Here they live together in 'chummeries' or boarding-houses, forty, fifty, and sometimes more in one house. They are of course a most important class, as they must necessarily exercise considerable influence for good or evil in time to come upon the thoughts and opinions of their fellow countrymen. Here in Calcutta, at all events, the time of one missionary might well be devoted entirely to evangelistic work amongst them. I have at their own invitation visited some of them whose homes are in Bhowanipore, in order to study the Bible and to discuss religious questions. There are a few also who have been in the habit of coming to my house more or less regularly for the same purpose."'

The Report for 1895 briefly summarizes the general progress in the Calcutta Mission since the Jubilee Year:—

'Fifty years ago there were seven European missionaries in Calcutta, all men, one of them pastor of the Union Church, and they had six native workers associated with them. There were three small native churches at Krisnapore, Ramakhalchoke, and Gangrai, and the Bengali Church at Bhowanipore had been formed in the previous year with fourteen members, all of whom were either agents of the mission, or their wives, or theological students under training. Work among heathen women and schools for heathen girls find no mention in the report. The number of boys' schools connected with the mission was twelve, with 666 scholars. To-day the number of male European missionaries is only eight, of whom two have charge of English churches. But in every other respect there has been a very great advance. Five ordained native ministers and thirteen catechists are now in the service of the mission.

The Bhowanipore Church has a membership of 133, while the total membership of the churches connected with the mission is 474. The work in the south villages, which constituted the chief field of rural evangelization, and which was then confined to Ramakhalchoke and Gangrai, has developed in many directions. The Bhowanipore Institution and other schools for boys contain 2,098 scholars; and work among heathen women has become so important a part of the mission operations that there are now four European lady missionaries on the Society's staff and two others maintained by the Bengal auxiliary. These ladies are assisted by thirty-eight Bible-women and zenana teachers. They have 855 girls under their care, and are in constant communication with a large number of heathen women.'

2. BERHAMPUR. In March, 1824, Mr. Micaiah Hill, who had been working in Calcutta for two years, opened a new station at Berhampur, situated about 120 miles to the north of Calcutta. The idea was that if a footing could be established here the work might be extended to the neighbouring town Murshidabad. Mr. and Mrs. Hill soon established seven schools, four for Hindus, two for Muhammadans, and one, conducted by Mrs. Hill, for girls. The Report for 1827 states that the six boys' schools had 280 pupils, and that a second girls' school had been opened, the two containing forty pupils. Mr. Hill had also established three native chapels, and three preaching stations. Mr. Gogerly spent some months at Berhampur in 1827, and in January, 1829, a large new chapel was opened. The mission was strengthened in July, 1832, by the arrival of Mr. James Paterson, who, together with an assistant named Thomas Cussons, preached frequently in Murshidabad. The tendency in all these early missions to begin more work than could be thoroughly done is illustrated by the fact that in 1837 we read: 'The schools are in rather a depressed state; partly from want of suitably qualified teachers, and partly from insufficient funds.'

This mission well illustrates the great difficulties in the face of which all extensions of mission-work had to be undertaken in India prior to 1850. Mr. Hill in his report for 1837 writes:—

'When I first entered the country, the jealousy of the Government towards missionaries was great. A missionary could not leave Calcutta without special licence from the Government, and I had to solicit, personally, from the chief secretary, permission to live at Berhampur. I was not allowed to land my goods until the licence had been examined. Then I found myself a stranger in a strange land; without a friend to advise, or a Christian to offer sympathy. The natives misrepresented my conduct to the civil and military authorities, and my own countrymen were hostile to me; both opposed my schools. Our mission does not occupy a foot of ground the possession of which has not been litigated. Letters and petitions were poured in at different times to the collectors of revenue and customs, the magistrates and the judges of appeal, the barrack-master, the brigadier, the supreme court in Calcutta, and, finally, to the Governor-General in Council. In these circumstances, the Lord preserved me on the one hand from despair, and on the other from imprudence; so that my judges had no cause for censure, and the Government no reason to withdraw my licence. By the grace of God, things are now otherwise. The Mofussil chaplain, our local friends, and our brethren at Benares, testify to the salutary influence of the mission among Europeans. Brother Paterson bears similar testimony to its influence among the natives.

'As time moved on, my prayers and anxieties increased in proportion as my efforts appeared unproductive among the natives. The feelings of a solitary missionary, surrounded by the deep midnight of moral death, and labouring for years without perceiving a ray of the light of truth piercing through the gross darkness of the people—these feelings must be experienced to be known. Often have I returned from preaching with the words of Isaiah

in my mouth, "Who hath believed our report?" From preaching I have turned to schools, and from schools to preaching; then I divided my time between the two; and afterwards engaged in visiting the natives in their houses, whenever I could obtain admission. Latterly I have given my greatest attention to preaching; and, as the venerable Waugh in his parting address exhorted me, whether successful or not, I hope "to die, with my face towards the foe," feeling assured, that the preaching of the Cross is ordained by God for the conversion of the world.

'For some years after my arrival at Berhampur, wherever I preached I was hooted and hissed; my voice was drowned with the clapping of hands and shouts of "hurree bol[1]"; and men have even followed me from preaching, with clubs to strike me. But things are now different. People are no longer afraid to ask for a tract, nor try to conceal it under their clothes to prevent the Brahmans from tearing it in pieces. The Brahmans themselves are as eager for tracts and Gospels as the other castes, and plead that they are Brahmans as a reason for showing them a preference. We now obtain congregations wherever and whenever we wish. In all principal thoroughfares, cross-ways, and markets, we never wait five minutes until a congregation assembles.'

An orphan asylum was established, and it is curious now to read, as we can in the Report for 1838, 'To aid this benevolent institution, Mr. Hill has made an extensive plantation of mulberry-trees. The silkworms are attended to by the orphan children, and the profits are expended in planting additional trees. Mr. Hill hopes in time the produce will yield a considerable income to the asylum.' It is significant also to read in the same Report (1838)—'Our brethren have deemed it right to discontinue all schools conducted by heathen masters: as, from long experience and observation, they have come to the conclusion that, in a missionary point of view, such schools are not worth the

[1] *Bol* is a Hindustani word, meaning 'say,' and *hurree* = Vishnu, the phrase being a fanatical religious cry constantly used by the Vishnuites of Bengal.

time and money spent upon them, so long as Christian masters and conscientious men cannot be obtained.'

In 1838 Mr. Hill, after seventeen years' labour, visited England, his place, meanwhile, being supplied by Mr. T. L. Lessel. Mr. Hill returned in 1842, and the two worked on steadily for several years; but in January, 1847, Mr. Hill left to take the place of Dr. Boaz at Union Chapel, Calcutta. In the same year Mr. Paterson returned to England, and in 1852 Mr. Lessel returned to England.

In February, 1849, Mr. Micaiah Hill died, and in July, 1849, James Bradbury reached Berhampur. In November, 1853, he was joined by Samuel J. Hill, the son of Micaiah Hill, who had been born at Berhampur December, 1825. Mr. Bradbury continued at work until 1870, when he returned to England. Mr. Hill, with the exception of 1858 to 1864, carried on his life work at Berhampur, and died there in January, 1891. George Shrewsbury was at the station from 1861 to 1865, when his health failed. Mr. W. B. Phillips joined the mission in December, 1875.

The Deputation which visited India in 1883 urged the Directors to strengthen the Berhampur Mission. Mr. A. P. Begg was appointed in 1884, but in 1886 was removed to Calcutta. A new departure, however, was made by the establishment of a female mission, and the appointment of two lady missionaries, Miss Blomfield and Miss Robinson. The work done in the closing years of the century is outlined in a full report by Mr. Phillips, the senior missionary, in 1890:—

'During the decade the recommencement of itinerancy and the enlargement of work among the female population have been the prominent features. In 1879, after years of abeyance, itinerancy was entered upon by means of a borrowed boat. In the next year, by private subscriptions, the present mission-boat was built. From that time the work has gone on steadily during a fortnight of each of the ten best months in the year, and during the intervals there has been constant preaching in Berhampur itself. Thus the past ten years has witnessed a large amount

of preaching, tract distributing, and selling of Scripture portions. The area visited, with few exceptions, has comprised the towns and villages along seventy miles of the Ganges.

'With our present small staff, we do not attempt to itinerate over the whole 2,462 square miles of this Murshidabad area. We continue to confine ourselves almost entirely to the towns and villages on the banks of the Bhagirothi, a mouth of the Ganges, which winds its way some seventy miles through our district. During each of nine months of the past year a fortnight has been given to itinerating. The truth has thus been repeatedly set before the same people; many of them have come to look upon us as friends; the spirit of thoughtful hearing has been greatly deepened; and some have even seemed to be brought very near decision; but thus far the people hold aloof from baptism.'

From 1879 till 1883 the Orphanage remained in the hands of Mrs. Phillips, and some efforts were made to visit zenanas. But in 1883 Miss Blomfield arrived and began rapidly to develop female work. In a short time she was joined by Miss Robinson, and since then this work has been growing in vigour and importance. For upwards of six years, through the establishment of girls' schools, and the visitation of zenanas, hundreds of girls and women have been reached and brought under Christian influences. In this way, during the past decade, we may consider that the value of the Church's mission to Murshidabad has been very greatly increased.

'But new spheres of effort have not interfered with nor lessened the value of previously existing institutions. The Anglo-vernacular school has continued its important career. The number of scholars has not varied very greatly. The decade began with 222, and ended with 233 on the rolls. The influence of the school upon the moral character and religious belief of the young is very marked. And, as these young ones come from all parts of the district, society is getting more and more ready to welcome the future

preachers, who shall have their way opened to a wider itinerancy. The convert from the school, who began the decade as an undergraduate, and a resident elsewhere, has developed into an M.A. of the University, the head master of our Khagra School, and the accepted and trusted agent of the Society. Another convert was baptized in Burmah, and other pupils have shown evidence of being greatly influenced by the teachings of Christ.

'The native Christian church increased in membership by nine, irrespective of deaths and removals. The community as a whole, however, decreased from 137 to 117. As the main body came to us originally from the nominal Christians of Nuddea, and not as converts from heathenism, they can hardly be expected to grow much until baptisms from outside swell their numbers.

'The English services on Sunday evening have had a steady and useful career. Within the last year or two a good number of English-speaking Hindus have been attending our services. This most satisfactory development is likely to continue and increase.

'The death of the Rev. S. J. Hill, shortly after the year closed, removed from the circle of Christian workers in North India one of its ablest and most beloved and honoured members. Since the death of Mr. Hill, the Rev. W. B. Phillips has been transferred to Calcutta, to the pastorate of Union Chapel, and the Rev. W. G. Brockway, B.A., has been removed from work in Calcutta to take charge of the mission in Berhampur. Instead of having an increased staff of three missionaries, the new decade opens with only one.'

Between 1890 and 1895 the mission was further strengthened, and in 1895 the staff was—Andrew Sims and J. A. Joyce; Miss Robinson, Miss M. N. Tuck, Miss Cockerton, and Miss Nicholas, M.D. There were also three native pastors, K. P. Mukerjee (Berhampur), Paul Biswas (Jiaganj), and S. C. Ghose (Murshidabad). The plan which has been put into execution contemplated the strengthening of the old Berhampur Mission and the per-

manent occupation of Murshidabad, Jiaganj, and Jeypur. It was also intended greatly to strengthen the work of itineration over the whole region.

3. BENARES. Benares, one of the chief seats of Hinduism, and in a special sense its holy and sacred city, stretches for three miles along the Ganges, and contains about 220,000 people. At the religious festivals this number is immensely increased by devotees who come from all parts of India. Pilgrims gladly journey a thousand miles, barefooted, to enjoy the sight, and to receive the supposed religious benefits resulting from a visit to so sacred a shrine. Benares is full of idols and of temples, and contains no less than 25,000 Brahmans. The verdict of its priests on all matters of religion, of its pandits on all questions of philosophy, and of its jurists on all points of law is to the orthodox Hindu the final word. The affection of the Jew for Jerusalem is akin to the feeling which this city stirs in the Hindu. It is sacred in all its parts, but to some spots peculiar sanctity attaches. The well Manikarnika, a shallow pool usually filled with fetid water, cleanses from those who bathe in it the sins of a lifetime. Benares was the cradle of Buddhism; and to-day it exerts one of the most powerful influences which bind millions of Hindus to their debasing gods, and to their degrading superstitions. No city in India could present a less promising field for Christian missions, and yet no city has greater need of them. The comparative barrenness of the field during the first century should only stimulate the Church to greater efforts during the second.

In this city of pride, power, idolatry, and superstitious reverence Mr. James Robertson joined Mr. Adams in December, 1826. Preaching to the natives and school work were actively carried forward. But from the first it was felt that the printed page would be one of the most effective weapons for the overthrow of Hinduism in this, its ancient and most strongly fortified citadel. Both missionaries gave themselves to the preparation of Christian

books; and as early as 1828 'The Benares and Chunar Tract Association, in aid of the London Religious Tract Society' was formed, and we read that it at once obtained 'a grant of paper and English tracts from the Religious Tract Society, London.' In 1829 Mr. Adams severed his connection with the mission. Mr. Robertson, left alone, carried forward the work with great energy, and in 1830, in collaboration with Mr. Crawford, chaplain at Allahabad, he translated a large part of the Old Testament into Urdu. In January, 1832, he was joined by William Buyers; and, greatly encouraged by his new colleague, was looking forward to years of useful service, when in June, 1833, his course was suddenly closed by death. The mission was again reinforced by the arrival in February, 1834, of J. A. Shurman, and in September of R. C. Mather. Mr. Buyers and Mr. Shurman gave themselves to the production of 'a new Urdu translation of the New Testament in a style suited to the lower orders of the people.'

As their experience of Benares and its people developed, the missionaries realized more and more, on the one hand, the vast importance of Benares as a centre of Christian work, and on the other the hopeless character of the undertaking, save through the working and power of the Divine Spirit. In 1837, that is, after the mission had been established in the city for seventeen years, Mr. Buyers wrote home:—

'Benares is such an awful sink of iniquity and superstition, that nothing but a firm belief in the invincible power of the truth, and the faithfulness of the Divine promises, could lead me to hope for its conversion at all. I am, therefore, far from underrating the little that has been done. Three years ago Mrs. Buyers and myself were here alone, having no one, either European or native, to sit down with us at the Lord's table; but now, our little Hindustani church has eighteen communicants, and about as many baptized persons of both sexes who are not communicants. Little of a decided nature appears, but Christianity has obtained a positive local existence in the midst of the densest mass of idolatry on the face of the earth; and I now expect the

work to go on more rapidly. Our position is entirely different from what it was. We can speak the language with ease, and have zealous native assistants. The truth is diffused, and doubts and convictions have been produced in the minds of many of the heathen; a translation of the New Testament has been finished in the plainest and most simple dialect of the country. A church has been formed, exhibiting publicly all the ordinances of the Gospel in the language and in the view of the heathen. In short, a foundation has now been laid, and a few more years of persevering, prayerful labour will be the means of giving to Christianity in this city a solidity which will enable it to sustain trials, and to expand of itself.'

Literature was steadily kept to the front by the successive missionaries. In 1838 Mr. Mather began the issue of a periodical called *The Friend of India*, designed to meet the needs of native Christians. Living day by day in the presence of such bitter and bigoted Hindus, and surrounded by all the pomp and power of the heart of Hinduism, the lonely workers naturally urged upon the home authorities the need of reinforcements if any impression was to be made upon the surrounding mass of heathenism.

In response to their urgent representation of the needs of Benares Mr. Lyon and Mr. James Kennedy in 1838 were added to the staff. Ill health prevented the former from remaining more than a year, but the latter, who reached Benares in March, 1839, was enabled to give many years of diligent labour. Mr. Mather in May, 1838, had removed to Mirzapur. Preaching was ever regarded as the chief work of the mission, and opportunities of setting forth the Gospel were sought and used, in season and out of season; but the seed of the Word here fell upon the very stony ground of superstitious, prejudiced, proud, and darkened hearts. 'We look in vain,' the missionaries wrote in 1845, 'for deep impressions of guilt, and an intense desire for salvation. The gross pantheism of the Hindu, and the almost equally gross fatalism of the Mussulman, have exerted a fearful influence over their minds, in obliterating the

feelings to which the Word of God addresses itself. This moral insensibility is the mountain before which we feel ourselves helpless; shut up to the one course of imploring the aid of the Holy Spirit, who alone can rouse the torpid conscience, and give life to the disordered soul.'

In 1845 Mr. Buyers' health failed, and in 1846, the Directors judging it unwise to send him out again, he returned to Benares at his own expense and continued mission-work. In March, 1850, he was re-engaged by the Society, and continued constant in the service until 1863, when he resigned, thirty years after his first arrival at Benares. He died near Allahabad, October 4, 1865.

In 1853 M. A. Sherring reached Benares. He took charge of the Central School, aided by Mr. Brownlow, the chief English teacher. English, Urdu, and Hindi were the languages in daily use, while Persian was also taught. Mr. Sherring devoted himself to vernacular work. He married in 1854 a daughter of Mr. Mather, of Mirzapur. From November, 1856, to February, 1861, Mr. Sherring was in charge of Mirzapur during Mr. Mather's absence. Returning to Benares he took charge again of the Central School, and engaged in bazaar preaching, and the work of itineration. From 1866 to 1869 he was in England, and with occasional absences he continued at Benares until his death there on August 10, 1880. Mr. Sherring was a man of considerable literary ability, and his books are contributions of great value to missionary literature. The chief are *The Indian Church during the Rebellion* (1859); *The Sacred City of the Hindus* (1868); *The Tribes and Castes of India as represented in Benares* (1872 and 1879); and *The History of Protestant Missions in India* (1875). The last was revised and brought up to date in 1884 by the Rev. E. Storrow, and republished by the Religious Tract Society, and is still the best short history of Christian Missions in India.

By this time the experience of thirty years should have enabled the workers on the spot, and the Directors at home, to have mastered or to have well begun to master

the problems Benares presented. But progress during the thirty years, from 1855 to 1885, is hardly discernible. Results that could be tabulated were almost non-existent; indirect results there may have been, and doubtless were, but they were present chiefly to the eye of faith. It is not impossible that the natural desire for an ever widening field of missionary operation led the Society to starve the work in Benares. Again and again has the century witnessed the opening of new stations when, in the light of the century's experience, the path of wisdom would have been the strengthening of missions like that in Benares. In 1885 the Report states: 'Benares is a peculiarly hard and unprofitable field for Christian work. Though several societies are labouring here, the apparent impression made upon the crowds who congregate in the sacred city is very slight. The members of the Society's mission have been chiefly occupied in educational work.' These words might fitly describe much of the seventy-five years' history of the mission. Again and again the question of abandoning Benares for more promising fields of labour has been mooted; and again and again Christian conscience, faith, zeal, and loyalty to Jesus Christ, who said, 'Go ye and disciple all the nations,' have warded off so unworthy a decision. It may be that in allowing His work to be so seemingly fruitless in such a barren field as Benares, the Lord of the Church is, among other lessons, teaching His servants to study their methods, to betake themselves to prayer, to strengthen the things which remain, and to concentrate their energy and executive skill and self-sacrificing toil upon the fields so long tilled in vain, in the full conviction that at the last they shall reap if they faint not.

In addition to their work in the great city the Benares missionaries made regular tours during the cooler season throughout the great district which surrounds the heathen metropolis. These tours had been the means of conveying the truth to many thousands of the neglected, despised peasantry, but it was long felt that effective work could only be carried on from a fixed centre at a distance

from the city. This centre was found at Mangari, twelve miles to the north-west of Benares, where a small bungalow was purchased in 1875. A resident missionary could not be spared, but round this station work was carried on and schools opened by native workers under the superintendence successively of J. A. Lambert, G. M. Bulloch, T. Insell, and A. Parker till 1893, when the first resident missionary, H. H. Theobald, took up his abode there and commenced regular and steady work. Mr. Theobald had spent a year in Benares, and so commenced work with a little experience and some knowledge of the vernacular. In 1894 he was joined by his sister, Miss R. M. Theobald, and the two are still (1898) carrying on their work with vigour and enterprise. Native Christian preachers with their wives have been settled in four neighbouring villages. Schools for boys and girls have been opened. Zenana work has been regularly taken in hand, and an effective system of regular evangelistic tours adopted. This new departure looks towards a real and much-needed development of the work at Benares, for it cannot but result in a sapping of the extreme veneration and superstitious regard with which the city is held by the ignorant peasantry. Benares district contains, in addition to the city population, 750,000 inhabitants, so that there is great room for an extension of this branch of work.

In 1861 Mr. John Hewlett joined the mission, and in 1865 David Hutton. Both gave many years of service to North India. Mr. Hewlett was at Benares from February, 1862, to March, 1863; November, 1866, to December, 1868; 1881 to 1888; 1890 to 1892. He died at Benares, February 21, 1892. Mr. Hutton was engaged in the Benares Mission, 1866 to 1874; 1876 to 1878; and during Mr. Hewlett's last furlough, 1888 to 1890. The other workers here were—J. A. Lambert, 1866 to 1868 and 1874 to 1882; and G. M. Bulloch, who reached Benares in 1874, and was there until 1884.

The staff in 1891 consisted of two male and two female missionaries: J. Hewlett, M.A., and Arthur Parker; Miss

Marris and Miss Gill; and one ordained native missionary, Kashi Nath Dutt. After the death of Mr. Hewlett in 1892, Mr. Arthur Parker was alone in Benares all the remainder of that year. Mr. Theobald arrived in December, 1892, and at the end of 1893 went to Mangari. In 1893 W. Cutting arrived, and took up work in the High School in August, 1894. So that for two years and a half Benares had only one effective missionary, Mr. Parker, who could use the vernacular.

In 1892 the college department of the institution was abolished, and it has since been only a high school, teaching up to the matriculation standard. For years past this school has been one of the strongest and most successful features of the work. The Rev. John Hewlett, M.A., was principal, assisted by a large and able staff of native professors and teachers. The educational results, as shown by the Government Grants in aid, and by the number who have passed various university examinations, have been maintained at a high average. The institution is evidently much appreciated as an educational centre, and every possible effort has been made to maintain the missionary character of the college. The Christian Scriptures have been regularly taught to the various classes by Mr. Hewlett, assisted by some competent native Christian colleagues.

The native church in Benares is very small in numbers, and has consisted hitherto almost exclusively of persons in the employ of the missionaries and their families. The prejudice against Christianity in the city is so strong, that those who from time to time have come under the power of the Gospel have found it necessary to seek employment in Allahabad and other places, where they might be free to make a Christian profession.

Efforts to reach the heathen population have been made in various ways. Mr. Hewlett from time to time was able to meet with eminent Hindu priests and teachers, to whom he has been permitted to state and explain the great leading truths of the Gospel. Mr. Parker has devoted himself especially to evangelistic work. He writes :—

'Bazaar preaching was carried on during the hot season and rains, when weather permitted, by our two catechists, Babu Shivratan Lal and Babu Bandhu Masih, accompanied by myself as frequently as possible. In these services both in the city and the outlying villages, we have almost invariably been listened to attentively. When discussion has taken place, it has been conducted respectfully, and our tracts have been accepted with the obvious intention of reading them. Some of the conversations arising out of the preaching have been both interesting and instructive as giving glimpses into the mental and spiritual condition of our hearers. For the most part, we find our two greatest obstacles to be the imperfect idea of the nature of sin found amongst Hindus, and the utter absence of any true spirituality, observable in Hindus and Mussulmans alike. A Hindu who cannot be induced to regard sin as a wilful offence against a Holy Person finds no attraction in, as he feels no need for, the sacrifice of Calvary, and quite fails to distinguish the peace of mind and exaltation of spirit consequent on the consciousness of union with Christ, from the mental passivity lauded and striven after by his Hindu teachers.'

In Benares, as elsewhere in India, female missions have made remarkable progress during the closing years of the century. Mrs. Hewlett, with her two assistants, Miss Elloy and Miss Johannes, for some years carried on very varied and valuable work. Reviewing her work in Benares in 1890, Mrs. Hewlett wrote:—

'Since my first arrival in Benares, more than ten years ago, steady progress has very manifestly been made in the education of the women and girls. Formerly it was difficult to induce Hindu girls, especially the poorer ones, to attend our schools, without the offer of a monthly reward in the shape of a small piece of money. Now we have a much larger attendance without such an inducement. We only give rewards in the shape of fruit or sweetmeats and a *sari*, or cheap calico shawl, annually for regular attendance. Whenever I visit the schools, I am always pleased with the

progress the children have made in their lessons. They can repeat many verses in the Bible by heart, and can also sing *bhajans*, or hymns, very nicely. Some of the older girls can reply very creditably to questions in geography and history. The intelligent and ready replies they give to Scripture questions put to them lead us to hope that the Spirit of God is working in their young hearts, and that they are carrying some beams of the light of the glorious Gospel into their dark homes.

'During recent years, zenana visitation has been greatly developed in Benares, partly through the influence of education upon the students of our colleges and schools, as many who feel the benefits of knowledge are anxious that their wives and daughters should enjoy the same advantages. About one hundred houses are visited regularly by our zenana teachers and ourselves, and the number would increase if more funds were forthcoming and suitable teachers could be obtained. Besides our regular pupils, there are many in the zenanas who will not learn to read, but who listen to Bible lessons. It is still difficult to obtain access to the houses of the upper classes of Hindu society in Benares to visit the ladies, though I often go with my husband to their houses to see their husbands and brothers. In this interesting work there are still many difficulties to encounter, the chief of which is the dread these ladies have of being seen by a man. In our zenana school all the windows and doors have to be closed, lest a man from outside should look in, which makes the room so dark that it is difficult to see to read.'

Since 1862 a service for English residents has been regularly maintained, and has been the means of the conversion of both residents and soldiers.

Notwithstanding all that has been accomplished, all that is being done, and all the faith, zeal, and labour bestowed upon this field by such competent and devoted workers as Buyers, Kennedy, Sherring, Hewlett, and others, it remains at the end of the century as at its beginning, bitter and unyielding in hostility to the Gospel.

'It is impossible,' writes Mr. Arthur Parker in his report for 1894, 'to convey an adequate idea of the continual and heavy cloud of discouragement under which a church such as ours lives and labours. Its members are cut off, very largely, from social intercourse with their neighbours; they are engaged daily in an occupation which constantly brings them into conflict with the strongest prejudices of their fellow countrymen, and they have little conception, and no experience, of the triumphant power of Christ as exhibited in more favoured lands. Add to this the polluted moral atmosphere in which they live and work, and the enduring effect and force of evil habit and example from which they are still struggling to free themselves, and we shall not be surprised if the average standard of spiritual attainment is not so high as in countries where Christ has been longer known. Yet there are among our members men and women whose loyalty to Christ and appreciation of the deep truths of the Christian faith give evidence of the presence and power of God's Spirit in their lives, and again and again circumstances have revealed in the lives of some of the humblest workers a self-denial and devotion all the more touching because unpretentious.'

Mrs. Parker adds this testimony:—

'There have been painful discouragements in this work during the year. We have had houses closed against us, and we have seen women, who once seemed anxious to witness to their faith in Christ, lapse back into the old life because they had not the courage to leave all for Him, and were too weak to bear the Cross in the zenana amongst their idolatrous relatives. But there are hopeful signs in the work, and one day the fruit will be forthcoming, for God's Word must accomplish that whereto He sent it. More than seventy years of faithful missionary toil in this city, and the spread of Christian literature, cannot have been without their effect upon the people. Some months ago the father of one of our pupils said to me: "Since your people came here a great change is come over us, for before then we were ignorant and thought it right

to worship idols, but now there is a loosening from the old superstitions, and we are thinking for ourselves. The Brahmans have lost much of their ancient power over us, and many believe in Jesus, but are afraid to say so."'

Mr. Hewlett, in the Report for 1890, summed up carefully the position of the mission as it appeared to him after nearly thirty years' experience:—

'We should rejoice exceedingly to be able to report numbers of conversions to Christ brought about by our instrumentality. But the time for our giving this blessed news has not yet come. The chief interest of our work at Benares hitherto has consisted in the evidence we have had of our contributing by diffusing Christian light throughout the city to the future awakening of India to rejoice in the day of her salvation.

'The question is not unfrequently asked us, in one shape or another, whether, seeing that there have been hitherto so few conversions at Benares, it is worth our while to continue to spend our missionary strength in such an unproductive field of labour, and whether it would not be our wisdom to transfer our efforts to some more promising sphere of missionary influence. As we are going to press, we cannot but regret to learn that this question has received a practical reply, as far as the Baptist Missionary Society is concerned, by this Society's having decided to withdraw its mission, which had laboured longer than any of the other missions at Benares, dating as it does from 1817. It is indeed intelligible that the Baptist Missionary Society should take this step in the desire to concentrate its strength upon its more successful missions in other Indian stations, especially as Benares will not be left unoccupied by other Societies. Still it may be asked, Would the Baptist Society have been likely to withdraw from this station, if its mission had met with more success than it has had in baptizing converts? Thus the question we are considering has a very important practical bearing.

'It seems to me that there are strong reasons why the Christian Church should maintain a large missionary force

at Benares. While there is now happily a network of Christian missions spread over the length and breadth of this great Indian peninsula, it cannot but be of the utmost importance that there should be great missionary strength employed to Christianize this city of concentrated Hindu life. Let us rejoice at the adequate occupation of those parts of the Indian battle-field of missions that yield more readily than such a city as Benares does to the summons of the Captain of our Salvation. But let the Christian Church see to it that missions are especially strong where heathenism in her last retreat gathers together her greatest strength.

'When I first came to Benares, twenty-nine years ago, mission influence seemed to me scarcely to have penetrated beneath the surface of the vast dense heathen life of this city. But now by means of our schools, our preaching, our dissemination of Christian literature, and the comparatively new work of zenana visitation which has already made astonishing progress, Christian light has penetrated the inmost recesses of heathenism at Benares. In visits which I have had the privilege of exchanging with leading native gentry of Benares, with professors and students of the Sanskrit Schools, with heads of the Hindu sects, and with the chief ascetics and devotees of the city, I have rejoiced to find how rays of Gospel light are beginning to illuminate the minds of even these high representatives of the intense Hindu life of Benares. It appears to me highly significant of the mighty changes taking place in India under Christian influence that the most highly honoured Hindu ascetic in Benares, some time ago, should have left his garden hermitage to pay Mrs. Hewlett and myself a visit in our house, and should have sat listening with rapture as I spoke to him of the love of Christ in bringing about such a wonderful salvation for sinful man, as is revealed in the Gospel. Nor is it perhaps less noteworthy that on January 2, 1891, the priest of the Golden Temple, the most sacred shrine in Benares, where Hindu bigotry is supposed to reign in full force, should not only have been brought to visit me in my

home, but should also have listened with apparent interest, as I endeavoured to explain to him the difference between Christianity and Hinduism. When we consider, therefore, all the opportunities of Christian usefulness afforded us at Benares, beginning on the one hand with the native Christian communities and ranging through all the various classes of society, even as far as to the priests of the temples and the devotees in the monastaries, and when we reflect how through the right use of these opportunities we are likely to exercise a blessed Christian influence upon India generally, it seems impossible to conceive that any right-thinking person should for a moment refrain from advocating a strengthening of the missionary agencies at Benares.

'But what missionaries at Benares now feel that Indian missions most need, and what they would ask friends of missions especially to pray for, is that all who bear the Christian name in India may be blessed with a great infusion of spiritual power, with full consecration to the Saviour's service, and with intense yearning for the salvation of souls.'

4. MIRZAPUR is a town of 60,000 people, thirty miles higher up the Ganges than Benares, and the mission here was begun in 1837. Mr. Mather was transferred there from Benares in May, 1838. It is built with fine wide streets, under the superintendence of European magistrates, and presents exceptional facilities for evangelistic preaching. It is one of the great trade centres of Northern India. An orphan school was the first important work begun, mainly for the sake of a number of children from Agra who had been left destitute by the ravages of a recent famine. In 1839 there were twenty-five boys and thirty girls in this school. Active bazaar preaching was carried on, and steps were taken to provide and circulate Christian literature. Mr. J. H. Budden was attached to Mirzapur from 1843 to 1848; Mr. M. A. Wollaston from 1843 to 1851; and Mr. Artopè from 1845 to 1854. Mr. Wollaston

superintended the schools, and prepared many useful educational books. He died at Mirzapur in 1851. Mr. Artopè was engaged as assistant missionary, and took part in both vernacular preaching and also school work. He and his wife returned to England in 1854. In connection with the orphan school a press was established, which for many years printed tracts, papers, and books.

From 1847 to 1857 Mr. Mather carefully supervised the mission, giving himself fully and freely to evangelistic and itinerating labours, and also to vernacular literature; while Mrs. Mather devoted herself to work among the native women. Just prior to the outbreak of the Mutiny Mr. and Mrs. Mather returned to England, where they remained until November, 1860. During this time, at the request of the North India and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he revised and saw through the press the complete Urdu Bible, including marginal references; and he also saw through the press a complete New Testament in English and Urdu. In 1862 the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. In 1869 ill health led him for a time to Almora, and while there he finished a new edition of the Bible in Roman-Urdu, and began one, with references, in Arabic-Urdu. He returned to Mirzapur in January, 1870, but after three years' labour returned to England. While at home, at the joint request of the North India Tract Society and the Religious Tract Society, he prepared and carried through the press a Hindustani version of the Tract Society's Annotated Paragraph New Testament, and on the completion of this task he undertook the Hindustani version of the Annotated Paragraph Old Testament. When these tasks were completed it was deemed inadvisable for him to return to India. He died at Finchley, April 21, 1877. Mrs. Mather, in 1878, rejoined the female mission at Mirzapur. She was a remarkable woman, and had greatly aided her husband in his literary work. Though over sixty, her strong missionary zeal carried her back to the work she loved. She died at Naini Tal in March, 1879.

The Indian Mutiny did not directly affect any of the London Missionary Society's stations. For a time both Benares and Mirzapur were in great peril. But the courage and promptitude of the British officers at both places averted the impending danger. Those who desire a clear and most interesting narrative of the Mutiny in its effect upon Christian work, and the attitude of the Christian natives throughout this trying time, should read Sherring's *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*. Chapters xii and xiii deal with Mirzapur and Benares, and the noble spirit manifested by the native Christians is fully illustrated in chapter xxiii.

During Mr. Mather's absence, 1857 to 1861, Mr. Sherring was in charge at Mirzapur, and Mr. W. Jones arrived as his colleague in February, 1859. By this time the mission was in a very efficient working order. There was a staff of five catechists and readers, the schools had increased to eleven, and a second native church had been opened.

In 1861 Mr. Sherring returned to Benares, and from October, 1861, to December, 1863, Mr. Jones was at Almora and Benares. In the latter month he left Benares to found the new Singrowli Mission.

In 1871 Mr. John Hewlett, who had been for nine years at Benares, removed to Mirzapur, where he laboured for the next seven years. He was succeeded by David Hutton, who in 1882 was joined by Edwin Greaves. Like several other stations in North India, Mirzapur has been unfruitful in numerous and striking instances of direct results from the steady, persistent, and devoted efforts which many consecrated Christian men and women have there put forth. Encouraging instances have not been lacking, ever since 1838, but they have never equalled the aspirations of the mission's friends. There can be little doubt that one explanation has been the wholly inadequate strength of the mission. Not unfrequently at Mirzapur, and even at Benares, there has been only *one* available missionary for the work. What *can* one man do among 60,000 as at Mirzapur, or 220,000 as at Benares?

But the indirect results in the way of undermining the citadels of Hinduism and Muhammadanism have been very considerable. Strenuous efforts have been made in recent years to increase the staff of workers.

In 1895 there were in Mirzapur and the surrounding district four male missionaries—David Hutton, T. Insell, E. Greaves, and Dr. R. J. Ashton; and three female missionaries—Miss Hewlett, Miss Waitt, and Miss Stevens. If the strength of the mission can be maintained at anything like this level the harvest, too long delayed, must soon gladden the hearts of the reapers.

Two branch missions have sprung out of Mirzapur-Singrowli in 1863, and Kachhwa in 1893.

(1) The Singrowli Mission has had a romantic history. It was founded by a young and earnest Welshman, William Jones, who joined the Mirzapur Mission in 1859. Singrowli, a district about one hundred miles to the south-east of Mirzapur, was inhabited by aborigines who had been cruelly oppressed by their native rulers. Dr. Mather spent two months at Dudhi, a village of about 1,100 inhabitants, in 1862–3, and made arrangements then for the opening of a mission. He left a few Christian teachers from Mirzapur to carry on a school, and in May, 1863, the work was handed over to Mr. Jones, who was at first greatly impeded in his labours by ill health. A house was built in 1864, and an itinerating journey taken in the cold season. Mr. Jones was a speaker at the annual meeting of the Society in Exeter Hall in 1868, and in the course of a powerful address he gave a vivid and stimulating picture of this new mission:—

'Singrowli is one hundred miles south of Benares—not an ordinary hundred miles: with the exception of about twenty miles you go through the jungle until you come to the place called Singrowli, a valley in the southern part of Mirzapur. The people dwelling in that valley, and for hundreds of miles south, are called aboriginal tribes—they probably occupied India before the Hindus, and were driven by them to the mountains. Very little had been

done for those people—nothing by us—and there are, according to the calculation I saw last, eight millions of those people in Central India now. A little has been done by the German missionaries, and in one or two places by the Baptist missionaries, but nothing had been done by us for them until four years ago. We chose that place as a basis to work upon to go among those people south. They have been a wretchedly oppressed people, and are to a very great extent a wretchedly oppressed people to the present day, and yet they are under British Government; but they are isolated, so far away—the nearest magistrate we have is one hundred miles from us, and he has a territory under his control as large as the principality of Wales. These people live in this valley, isolated from the outside world, and the magistrate has to send a native down to take charge of them, and this native goes with a number of police, and they do take charge of the people, and of the things that belong to them, too.

'The man who was there when I went down had been there for four years, and had had his own way, and had taken such possession, not only of the property of the people, but of the mind of the people by terror, that it was almost impossible to get these people to believe that they were not entirely at his mercy. He had instituted a system of forced, unpaid labour. When a road had to be mended, a bridge made, or a house built, he had only to send his policemen to the villages to collect natives, who came by the week together and did the work, eating their own food, and returning home without one halfpenny of wages: and this under British Government. He had also terrified them to such an extent that they durst not sell a single thing without his permission. When I was there, for a whole month I was obliged to get an order every day from that man to get my food. I wanted to build a house there, because a man going one hundred miles away from civilization cannot live without a house, and I had to build one. And as there was a great deal to be done, making bricks, cutting timber, and so on, I wanted some help. But I could not get the

people to work unless I got an order from him. Why? Because he had made slaves of them, in fact, till they dare not work unless he was employed as an agent. I understood the reason of that very soon. He came and offered to take the building of the house on contract; and what was that? Why, let him have the money, and he would build the house at no cost to himself, and the mission house there would have been a monument of oppression if we had fallen into the trap. When I saw that, one morning, feeling confidence in Providence, I sent all the food back that had come from his house, and told him I wanted nothing more from him; and I told him if I could not get men to work there, I would send for fifty men from Benares, and get them to work. That frightened him a little, so I had more liberty with the people, and they began to come to work, and I had to pay them every night with my own hands, and thus increase their confidence.

'In about a month after that he came to me and said I was spoiling the people, that they were getting impudent, and would not work for him as they did before, and if I did not desist he must get from there. Well, of course, I had only to say the sooner he went the better. He took leave then for three months, and went to Mirzapore, and we did not see him, and by that time the people had learnt that he had no right to make them work without pay, and as long as he lived he could not get a man to do half a day's work for him without paying for it. I built the house in the course of six months; very hard work it was, and very expensive work too. I expended of the Missionary Society's money then twice at least as much as I should have expended under other circumstances; but I believe, by building that house in that way, I preached the Gospel to those people in the best way I possibly could. I do not believe myself in preaching the Gospel to the souls of people while I see them trampled upon. I believe that we are to do as the Saviour did when He sent His disciples to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick; and we have sick people there.

'Thirty miles south of the house we have built, there is one tribe of 3,000, so barbarous that they live wild in the forest, without houses, without clothes, without agriculture, without any villages to dwell in; they run wild through these woods. I went among those people; I travelled about 400 miles three years ago to see the state of these people. I passed through that tribe; I passed again beyond that to another tribe, where I found the moral degradation of the people terrible. I have gone to a village there and found every man, woman, and child religiously drunk. I say "religiously" because it is a religious institution with them; and not only so, but the priests of that tribe are bound to be drunk always. They are not allowed to be sober one moment. I tried to keep a priest with me once there, and the moment the man felt himself getting right, he went off and got more. I asked the reason of that, and they said that the hobgoblins or demons they worship are such that if the priest is not always in that state they get angry with him. I could not help feeling shame among those oppressed people, that there were many people in this country who would have made splendid priests for them.

'I have been only three years among those people, and therefore I cannot speak of success. I have established two schools in the course of three years. I managed to get about thirty children to come to the schools. I went among the villages also and preached to the people—that is not preaching, remember, but speaking to the people, because the use of that word "preaching" in connection with missions misleads the people. We do not preach as you do here: we simply talk to the people. Those people, through the agency that has been working there for three years, have begun to understand something,—to understand that there is a God different and above those hobgoblins they have been accustomed to worship, that there is a God different from the tigers, and the leopards, and the bears, and snakes, and scorpions around them, which they worship because they are afraid of them; and in four of the villages next to the place where I lived for

the last two years, the annual sacrifice has ceased. They are not Christians, but they are coming round, and they will come round I have no doubt.'

It is a fact of singular interest in connection with this mission that through Dr. Mather the administration of the whole district, comprising a wide area of country and a large population, was offered by the Government to the Society. Dr. Mather was for accepting the offer, but Mr. Jones was against it. In the end the Directors declined to undertake the responsibility.

Mr. Jones returned to Dudhi in the early part of 1869, and in the autumn of that year made an extensive itinerating tour with his native helper, Peter Elias. In March, 1870, he contracted fever, and although Mr. Lambert of Mirzapur hastened to his assistance, he died on April 25, 1870. Since the death of Mr. Jones the mission has been under the care of a resident native agent. Peter Elias died in 1889. The missionary at Mirzapur includes in his yearly duties a visit to Dudhi.

(2) The Kachhwa Mission was an outcome of the Forward Movement. It is a place of about 3,500 inhabitants, situated on the north bank of the Ganges, about twelve miles north-east of Mirzapur on the road to Benares. It is the centre of a populous district, and a most promising centre for aggressive Christian work. Dr. Ashton was appointed to the work in 1893, and a site for the mission was acquired. The check to the Forward Movement led to a temporary abandonment of the mission; but in 1896 the Directors resolved to reappoint Dr. Ashton and reopen the mission, in the faith and in the full confidence that God in His own time and way will make Kachhwa a centre of light and Christian truth.

5. The Mission in Kumaon. The province of Kumaon is a sub-Himalayan region about half the size of Scotland, lying to the north of Rohilkhand, and to the west of Nepal. It is very mountainous, and is inhabited by hill people, Hindu in religion, and of a low type in civiliza-

tion. Since 1816 the district has been under a British Commissioner. For many years this post was held by Sir Henry Ramsay, who did very much to benefit the province, and whose initiative led to the founding of the mission.

This mission has a character of its own, quite unlike that of any other station occupied by the Society in North India. The two centres of work are Almora and Rani Khet, places situated on the southern slopes of the Himalaya Mountains, 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the plains. Consequently they enjoy a bracing and healthy climate, and would be even more welcome as a sanatorium for North Indian workers were they easier of access. Almora is a small but important town where the Society possesses very suitable premises. Rani Khet is a military station and sanatorium for British troops.

(1) The mission in Almora dates from 1850. It was undertaken by J. H. Budden in response to the request of Captain Ramsay, as he then was, and some Christian gentlemen residing in Kumaon, who promised to meet local expenses and to refund Mr. Budden's salary. This plan the Directors sanctioned; but, like most if not all exceptional arrangements of this kind, the pecuniary support somewhat declined, and after a few years the Directors had to resume payment of Mr. Budden's salary. Yet this mission, to a much larger extent than most, has benefited by local European support all through its history. Mrs. Budden died in 1859, and in January, 1860, Mr. Budden reached England, where, aided by the Religious Tract Society, he passed through the press five books in Urdu and Hindi which he had previously prepared for native Christians. The Rev. John Hewlett became associated with Mr. Budden in 1863, the latter for some years suffering from very bad health, but from 1866 to 1884 he was in steady work there. The Rev. H. Coley joined the mission in 1878, and laboured there till 1889.

Great attention was paid to education, and for many years the school of the mission was the only one in the

province where a superior education, both native and European, could be obtained. In 1886 the school, mainly by the influence of Sir H. Ramsay, was raised to the rank of a college, and affiliated to the Calcutta University. From that time it has been known as Ramsay College. Female education has been carefully developed, first under Mrs. Budden, and then by her daughters.

But the special feature of the mission has been the Leper Asylum. It occupies a site of six acres, and can accommodate 130 inmates. Originally it was a building erected by Captain Ramsay, but in 1850 Mr. Budden took charge of it, changed the site, erected the needful buildings, and placed its support upon a sound footing. In 1864 and 1865 no less than ninety-six of the lepers were baptized. Between 1880 and 1890 250 were admitted; of whom ninety-one were baptized, and forty-two became church members. The Report for 1895 stated: 'The year closed with 114 inmates, sixty men and fifty-four women. Nearly all are now Christians.'

The founder and pioneer of the mission, Mr. Budden, died March 18, 1890, after almost fifty years' service in India, and forty in Almora. The staff in 1891 was G. M. Bulloch and E. S. Oakley, with Miss Budden and Miss Meachen.

(2) The mission at Rani Khet, twenty miles north-west of Almora, was begun by James Kennedy in 1869. He worked there for eight years, building mission premises, superintending schools, and conducting services, both for natives and for the soldiers resident there. Considerable time also was given to itinerating. In 1877 Mr. Kennedy returned to England. He was succeeded by E. A. Phillips, B.A., in 1878, but ill health compelled his resignation in 1883. Since 1884 the mission has been under the charge of J. A. Lambert. Although much earnest labour has been devoted to this mission, it has never attained the hoped-for success. The Deputation of 1883 reported: 'It is, without exception, the feeblest and most unsatisfactory mission the Society has in India.'

This condition of affairs is largely due to the fact that as a place of mission-work among the heathen its importance lies not in the resident population, for the native town is little more than the camp followers round the great sanatorium for the troops, but as the centre of a district in which are to be found a large population of the hillmen scattered in many villages. The missionary at Rani Khet, therefore, ought to be constantly about the district, and well supported by a band of reliable helpers stationed in various parts. But Rani Khet is also a great centre for European troops, mostly young soldiers sent up to be acclimatized during the first year of their residence in India. These troops sorely need the ministrations of earnest and faithful Christian men, and the missionary of the Society at Rani Khet has been accustomed to act as Presbyterian chaplain.

The constant claims of his English work made it necessary for Mr. Lambert to depend largely upon native helpers for work in the district, and he discovered after a time that one after another was either inefficient or unworthy of the trust placed in him. For the first two years everything seemed to go well, then in 1887 and 1888 he was absent in England on furlough after thirteen years' service. On his return the difficulty of the position began to appear. He wrote, sorrowfully, in 1890: 'The last two years have been the most trying of my missionary career. Further knowledge of the workers, even those whom I had employed and trusted before leaving for England, convinced me that they were not fit for the work; more harm seemed to be done by these ignorant and untrained men than good, so that by the end of 1890 all but one had left us, and of that one I felt very uncertain.'

On the other hand, good work has been done among the soldiers; full and even crowded services, and well-attended Bible-classes. A number of men gave clear evidence of a change of heart, and did all they could to bring others to a knowledge of their Saviour.

A Eurasian helper, Mr. S. McMullen, who has had large

experience, and is thoroughly acquainted with the character and habits of the people, has, together with Mr. Bell, who does the work of a medical missionary, and a Bible-woman, been in charge of the out-stations for several years, and has devoted himself to them with much energy and hopefulness.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Manuscripts, and Official Reports; *Memorials of the Rev. A. F. Lacroix*, by Joseph Mullens; *Recollections of Northern India*, by William Buyers, 1848; *History of Protestant Missions in India* (1884), and *The Indian Church during the Rebellion* (1859), by M. A. Sherring; *Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India*, by Joseph Mullens; *Life and Work in Benares and Kumaon*, by James Kennedy; *Memorials of the Rev. T. Boaz, LL.D.*, 1862; *Daily Life and Work in India*, by W. J. Wilkins, 1888.]

CHAPTER VII

MEDICAL MISSIONS

It was quite late in the century before there was any general recognition of the great importance of Medical Mission work in India, on the part of the various missionary Societies and their constituents. From the earliest days almost all the missionaries were led, some by choice, many by the compulsion of circumstances, to devote time and attention to medical work. Scanty as their knowledge may have been, and clumsy and inefficient as their practice often was, yet the medical knowledge and skill of the most poorly equipped European were immeasurably superior to the attainments of the ignorant, superstitious, and custom-ridden men and women with whom he had to do. In daily contact with the people, eye-witnesses of their sufferings and their follies, seeing disease spreading and propagating under their eyes, many missionaries and their wives would have been less than human had they not done, in the absence of any helper better qualified than themselves, what they could to relieve the pain and misery of which they were witnesses.

As knowledge of Indian people and their customs increased, it became evident that Western medical skill might open a wide and effectual door into the hearts and minds of the natives. Medical aid is one of the very few forms of help which the Hindu is at liberty to receive. The missionary goes to them with a message which, from its very nature and terms, must arouse the deadly hostility of all that is most native and characteristic within them. The medical missionary, through the channel of a body healed, of a pain banished, of a crippled faculty restored,

starts at a much greater advantage, and often finds a sympathetic hearing where his ministerial colleague meets with prejudice and aversion.

As early as 1804 a medical missionary, John Taylor by name, was appointed for medical work in Surat; but though he reached India he never entered upon his work, and in 1806 he left the Society. In South India the first medical mission worthy of the name was started by the Society, and this, at the close of the century, is stronger and more useful than ever. In the year 1838 Mr. A. Ramsay, a duly qualified medical man, opened a medical mission at Nagercoil. It at once became popular, and Mr. Ramsay wrote: 'People of every caste, even the Brahmins, flock to me for advice. I have free access to all, and have great reason to believe that good will be done.' A hospital was built, and all seemed going on hopefully, when Ramsay allowed himself to be tempted away from mission-work, and in 1842 he ceased to be associated with the Society. For thirteen years nothing more was done, but in 1852 C. C. Leitch was sent out to take charge of the Neyoor district, from which Mr. Mead had just retired, and to re-establish the medical mission, with Neyoor and not Nagercoil as the centre. In March, 1854, he sent home his first report, and in this he states that 'during the year 5,318 patients had been treated, of which number 1,332 were women; and at the dispensary Brahmans and Nairs, with the female members of their families, were found sitting contiguous to persons of the lowest castes, and listening with interest to the brief address which always prefaces the work of healing.' In August, 1854, Mr. Leitch was drowned while bathing at Muttam, a little seaside place five or six miles from Neyoor, and for a second time the mission was deprived of its qualified medical head. John Lowe was appointed to succeed him, and reached Neyoor November 21, 1861. His services marked a new era in the mission. During the seven years of his superintendence upwards of 50,000 persons passed through the dispensaries. He opened the hospital at Neyoor, established three branch dispensaries, and began a medical class

for young men, whom he trained in the hope of their becoming competent medical assistants.

In the *Chronicle* for 1867[1] details are given of this important work:—

'A class was commenced in November, 1864, for the study of medicine and surgery, and for training a few suitable young men as assistants or dressers in connection with a contemplated extension of our work throughout our missions, by means of branch dispensaries. Including the hospital assistant, the class consists of eight missionary students, and one private student, supported by His Highness the First Prince of Travancore, who, together with His Highness the Maharajah, has all along taken a deep interest in the success of our benevolent operations. The young men have all received a good English education; the kind interest they take in the patients, and the diligence and success with which they have hitherto prosecuted their studies, are very gratifying.

'As showing the Christian spirit manifested by the students, and as expressing the views which they themselves entertain regarding the work to which they are looking forward, a short extract from an address prepared by the students, and presented to Dr. Mullens on the occasion of his late visit to our missions, will no doubt be read with interest:—

'"It is to the London Missionary Society that we are solely indebted for all the advantages and comforts we now enjoy; and we praise God that that noble Society has so wisely, zealously, and successfully contrived and adopted plans for the establishment and extension of Christ's kingdom in heathen lands. Among these plans, we, as students connected with the South Travancore Mission Hospital, take this opportunity of stating that the medical mission the Society has established here, is one of the most important and most valuable agencies for the diffusion of the Gospel among the various communities of India, widely separated from each other as they are by the curse of caste. We,

[1] Pages 25–30.

and the people of Travancore, feel deeply grateful to the London Missionary Society, and to the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, for the establishment of a medical mission amongst us."

'Our ordinary routine of work in the hospital commences with a short religious service, which lasts about twenty minutes. A few verses of Scripture are read, then a short address is delivered, and the service is closed with prayer. One by one the patients are then admitted to the consulting-room, examined and prescribed for; they then return to the waiting-room, and remain there till called for to receive their medicine. While we are thus engaged, Nyánábranam, evangelist, and along with him, once a week, Véthadásen, our itinerating agent, a converted Brahmin, are busy distributing, or reading and explaining tracts, singing Christian lyrics—which the heathen are passionately fond of—or speaking personally to the patients and their friends about their souls' salvation. Among in-door and out-door patients. and while visiting patients at their own homes, thousands of suitable tracts and Scripture portions have been distributed gratuitously or sold. A few of the heathen patients have of their own accord purchased complete copies of the Scriptures.

'To every patient a card is given, which must be kept clean and brought back at every subsequent visit; upon it the name and number of the patient is written, corresponding with the entry in our register; the rules of the hospital, eight appropriate passages of Scripture, and a short prayer are printed upon the card. Morning and evening prayers are held regularly with the in-door patients, and Nyánábranam and the students take frequent opportunities of speaking a word in season to them and their attendants, and endeavour to cheer and comfort them in their loneliness.'

The *Lancet* for 1866 referred to the medical work at Neyoor in very appreciative terms:—

'Apart from the moral interest attaching to medical missions, it is impossible to look upon the labours of

medical missionaries, and upon their contention with old forms of medicine and civilization, with anything but much pleasure. We venture to believe that when the history of the first effective impression made by Western nations upon the old and effete notions of the East comes to be written, a most honourable, if not the very first, page will be reserved for an account of the labours of the first men who went out in the capacity of medical missionaries. We have just completed the reading of several reports of such men, and have not often read reports with a greater sense of instruction and interest. They relate professional work with the modesty and moderation of true physicians; they make generous and honourable mention of the medical assistance and services of men of other nations and other ways of thinking; they are singularly free from cant and commonplace; and they abound in most interesting information as to the state of medicine in China and India, or rather the state of society from a medical point of view. The reports to which we more particularly allude are—one by F. Porter Smith, M.B. Lond., and surgeon of the Hankow Medical Missionary Hospital; one by Dr. Dudgeon, surgeon of the Pekin Hospital; and one by Mr. John Lowe, M.R.C.S.E., in charge of the South Travancore Mission Hospital.'

During Dr. Lowe's superintendence the Rajah of Travancore became so interested in the medical work that he aided it by an annual grant. Dr. Lowe returned to England in 1868, because of his wife's ill health, and as she failed to regain strength, in 1871 he resigned, and became superintendent of the Dispensary and Training Institution of the Edinburgh Medical Mission. From 1868 to 1872 native medical assistants successfully carried on the mission until the arrival, in 1873, of Dr. T. S. Thomson and his wife. He was a man of great energy, of strong faith, and of energetic temper. The hospital soon became too small for the work, and a second, equal in size to the first, was added.

'The building of the second hospital at Neyoor was

a most remarkable answer to prayer. The work had so far extended that we could not get on without an extra building; and having collected about 200 rupees from patients who had received benefit, we laid the foundation of a good building, made a subscription list, and I sent it to the Maharajah, asking him kindly to head the list with a subscription. To my gratitude and delight he wrote, through his Dewan (Prime Minister), requesting to know the cost of the proposed building. I replied 2,000 rupees, and he at once sent an order for the whole of the money to be paid, while at the same time he desired the Dewan to write and express his great satisfaction at the good done to his people by the medical mission[1].'

In this enlarged hospital Dr. Thomson and his assistants annually treated more than 20,000 patients. He was equally successful in the development of the medical training school. Dr. Thomson was full of missionary ardour, no less than of enthusiasm for his profession.

'How many thousands may receive good to their bodies is a small matter to me, compared with the fact that some souls are brought to Christ. If I can believingly say that some souls are savingly converted I can rest,' were words very often on his lips; and again, 'I am a missionary, not merely a medico;' words which fully expressed the attitude of his soul with respect to the work he had undertaken.

'Perhaps you will like to know how a Sunday is spent in Travancore. I will describe last Sunday. We begin work with a short prayer-meeting and the reading of a Psalm, while the service is beginning in the church. Our work lies outside the church. A little boy's arm which has been amputated is dressed. A few urgent cases are attended to, then we set out for the town of Travancore. This is an old town; formerly it was the capital of this native State, and hence its name. Each dresser and student goes to his appointed village, to preach to the heathen in school-rooms, which are used as girls'

[1] *Memoirs of Thomas Smith Thomson*, by I. H. Hacker, p. 58.

schools by Mrs. Thomson for the heathen children during the week. On my way I meet a little boy whose hand is swollen from fracture, without any bandages. I stop and tell the father to bring the boy to the hospital at two o'clock, warning him that his son will lose his arm by mortification if it is not bandaged properly. I then reach Travancore, and have a service among some Syrian Christians, who are very dead and cold, and do nothing to build up their church. I speak to them about Christ, the Life-giver, who came that they might have life, and have it more abundantly. After this service, I call to see a Sudra heathen teacher, who promised to let us teach his scholars in his school on Sunday after he had done teaching. The teacher is absent, but the school children are there. In a corner of the school-room there is a black mound, with flowers before and around it. It has the head and trunk of an elephant. That is Ganesa, the God of wisdom, whom every school-boy in India invokes to help him in lessons. I talk to the little children about God being a Spirit, sing a hymn and pray, and then return home to breakfast. After breakfast attend the 11 a.m. service at the Neyoor Chapel, where a good sermon is preached on the text, "Whosoever will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow Me." At 2 p.m., we have our usual Sabbath afternoon service with the patients, and the text being a favourite one of mine, John x. 9, "By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved," the patients listen attentively. Dinner at half-past three, after which we start to two Sabbath schools in heathen villages. The first school is taught by a student on Sunday. It belongs to a heathen master; but he is willing that the children should be taught Christian truths, as the parents do not object. They sing a lyric in their own fashion, "Sweeter than honey is the name of Jesus," and their lessons are heard. The next school we visit is composed of over a dozen Sudra girls, learning about the birth of Christ from a female Christian teacher. After examining these children we walk over to a Pariah village, where one

of our dressers is found talking to the poor people about the blind man whose eyes Jesus opened. Here we have a very interesting time, and I speak to their Sudra employers about erecting a school for these poor people. But they object to their being taught. After talking about this, however, we get permission, and we hope to have a building for these poor people in a few weeks' time. We have been trying to get this school for many months, making it repeatedly a subject of prayer, and often it seemed to be slipping out of our hands. But the Lord is more powerful than all against us, and will be honoured. After this we return home in the moonlight, and thus ends our Sunday[1].'

In 1876 Mrs. Thomson, a highly gifted lady, who had done much good work among the girls and women of the district, died. She had expressed the wish that her Tamil Bible should be sent to the Dewan, or Prime Minister, of Travancore. The book was accepted, and a letter sent to her sorrowing husband, which affords a fine illustration of how the influence of Christianity extends in India through educational work:—

'The parting gift of poor Mrs. Thomson has duly reached me, and I feel indeed very thankful. A copy of this was the first printed book put into my hand when I was a little boy of eight, wending my way to Madras for education. I got it from a missionary who was distributing Bibles and tracts. Then again, it was the first book I read in English, under the late Rev. John Anderson of the Scotch Mission, when I was ten years old. So the present of the Bible was welcome to me in several ways. The first truths imparted to the mind when young stick to the last, and I often feel how much I owe to the moral principles instilled into my mind by that loving and beloved missionary[2].'

From 1876 to 1884 Dr. Thomson laboured with great energy and success.

'Before Dr. Thomson arrived in 1872, the number of

[1] *Memoirs*, pp. 62–4. [2] Ibid. p. 72.

patients annually treated was under 10,000, while in 1883 the number of people who had come under the care of the medical mission amounted to no less than 29,433; while the work had extended over an area of 700 square miles, in the midst of a population of 350,000 people of all castes. As the work widened, greater help in money and sympathy was rendered, both by the native population and the Europeans living in Travancore, who were acquainted with its beneficent nature. As each year passed by, and accounts came to be closed, Dr. Thomson was always encouraged by finding the cash balances in favour of the mission, although often in the middle of the year he had found great difficulties in making ends meet. But he never had to complain that the Lord had disappointed him. "Lacked ye anything?" said Jesus Christ to his disciples when they returned from their first missionary tour; and the disciples could truly answer, "Nothing." Dr. Thomson, year after year, rendered the same testimony gratefully and joyfully. He received much help from the native Government in the way of building in different parts of the country[1].

'In the year 1882 the usefulness of the medical mission and Dr. Thomson's labours received a further illustration. Bishop Sargent, of Tinnevelly, of the Church Missionary Society, applied to him for a trained medical evangelist—one whose piety and devotion to Christ could be relied upon—who was required to join a company of native preachers, which was going forth from the native Church at Tinnevelly to engage in missionary work amongst the Gonds, one of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hill countries in the Central Provinces of India. The history of this first native missionary effort is an interesting and encouraging sign of the development of Christian zeal in the native Church[2].

'Dr. Thomson felt this as a distinct call from God to help, and his way of dealing with the application was characteristic. He summoned all his young men together,

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 78. [2] Ibid. p. 85.

laid the whole matter before them, its duties, responsibilities, its dangers, and its glory; then they knelt together in prayer for help, and when they rose he asked who would volunteer to go. One man, Alfred, the son of Suviseshamuttoo, an evangelist in connection with the London Missionary Society in Salem, at once said, "Here am I, send me." He left Travancore on November 1, 1882, joined his native brethren at Palamcottah, and, followed by many earnest prayers, the little band reached their destination in the Koi country safely and began their great work. Major-General Haig in a letter says:—

'"I had no conception before of the immense value and importance of medical missions, not only in recommending the Gospel, but in attracting hearers who would not otherwise come within the sound of it. We have had patients from all quarters, distances from twenty to thirty miles. Some even from the low country. All sorts of ailments, diseases, and wounds have been treated, and generally, I must say, I think successfully, though the supply of medicines and appliances is as yet very deficient. About 230 cases in all have been treated up to the present. Some have been of special interest[1]."'

In July, 1884, Dr. Thomson died after only a few days' illness. He passed away in the full vigour of manhood, and in the midst of most important and most successful work. G. O. Newport wrote of him: 'Thousands of grateful hearts in Travancore will thank God for his services, and thousands will mourn his death. His life was one continued labour of love, and no missionary I ever knew was more what a true missionary ought to be.'

Dr. Thomson was succeeded by Dr. Sargood Fry, who superintended the mission until 1892, when he resigned, and succeeded Dr. Lowe in Edinburgh. By 1891 the branch dispensaries had increased to *nine*, and a leper ward was added to the hospital in 1888. Dr. Sargood Fry was succeeded by Mr. Arthur Fells, M.B. In August,

[1] *Memoirs*, pp. 95, 96.

1891, the handsome Jubilee Hospital was opened. It accommodates thirty patients, and cost 13,000 rupees. Here is a visit to it in 1897:—

'Neyoor Hospital is now one of the best-known institutions in South Travancore, and the original dispensary has been replaced by a large and substantial hospital. Nor is it too large for the needs of the work. Every bed in the male ward is occupied. In one there is the chief man of a group of villages in British territory. He has suffered for some months from a severe and painful cancerous tumour of the jaw, and, hearing of Neyoor, has come across the Ghauts into Travancore in the hope of finding relief. The tumour has been removed, and he is now rapidly convalescing. Next him is a small boy who, whilst playing, fell from his big brother's back and sustained a compound fracture of the arm. He is a bright, cheery little fellow, and as his wounds have been healing he has been storing his memory with passages of Scripture. In the next bed is a man who entered the hospital a raw heathen, having no religion, but a dread of demons. He has long been sick, and his wounds have taken long to heal, but this has not been wholly a loss to him, for he has learnt so much about God's love that he is unwilling to go back to his old life, and is beginning to ask about baptism[1]. We might well spend all our time in this one ward with its fourteen beds, but must hurry on. Passing through operating, consulting, and dispensing rooms, we come to the female ward, which at present is as well filled as the men's ward, though this is not always quite the case. There is no time to question the women, but, stepping across a path, we enter a small house divided into two rooms, where well-to-do patients are received at a small charge if they wish for separate accommodation. At present one room is shared by a Brahman boy, whose eye has been removed on account of long-standing disease, and an old Sudra gentleman suffering from heart disease. Next door is a Christian girl and her mother, both

[1] This man has since been baptized with his wife and three children.

recovering from fever—caste Hindus and non-caste Christians for once living happily under the same roof. Across the compound stands the maternity ward, the value of which the women of the neighbourhood are slowly learning to appreciate; and a short distance on either side are the two isolation wards, the whole place busy with the coming and going of attendants, patients, and friends. A few furlongs down the road is another block of buildings—the Leper Asylum, consisting of chapel, dispensary, catechist's house, &c., and forty small rooms for the patients. Every room has its occupant, whose food, medicine, clothing, and teaching are provided by an Irish friend through the Mission to Lepers. The work amongst the lepers was commenced in 1888 by Dr. Fry, and since that time thirty-seven of these poor sufferers have been baptized. On our way back to the bungalow we pass the Orphanage, where about twenty children live under the auspices of the medical mission. Some are the children of lepers who have been separated from their parents in the hope that they may thus be saved from the disease; others are the orphans of destitute parents who have ended their days in the hospital[1].'

In addition to the central hospital at Neyoor there are also maintained a number of medical out-stations, each with its dispensary, and each regularly visited by competent medical attendants.

We have traced in some detail the story of the Neyoor Hospital, because it is the most important and most successful medical mission maintained by the Society in India, and it is also a good example of medical mission work, carried on side by side with a strong evangelistic mission, and as a powerful auxiliary to, and in no sense a substitute for, directly religious work. But so slowly has the importance of properly maintaining medical missions been recognized by the churches in the West, that at the close of the nineteenth century they may still be considered as only in their infancy. In 1894 the London Missionary

[1] *Chronicle*, 1897, p. 80.

Society had upon its staff in India only four fully qualified medical missionaries, viz. one at Neyoor, one at Jammulamadugu, one at Mirzapur, and one, the only lady, Dr. Lucy Nicholas, at Jiaganj. This enumeration excludes the cases of qualified ladies who are wives of missionaries, and some trained nurses; and by both these classes much good medical work has been done. It also takes no notice of the enormous number of simple medical cases attended to by missionaries in the ordinary course of their work where no skilled assistance is available.

This comparative neglect has been due to no fault of the missionaries. In season and out of season they have urged the value, the importance, and the pressing needs of this work upon the home authorities and the home churches. It has found a prominent place also in every Conference of Indian Missionaries. That held at Ootacamund in 1858 passed three resolutions urging upon the churches the great need for and importance of this service. At the Allahabad Conference in 1872–3, part of the third day was given up to the discussion of medical missions, and such questions as how home objections to medical missions were to be removed, how far Government aid to hospitals obviated the need for them, the best means of extending them, and other kindred topics were discussed. The day for such discussions has long passed. Although the old objections are still sometimes heard, they are maintained by no competent students or observers of missions. The opinions with which the century closes are rather that medicine and surgery, practised by men and women in whose hearts the flame of Christ's love is burning, are very sure and very ready entrances into dark heathen hearts.

'"Do you mind telling me," said Dr. Clarke, of Amritzar, to a friendly Hindu, "which of all our methods you fear the most?" "Why should I put weapons into the hands of the enemy?" replied the Hindu. "But I will tell you. We do not greatly fear your schools; we need not send our children. We do not fear your books; for we need

not read them. We do not much fear your preaching; we need not listen. But we dread your women, and we dread your doctors; for your doctors are winning our hearts and your women are winning our homes, and when our hearts and our homes are won, what is there left of us?"'

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Official Reports and Annual Reports; *Memoir of the Rev. C. Leitch*, by David Smith, D. D., 1856; *Memoirs of Thomas Smith Thomson*, by I. H. Hacker, 1887.]

CHAPTER VIII

WORK AMONG HINDU WOMEN

MISSIONARIES of every church and society working in India recognize the importance and the difficulty of Christianizing the girls and the women. Until female agency began to be extensively employed it was difficult to gain access in any real and effective way to the girls and the women. Still, great progress in this department has already been made, and in no other Indian field of Christian enterprise are the signs more hopeful at the close of the nineteenth century.

Woman's work in India is really as extensive and as varied as the land itself, for there is no part of India where work for women may not be undertaken by women, nor is there any class of women, from the highest to the lowest, among whom the labours of women are not sadly needed. In the minds of many at home, work among the women of India is still limited to zenana work; that is, the going from house to house among the women and girls of the upper and middle classes of native society, who are prevented by custom from leaving their homes, for the purpose of teaching them to read and write, and to tell them the good news of salvation through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. But really a still more extensive and important work is being done through schools for girls. And something has been attempted in the way of Female Medical Missions.

I. SCHOOLS. The millions of female children found in India offer an immense field for labour. With them, probably more than with any other class, rests the

hope of any Christian India that is to be. As they become the wives and the mothers of the men of India, they will give to them their first, deepest, and most lasting impressions. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of an early and wise Christian training for Hindu girls. Reading, writing, and arithmetic may be taught as well by Hindus or Muhammadans as by a Christian, if the requisite knowledge be possessed; but if a school lacks the influence of the presence and example of a true Christian teacher, it may well be doubted whether it is worth the time and means expended upon it. If in mission girls' schools the services of trained and godly native women cannot be secured, missionary ladies themselves ought to control the work and give as much as possible a Christian tone to the school.

Almost as soon as mission stations were established in India schools for girls were opened. But for a long period these had little or no influence over high-caste girls. They were either small schools for the children of converts or were attended only by girls of the lower-middle classes; or else they were boarding schools for famine orphans, and for children who had been entrusted by their parents to the care of the missionaries. Almost, if not all, the female schools referred to in the various reports prior to 1860 were of this class. In India public opinion and custom from time immemorial have always been hostile to female education, and the tyranny exerted by these is powerful and repulsive beyond belief to those who live in the Western world. So strong were these hostile forces that the Danish missionaries in the eighteenth century never succeeded in attracting other than the children of converts or of non-Hindus into their schools.

Mrs. Mullens, the daughter of the Rev. A. F. Lacroix, born and reared in Calcutta, spoke Bengali with remarkable accuracy and grace. After her marriage in 1845 she became more and more impressed with the need for female education, and for some means of carrying the Gospel to the secluded and ignorant high-caste Hindu ladies. In a long

letter dated June 1, 1861, she describes f[illegible]ools in Calcutta and the neighbourhood whic[illegible]en superintending: at Behala, Bhowanipore, Pc[illegible]kur, and Bokul Bagan. These were attended by seventy-seven girls. She writes: 'It is strange how the Behala school flourishes in the heart of that orthodox Brahman village; the people are quite used to it, and like it, and even those who do not speak English call it the Lady School. The brothers of the girls, many of whom attend the Bhowanipore Institution, often call to know how their sisters are getting on. I never go to the school without being struck by the strange inconsistencies of the Hindus. It is carried on at one end of the domestic chapel of the house, a mat screen merely separating the two; on one side the idolatrous priest goes on with his incantations, while on the other is being read the holy Word of God.'

Mrs. Mullens died Nov. 21, 1861, when Indian female education was only just coming into existence as an organized and well-supported mode of missionary labour, and when zenana visitation was still in its infancy. The rapid growth of female education is indicated, so far as statistics can make it plain, by the following figures:—

'How female education has advanced in late years, after its long struggle with opposing influences, may be briefly stated for the glory of God, the honour of Christian ladies, and a fine illustration of the power of Christian beneficence to triumph over difficulties and to confer blessings. Even in 1855, the number of girls being taught was not more than 1,000 or 1,200 in a population of 20 millions; and in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, it being assumed that a somewhat larger number were at school, "there would only be 5,000 or 6,000 females under tuition in a total Indian female population of from 80 to 100 millions, or one girl out of about 15,000 females[1]."

'The earliest and most detailed report of the progress

[1] Paper read before the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries in December, 1855, by the Rev. J. Fordyce.

of e of any Chale education was made by Dr. Mullens income the wivein in 1861 :—
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	1851.	1861.
Day Schools .	185 .	. 261
Pupils . .	8,919 .	. 12,057
Boarding Schools	86 .	. 108
Pupils . .	2,274 .	. 3,912

'At the latter date Government schools were seventy-one, with 2,545 scholars.

'From this time education in all its forms has spread, but most markedly in zenanas, among the upper classes of society, though the immense numbers yet without any instruction seems to dwarf what progress already is made. For instance, in 1870–1, out of 26,000,000 boys and girls who ought to have been at school, only 1,100,000 received any education worthy of the name, and of these only 50,000 were girls, 22,000 being in schools belonging to Government. The rest were cared for chiefly by Christian missionaries, with the aid of small grants [1].

'The following table, from the Census Report of 1891, gives a general summary of the educational state of nine-tenths of India :—

	Total.	Males.	Females.
Learning .	3,195,220 .	2,997,558 .	197,662
Literate .	12,097,530 .	11,554,035 .	543,495
Illiterate .	246,546,176 .	118,819,408 .	127,726,768
Total .	261,838,926 .	133,371,001 .	128,467,925

'It is to the honour of the Missionary Societies that they have been, in every instance, the pioneers of female education and its most active workers in every department; and in no sphere of evangelistic effort have they advanced more rapidly, as the following tables will show:—

[1] 'Government Education in India,' by Dr. George Smith, in the *Female Evangelist* for April, 1872.

	1871.	1890.
Foreign and Eurasian Agents	370	711
Native Christian	837	3,278
Non-Christian	—	383
Day Schools	664	1.507
Scholars	24,078	62,414
Orphans	2,905	1,784
Zenanas	1,300	40,513[1]

One of the most noticeable developments of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the Indian mission-field has been the enormous increase in female missionaries, fully equipped and trained, in the number of female native teachers and Bible-women, and in manifold special forms of Christian work among native women. During the first eighty years of its history, that is up to and including 1875, the Society had placed upon its list, apart from the wives of missionaries, only ten fully accredited female missionaries. Of these names, one appears in 1827, two in 1864, three in 1865, one in 1867, one in 1869, and two in 1875. We have noted elsewhere the development of ladies' missionary work in 1876 and 1877, and the formation of a ladies' committee for its supervision. The Report for 1891 states that in India alone there were at work eighteen ladies, as against six in 1881, and at the same time notes: 'This exceptional increase in one branch of workers indicates a remarkable development of work among Hindu women. The progress of female education during the last decade has been phenomenal. The workers in the chief centres of Indian life have not been able to overtake the opportunities of not simply secular education, but also and especially Bible teaching for women in Hindu homes.'

II. ZENANA WORK. The Rev. E. Storrow, in his suggestive, comprehensive, and instructive book entitled *Our*

[1] Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India for 1890.

Indian Sisters[1], has given a clear and useful sketch of the origin of zenana visitation:—

'The earliest mission schools were intended for both sexes and all castes and classes; but increased knowledge and experience convinced the missionaries that prejudice was far too strong for their good intentions, and their schools were left almost entirely to boys belonging to the inferior castes. When it became known that, whilst education was greatly valued for boys, there was a deep prejudice against it for girls, and that this was but one feature of the degradation and unhappy condition of their sex, the desire became strong to instruct and elevate them in some practicable way. The construction of society and the prejudices everywhere dominant, alike among rich and poor, high caste and low, made this most difficult. They could preach, but the women were not present to listen. They conversed with men, but few opportunities were allowed them to do so with women. They published books and tracts, but not one woman in 20,000 could read, even if a Christian publication could have been placed in their hands. It may seem strange that zenana visitation was not thought of as a means of reaching the most secluded and influential class of women, but a long leavening process was necessary to make that practicable, and far into this century the force of custom, the seclusiveness of zenana life, the distrust of the men, the fear of the women, and the dread of intercourse with Christians, prevented the idea from being even entertained.

'But Christian women were not indifferent, and brooded sorrowfully over the sad state of their native sisters. And they did what they could. They formed schools wherever practicable for Eurasian and native Christian girls, and to these Hindus and Muhammadans were usually welcome. But, since they could induce few to attend, they established boarding-schools and orphan asylums, into which were received the few children offered by their relatives, and

[1] Published by the Religious Tract Society. The quotations here given are from chapter xiii.

now and then the many who were left orphans and homeless by terrible famines. These, however, were neither satisfactory in themselves, nor did they reach any considerable part of the community. The board of each child cost little, but the general expenses of a school were considerable, and the girls and boys thus brought up seldom exhibited marked features of energy, strength of character, and self-reliance. They were for the most part exotics, not hardy plants; nor did such schools influence, either by their character or number, the vast populations surrounding them. Bazaar day schools, therefore, were formed in towns where missionaries resided, and common schools for girls in villages where their influence extended.

'These schools, however, though few and small, were educational in a wide and general sense. They were in every instance the outcome of the zeal and love of missionaries' wives and their friends. They drew the attention of the high and low castes alike to Christianity and its principles. They exhibited the mindful, disinterested zeal of the missionaries for the poor, the ignorant, and the despised. They conveyed some knowledge of Christian truth and doctrine, and the ability to read and write, to a few in various towns in many Indian provinces. They helped to familiarize the people with missionary methods, and some aspects of European life and policy, and they assisted to make Christian people more conscious of the degradation and dense ignorance of Hindu women, and the peculiar difficulties to be encountered in reaching them.

'The honour of advancing beyond individual efforts in small separate schools for united action, and to secure higher efficiency in teachers and teaching, is claimed by Dr. Duff for some young ladies associated with the Baptist Missionary Society in Calcutta. In April, 1819, an address was issued setting forth the actual condition of women in Bengal, and proposing the formation of a school for the education of Hindu women. This led to the formation of an association, under the title of the Calcutta Female

Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females. But for nearly twelve months, notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions, the number of scholars did not exceed eight. Still the promoters of the scheme went on. At the end of two years the number amounted to thirty-two, and in three more years the schools had increased to six, in which were 160 scholars. "On December 14, 1823, was held the anniversary of the society. And that must ever prove a memorable day in the history of feminine native education, as it was the first time that the establishment of native female schools of any description could be spoken of as in the remotest degree practicable, without opening the windows of incredulity and drawing down showers of ridicule and contemptuous scorn [1]."

'But though this was the first combined effort in behalf of female education, it was symptomatic of a deepening interest, and was overshadowed by another society destined to accomplish great and unexpected results. In September, 1819, the Calcutta School Society was founded under influential auspices, and was intended to unite Europeans and natives in a combined movement. Its leading design was "to assist and improve schools, organized and supported by the natives themselves; to establish new schools; to improve the general system of education; and to diffuse useful knowledge of every description among the inhabitants of India, but especially within the province of Bengal." In the course of inquiry previous to active operations, it was ascertained that in the district around Calcutta, containing at least 750,000 people, there were only 4,180 children in the native schools, and that with scarcely an exception Hindu girls were wholly uneducated. Further investigation brought out the appalling truth that for the entire mass of the female population there was no system of education whatever, and that out of forty million females then supposed to be in British India, probably not 400, or one in 100,000, could read or write, and of these the greater number had been educated by the wives of

[1] Dr. Duff in *The Indian Female Evangelist*, vol. i. p. 59.

missionaries[1]. The society received considerable aid from missionaries. In the report of the London Missionary Society for 1821, we read: "It is well known that the Calcutta School Society is vigorously employed in the establishment and support of schools. The Directors are happy to state that the operations of the society are likely to prove of the greatest importance, and have interested themselves very warmly in behalf of the native female population of that country, with a view to extend to them the advantages of education. With a view to promote a design so closely connected with the ultimate success of missionary operations in Hindustan, the Directors have committed to the disposal of Mr. Townley, one of its missionaries, the sum of £125, to be appropriated as he shall deem proper, toward the encouragement of native female education in India."

'The society had influential friends, and acted with vigour. It applied to the British and Foreign School Society "to select and send from England a well-qualified lady to institute schools for native girls." Miss Cook fortunately was selected, and reached Calcutta at the end of 1821. The issue proved that no more suitable agent could have been found, for she won for native female education an interest and enthusiasm of the highest value; and as a system and a recognized department of missionary education of the highest importance, it dates from that time.

'A significant difficulty had to be overcome at the very commencement of her labours. To interest natives in the work of the School Society, it was stipulated that its managing committee should consist of two-thirds Europeans and their descendants, and one-third natives of India. But it soon appeared that the latter had no desire to engage in any general plan for female education. On this the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society undertook to promote the special purposes of Miss Cook's mission. Thus her labours for many years were conducted

[1] *The Indian Female Evangelist*, vol. i. p. 16.

under the auspices of that Society, and by the end of the year 1823 the number of schools had increased to twenty-two, and of scholars to between three and four hundred.

'The influence of this movement was great. It encouraged the formation of new schools, and suggested improvements in those already existing; and in the course of a few years every mission in Calcutta, and not a few elsewhere in Bengal, had one or more girls' schools.

'Even natives now began to be interested in the question, though it was much more in a theoretical than practical manner. A few Hindus of rank, observant of English society, and among the first to be powerfully affected by an English education, saw some of the evils afflicting native life, and had some glimpses of a possible remedy, but were, with the rarest exceptions, too weak to apply it, or were restrained by the hostile prejudices and usages prevalent. Here and there, however, was one who sympathized with the new movement, privately himself instructed his wife, or for a time engaged the services of a daily governess, until feminine pertinacity or social opposition closed the door. But no school for respectable or high-caste girls existed anywhere, nor indeed ever seems to have existed, though it is stated that what appears a school for girls is sculptured on the rock caves of Ajunta. Neither for some years before and after the writer's arrival in India, in 1848, was there a single zenana in Calcutta open to any lady missionary. But two ideas became clear to the missionaries, and it was in their sphere of influence only that, up to the middle of the century, any practical steps were taken to educate Hindu women. The first was that the education of the men must precede the education of the women; the other, that women of the higher castes could not be reached by schools, but by family or house-to-house instruction.

'But though these ideas were seething in some minds, it was Dr. Thomas Smith who first gave voice and form to the latter idea. In a powerful article in the *Calcutta*

Christian Observer for 1840, on Hindu Female Education, he declared, "If it be impossible to get the daughters of the higher classes to attend schools, then we must teach them without requiring their attendance at school. If the men of India will not permit their female relations to come to us for instruction, we must send our teachers to them."

'It will seem surprising to those unacquainted with the state of Hindu society in the middle of the century, but less so to those who are, that these suggestions took no practical form for some time, though the general question of female education engaged the attention of many minds. But it was not until the beginning of 1855 that zenana teaching on any well-conceived and definite form began by arrangements made by the Rev. J. and Mrs. Fordyce. This delay is easily explained. It was caused by the intense reluctance of Hindus, even when educated, to set aside the seclusion of the zenana by the admission of Englishwomen, however educated and refined; and of Europeans, who were so wedded to the school system, and so impressed with the difficulty of reaching zenana ladies, that it was only after much delay and abortive efforts in the school direction that a more excellent way was adopted.

'In January, 1853, the Rev. John Fordyce had arrived in Calcutta to superintend the Free Church Female Institution, and intercourse with Dr. Smith and his own sagacious observation soon convinced him that zenana visitation was the true way to reach the higher classes, and make female education effective and popular. But the difficulties were great and peculiar. Even when the idea of Mr. Fordyce and Dr. Smith was considered by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, nearly all the members, many of them men of wide experience, accounted the idea to be impracticable; nevertheless Mr. Fordyce persevered, greatly aided by the wide influence among native gentlemen of Dr. Smith. He lectured on "The Emancipation of Women in India"; wrote "Fly-leaves for Indian Homes"; visited native gentlemen, that he might overcome their scruples, learn

their objections, and gain their support; collected subscriptions, advanced the necessary funds, organized a small staff of teachers; obtained permission for them to visit regularly some families, and the promise of payment for instruction given. Mr. Fordyce writes, "As Miss Toogood and Rebecca, the native teacher, left the house to begin these visitations, I said to Mrs. Fordyce, 'This is the beginning of a new era for India's daughters.' It had been a subject of much thought, consultation, and prayer, and we expected great results, but the rapidity of the extension had gone beyond our expectation. We had no opposition, but few encouraged us, and many thought that we were attempting impossibilities[1]."

'We have here given the true history of the zenana movement, since its origin has been ascribed to at least four persons. A vague idea of some such method was no doubt brooding in many minds. The native gentlemen who thought on the subject knew that family instruction alone would be feasible; but they were silent. In the few instances where instruction was desired, it was obtained through the services of a daily governess. A few English ladies, as Mrs. Tracey in Benares, Miss Bird at Goruckpore and Calcutta, Mrs. Sale in Eastern Bengal, Mrs. Mullens in Calcutta, and probably others, were zealous for female education, and had given instruction, each probably in two or more zenanas prior to 1853. From personal knowledge the writer can state how zealously and efficiently Mrs. Mullens did this from about 1850 to the time of her death. But the honour of erecting zenana teaching into a system, and of popularizing it by public advocacy and efficient practical organization, belongs to Mr. Fordyce and Dr. Thomas Smith, the latter being the original advocate of the idea in 1840, and the most zealous helper of Mr. Fordyce.'

The letter from Mrs. Mullens quoted above contains a very early reference to zenana visitation: 'We have four zenanas,

[1] *Women's Work in Heathen Lands: After many Days*, by the Rev. John Fordyce, late of Calcutta and Simla.

visited regularly once a week in the afternoons from two to four, and others visited occasionally. A zenana means simply that part of the house which is devoted to the use of the ladies. First, there is Mrs. Sale's zenana. Mrs. Sale was the wife of a Baptist missionary, and she kindly introduced me to some of her families before she went to England for her health. This is visited by Mrs. Murray, myself, my daughter, and taught daily by a native Christian teacher, who also instructs eight other ladies in an adjoining house. In these two houses twenty ladies get daily instruction from a Christian native, and weekly from ourselves. Our second zenana is at Entally, where eight ladies are taught; and the fourth is in the house of Kalee Dass. The third is at Poddopokur, and here from thirty to fifty come from adjoining houses to read and work and look at the strange ladies.'

In another letter a few weeks later Mrs. Mullens narrates some of the hindrances she and her helpers met in the discharge of their duty:—

'We met to-day with our first repulse in zenana teaching; it came, not from the ladies, of course, nor even from the master of the house we were in, but from a jealous old uncle, a bigoted Hindu, who is rich and powerful enough to make the family unwilling to offend him. We were seated in their verandah, as usual, surrounded by at least twenty eager learners, Mrs. Murray and my daughter busy with the needlework, and I with the reading lessons, when suddenly a harsh voice was heard below stairs, vehement and loud in the extreme, and so choked with anger that the only words that I could distinguish were, "What, again! Again! After all I have said, these missionary ladies are here again!" The effect was electrical. Our frightened scholars slid away and hid themselves in all parts of the house. It seems the old gentleman had warned them before, but they fondly believed he had gone out to collect his rents; and so he had, but his carriage had driven back to the door for the express purpose, as it seemed, to detect them tasting of the tree

of knowledge—a tree forbidden to them, alas! although their minds were hungering for mental aliments. The old schoolmistress alone stood her ground; apologized to the angry man; said it should not happen again; motioned to us to remain silent (which I was not sorry to comply with), and finally persuaded him to go away for to-day. The women then returned one by one, and a council was held. The teaching in that house was over, that was clear, but the scholars were not going tamely to submit; they had begun to learn, and they meant to continue; that, they said, was their determination. I replied, "Well, as your laws forbid your coming to me, it rests with you to find another schoolroom; I cannot help you in this matter." Then, with a good deal of hesitation, one of them, named Koddome, suggested, "I live a very little way from this, and come here through a private passage; I have an indulgent father, who might perhaps allow the teaching to go on in our house, and then most of these ladies could come there through the same private passage; but then the room is very small and inconvenient, I fear you will not be able to bear the closeness and the heat." We were considerably relieved: if we could only keep our beloved scholars we could bear anything, so I told her; and she added joyfully, "Oh, then I shall use all my influence with my father to let you come." Our best pupils here are two young Brahman sisters, who also come from an adjoining house; they are richly laden with jewels. I turned to them and said, "Why don't you invite us to your commodious dwelling yonder, and let us hold the school there?" "Oh!" they replied, "how gladly would we do so; but our husbands won't hear of it, they say that it is bad enough that we are learning to read, they won't have their own house turned into a school for Christianity."'

The constantly increasing importance of zenana agency has led to the employment of many *Bible-women*. They are Christian women with some knowledge of the Bible and of Christian truth, and an adequate amount of intelligence,

zeal, and tact. Their primary duty is to visit the houses or small groups of houses into which towns and even villages are usually divided, to sell portions of Scripture, read or narrate Bible incidents, explain to the women the main features of the Gospel, sing hymns, and give instructive and interesting information. To native women, ignorant, inquisitive, solitary, imaginative, despised, and with abundant leisure, such visits are most welcome, and afford fine opportunities for telling of heavenly things.

A few examples from the increasingly rich field of Christian influence over India's daughters, which illustrate the varied nature of the services rendered and the widely scattered fields in which they are so faithfully discharged, may fitly close this chapter. Here is one from Calcutta :—

'Another baptism has been that of a young Hindu woman of twenty-six years of age. She is the married daughter of a well-known inhabitant of Bhowanipore. Her husband disappeared some nine years ago, and has not since been heard of. She had a pleasant home in her father's house, and was the special favourite of her aunt, who was very kind to her. She was allowed to receive private lessons from a neighbour who had business in the house, and who was a pupil of the Institution a few years ago. When she had made some progress in reading and writing, he chose the Bengali Bible as the textbook from which to teach her ; and though he has not had the courage to follow Christ, or indeed to come to any member of the mission, yet he inspired her with such knowledge as led her to seek baptism with great earnestness. She managed to leave her house and come to the Ladies' Zenana Home. Her father was told of what she had done, and he sent some relatives to bring her away. This they found to be impossible, and for a long time even her aunt was unsuccessful. At last, allured by various promises, she was persuaded to go back, and as her caste had not been broken, she was received ; but in about a fortnight she came again, and on this occasion she was left unmolested,

and has been baptized. Her case is a remarkable instance of the indirect results of our educational work, for here the truth found its way through an old pupil into a house that was shut against all zenana visitation, and where the girls had never been allowed to attend the mission school, though it is close at hand. Thus the seed was sown apart altogether from any direct Christian effort.'

Here is another from Nagercoil:—

'In the various districts in which our sixteen Bible-women are at work, there are many who are really—though secretly—followers of Christ. They do not leave their homes and join the Christian community, their names are not in the church list, nor are they reckoned among the number of Christian adherents; but we believe that they belong none the less to Christ's Church, and have their names written in the Lamb's Book of Life. Although for the most part the women are quite indifferent about spiritual things, their one thought being how far they can surpass others in their display of jewels, there are some who before ever they hear of Christianity are crushed with the burden of sin and are earnest seekers after God. There is a woman living in Kottar who has grown old and grey during many a thousand miles' search after salvation. She had been a pilgrim to the Ganges, Benares, Papavinasham, Kurtalam, and many other sacred places; but no peace rewarded the long journeys of fatigue. At last she settled down here so that she might go monthly to Cape Comorin to bathe in its sacred waters. But neither did this bring the desired forgiveness. It was a long and sad tale of disappointed hope that she told to Santhyai and Ambudial, the two zenana teachers visiting in that district. But they were able to tell her of a more excellent way—the Way of Life, which is Jesus Christ. She said she had sought salvation through her own gods until she despaired of their ever giving it: she would now willingly make a trial of this new way. The Bible-women taught her a short prayer, "Jesus, my God, my Life, I am a poor sinner, save me!" She has a different tale to tell now, for she is filled with joy and

peace. She delights to speak of the great blessing that has come to her, and says that when she communes with God she seems to be lifted up and surrounded by light, so that she is able to understand many truths hitherto hidden from her.'

As it has always been found very difficult to get any Christian hold upon Muhammadans, the following example may be instructive:—

'A merchant from a village near visits Nagercoil to sell cloth. In passing through the streets he often noticed the superior appearance of our Christian women, and how favourably they compared with their Hindu and Muhammadan sisters. The neatness and cleanliness of our Bible-women particularly struck him, and he asked two of them, Yesudial and Gnanai, whom he had often seen visiting a village near his own, to come and teach his wife to read. This they willingly did, but for the first few days were greatly opposed by the neighbours, the men forming a crowd around the merchant's house, declaring in loud terms that the women of that village should not be taught. This continued for some days, the cloth merchant emphatically insisting that his wife should be taught, let his neighbours say what they would. His opponents, seeing that further resistance was useless, themselves began to think that, after all, there might be some good in giving their wives and daughters a little education; and one by one asked the Bible-women to teach in their houses, so that now no fewer than thirty-two women are learning. I paid a most pleasant visit to this village only a few days ago, and was greatly pleased with the wonderful progress they had made in the space of a few months. Many who could not even read the alphabet six months before were now able to read with fluency passages of moderate difficulty.'

As an example of good work accomplished, and at the same time a prophecy of much more to be done in the second century, we give the experience of that veteran Indian lady missionary, Mrs. Baylis Thomson,

in the important and prosperous Neyoor district of Travancore:—

'My band of thirty zenana agents were educated in boarding schools. Many are widows. It is the work of the Bible-woman to read the Scriptures in the homes of the heathen and render assistance in times of sickness. It was not till 1886 the need arose for zenana teachers. They were necessary to continue instruction in their homes to our pupils from the caste schools, who were removed at such early ages. This led to a desire on the part of their mothers to be taught. Thirty years ago this would have been impossible, on account of the bitter hatred to Christians, as low caste, and the prejudice against female education.

'When I returned to Neyoor in 1889, I found this prejudice had given way to an eager desire to have the same knowledge as their daughters. The movement spread from village to village, so that now we have more than one thousand heathen pupils in over a hundred villages. I cannot but see the hand of the Lord in this. He would have the Gospel preached to *every* creature, and how can these secluded women hear unless we go to them? Our one aim is to teach them to read, and as each masters the Third Lesson-book, I give her a Tamil Testament.

'Of the 140 villages we visit, some few are large towns, others hamlets with two or three dozen houses. Then, again, we may go three miles in the burning sun, over rough ground, along the edge of high banks between paddy-fields, or across dry water-courses, to take the Gospel to the establishment of a rich Súdra landowner. Around Neyoor, our head station, there are about forty such villages within a radius of four miles; but so greatly has the work extended that I have been obliged to form seven centres in the district. I put up in a small chapel or travellers' bungalow. I find the jinricksha very serviceable, as it will go over comparatively level ground where there is no road; but where this is not practicable, I resort to the old

mode of travelling by palanquin chair and bearers. Zenana agents live in or near the villages. They start off in the early morning and prepare their pupils for my visit. Often the native pastor, evangelist, and other mission agents accompany us. The work is hard, especially as (except in rare cases) each woman has to be taught individually; she will not meet in her neighbour's house. But hundreds have been taught to read by the indefatigable labours of our zenana agents.

'Within recent years, the native Government has established large schools for girls. These scholars, too, we seek in their homes, and give them a Testament. During these seven years we have given the Word of God to between six and seven hundred heathen women. The leaven is working. Many are secret Christians, but dare not confess their faith. The whole of Hindu thought is being changed through the influence of Christianity. This was strikingly shown a few months back. I was on a platform in South India, and took the opportunity, while waiting for the train, to speak to some of the travellers. I noticed an elderly Brahman edging on his friend. On inquiring if he wished to speak to me, he came up. Courteously salaaming, he said: "*Ammāl*, I wish to give you many, many salaams, and say that you are a great blessing to our country." I do not think that man had ever seen me before, but it shows with what a friendly spirit even the high castes look on missionaries.

III. Female Medical Missions are now recognized as an important auxiliary to Christian work among the women of India. But this involves that the competent medical knowledge and skill be accompanied by earnest Christian devotion, otherwise the missionary may be lost in the mere practitioner. Thousands of women and children, both among the rich and the poor, in towns and in villages, die annually through want of proper medical or surgical treatment. Ignorance, custom, and prejudice have combined to prevent them from receiving this from medical men, even

when it has been available, and the means not wanting to secure it. But little or nothing had been done up to 1895 by the Society in this promising and fruitful department of work through the agency of fully qualified lady doctors. Only one such was at work in India in 1895. Dr. Lucy Nicholas at Jiaganj[1].

[1] The whole question of Medical Missions is dealt with in Chapter VII.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Official and Annual Reports; *Our Indian Sisters*, by E. Storrow; and the Reports of the Conferences at Calcutta in 1882, and Bombay in 1892.]

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIVE CHURCH IN INDIA

THE crucial test of the success or failure of Christian missions in India lies in the state of the Native Church. But it is yet far too early to attempt to apply this test as a rigid standard of the success or failure. It is true that a century has passed since the modern missionary enterprise began in Bengal, but it is not unlikely that another century may pass before this great and complex question is ripe for consideration. The more closely the missionary history of India is studied the more complex do its problems appear. The influence of Christianity goes out far beyond any circles of life and thought that are embraced by the term Native Church. The devout disciple of the Lord Jesus fully recognizes the many-sided civilizing and enlightening power of Christianity. He sees that just as certainly as the iceberg melts as it drifts slowly southwards, so certainly, if slowly, Christianity is destroying caste, revolutionizing the ideas of the Hindus, undermining the foundations of its temples, and opening the way for a commercial prosperity unrivalled and undreamed of in the strange past of that strange continent. But when allowance to the full has been made for all these factors in the problem, when ample time has been allowed for the establishment and development of the work, Christianity in India must ultimately stand or fall by its success in building up, or by its failure to create a living, active, self-supporting *Hindu Native Church*. All that has up to the present been achieved by all the Societies, separately and collec-

tively, cannot be considered as more than a preparation for the great Christian achievement of the future—an enthusiastic, aggressive, Christ-like Church, Hindu in sentiment, in modes of thought, in presentation of theological truth, which shall present Christ to the millions of India, not as the God of her conqueror and master, but as the loving Saviour who has won the devotion and the consecration of her own ablest sons.

Not a few of the supporters of missions in the West are impatient for this result, and restless with an impatience that can only spring from ignorance of India. They point to a century of labour, to the army of European missionaries, to the tens of thousands of pounds annually spent, and they affirm that there must be something radically wrong in a work and in a system, which. after so much effort, have so far failed to set up a strong, vigorous, self-supporting Native Church. But this view can be seriously entertained only by those who fail to give their true weight to important facts.

1. Wherever any conspicuous success in the way of influencing large numbers and communities has up to the present been secured, this has taken place among people of the lower castes. These classes have from time immemorial been in a position of subservience, ignorance, and degradation. They are wholly unfamiliar with the idea of the management of affairs. They have been accustomed to follow where others lead. It will take generations for them to acquire that form of self-organization and self-management which seem to us so simple a thing.

2. The classes who could guide and organize the Church are still outside the Christian Church. When they in any large numbers do enter the Church, the whole aspect of the case will be altered. At present, although many of them sympathize with Christian teaching, they are kept aloof, partly by the terrible social ostracism that they would have to endure, and by the fact that there is no kindred community in the Christian Church which they can join.

3. The Hindu nature and character are such as to render the energetic and independent action needful for a strong Native Church very difficult and irksome to them. The tendency of the Hindu is to remain satisfied with things as they are, and natives are both unwilling and unable very often to take any strong initiative.

Since 1868 great consideration has been given by the governing bodies and by the missionaries of all the great Societies to the development of a self-supporting, self-governing Native Church. Hitherto in the areas under the care of the London Missionary Society the progress has been by no means equal to what the friends of Christian missions in India desire. This is due to obvious causes which fully explain the delay. Some of these are pointed out above, others are set forth in what follows. But the reader, in considering this most important question, should bear in mind two general considerations:—

1. In relation to the Native Church the London Missionary Society occupies a position quite different from that of the other great Societies. The well-known 'fundamental principle' stated that 'the Society's design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church order and government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen.' Consequently the missionaries of the Society have always felt it to be their duty to allow the native Christian communities large liberty in dealing with all questions of Church organization. The adoption of this 'fundamental principle' was one of the strong influences which led to the formation of the Church Missionary Society, many Episcopalians who were willing to co-operate with the Society recognizing that as soon as Christian communities gathered from the heathen were ready to be organized into churches, the question whether they were to be Episcopalian, Independent, or other must arise. And as a matter of fact the great Societies have organized their Indian churches on the lines of their own polity. The great bulk of the

London Missionary Society's agents have been Independent, and of the remainder almost the whole have been Presbyterian. The consequence of this has been that their mission churches cannot show the compactness of those connected with the Episcopalian and Wesleyan and Presbyterian Societies. The Society has made no attempt in India, for example, to build up an Indian Congregational Church. But it has formed, wherever possible, native Christian churches, and these have almost necessarily, as the missionary influence is bound to be very considerable, been organized upon Congregational lines, with here and there a leaning towards Presbyterianism. In dealing with the Native Church in India, so far as the London Missionary Society is concerned, this distinction must be kept in view.

2. The terms 'pastor' and 'preacher, evangelist and catechist,' convey to an English reader ideas that are not applicable to the Native Church in India in its present condition. The native pastor is a highly trained Hindu, usually well acquainted with English, who presides over, preaches to, and manages generally the affairs of a Native Church. To the English reader the existence of a native *pastor* carries with it the idea of a *Native* Church sufficiently educated and trained and capable of judging affairs to be competent to manage its affairs. But though on the road towards independent government, neither Hindu pastors nor native churches yet approximate closely to what these terms convey to an English mind.

The preachers and evangelists represent a lower grade who preach to their heathen countrymen, sometimes accompanying the missionary in bazaar preaching and in itinerating work, but often working alone, and sometimes in lonely stations far from the mission centres. The catechist is a somewhat lower grade of evangelist. India has, during the century, produced not a few men who have in these departments exhibited great capacity for effective and faithful service.

Perhaps no document in the Society's archives could

enable the reader to grasp better the condition of the pastorates, and consequently the strongest churches of the Native Church over the whole of South India, excepting Travancore, than a Special Report on the subject presented by the South India District Committee at their annual business meeting in Coimbatore in 1893:—

'For several years past this committee has been deeply impressed with the fact that the native pastorates in connection with the South Indian mission stations have been unsatisfactory in their working. The cause which has led to this has been easily apparent. It is that native pastorates were pushed on to the churches before the churches were ready for them. Pastors of good education were appointed over immature churches. Neither pastor nor people understood properly the responsibilities of the new relationship. The pastor was practically permanent and practically uncontrolled. The churches felt but little interest in the matter. They were either indifferent or powerless, and they missed the guiding hand of the missionary, which they still needed. The whole step was premature, and thus the real consolidation of the churches was thrown back by many years. The chief objections to the system adopted are—

'(1) The churches were far from self-supporting; and self-support is in our opinion an essential condition of self-control, conferring the right and keeping alive the interest. Most of our church members are poor, "not many rich are called." They might have been able to support a pastor of humble attainments and requiring no higher salary than the majority of themselves enjoyed; but for various reasons it was thought advisable to appoint as pastors a more highly educated class of men, who require salaries considerably above the average of their congregations. Such pastors the churches are not able to support. Nor are they able to maintain in repair the church buildings erected by the Society in central stations, although they might have maintained such simple thatched or mud buildings as are in use for village churches. It is

true that one or two churches ceased to receive aid from the funds of the Society, and were placed on the list of self-supporting churches; but it should be known that these are self-supporting only in name, the pastor receiving his support mainly either from educational work or from the contributions of European friends. These churches show no sign of being really self-supporting for many years to come, and if a pastor of the present educated class were appointed to them, having no extraneous source of income, he could not live.

'(2) Beside being non-self-supporting, the churches were otherwise unripe for self-control, a fact not surprising in a country quite unaccustomed to self-government. The churches include only a few members of the classes accustomed to the management of affairs. The better educated are generally in Government or mission employ, and therefore frequently transferred to distant towns, leaving the poor, dependent, and inexperienced to attend to church affairs. Even where this is not the case, our church members do not at all adequately realize that the conduct of affairs connected with their own spiritual well-being is one that demands the wisdom and the self-denial of their very best men as well as the interest and earnest prayers of every member of the church.

'(3) Then, no provision was made for a change of pastorates, if the pastor grew careless or stale in his work, or if for any reason he and his congregation were to get out of touch with each other. It requires a most exceptional man to keep himself fresh and vigorous, spiritually and mentally, while ministering through a long series of years to the same people. Our pastors in many instances got tired of preaching to the same people, and it is to be feared the people got tired of the pastors. If in England the need of occasional change of sphere for ministers is found necessary, surely it is equally desirable in India.

'(4) Fixity of tenure brought another evil. As the pastor knew that there was no provision for his being transferred, there was a temptation to let things go soft

and gently, if possible. Abuses were uncorrected and work was done perfunctorily. The Wesleyan system of periodical changes meets this difficulty under their constitution, but it was not available for the London Missionary Society churches.

'(5) Aided pastorates involve a system of dual control which does not work happily. The missionary, representing the Directors, pays a part of the pastor's salary, and the church pays the rest. The limit at which responsibility ends on the missionary's side and begins on the church's side is not defined. Church officers, through indolence or want of courage, allow serious scandals to pass unrebuked. If the missionary then steps in, his interference is apt to be resented and his authority questioned. There are instances where for many years no case of misconduct whatsoever has been brought before the church or dealt with in any way, even though the pastor, if not the other church officers, were aware of flagrant instances of wrongdoing. There are other instances where native pastors, being practically free from control, have lent their sanction to practices which are calculated to bring grave discredit on the Christian Church.

'The result of all this has been that the pastorates have not worked happily. This is not the fault of the churches; it is simply a consequence of the pastorates being established before the churches had reached a suitable stage of development. Only two or three pastors now remain on their original standing. Some have reverted voluntarily to the position of ordained evangelists, and their churches have again come under the control of the missionary, with the happiest results. The Church Missionary Society has had the same experience as ourselves, and has had to retrace its steps. It has stopped the system of diminishing annual grants, and has again sent out European missionaries to superintend the pastorates.

'Moreover, in the present state of the Native Church, we consider that it is a matter of much importance that missionaries should influence its members by frequent

preaching or by pastoral contact, so as both to raise the spiritual tone of the members and to develop their missionary spirit. We would therefore recommend:—

'(*a*) That no church be in future treated as self-supporting or have a native pastor, with the full responsibility of a pastorate, unless it is *really and genuinely* such, i. e. unless it can support its pastor and its ordinances without the aid of the Society or any contributions from Europeans. We regard this as a principle of much importance which ought not to be infringed.

'(*b*) That in the meantime the missionary be considered the pastor, and with power to appoint ordained or unordained agents as assistant pastors, and to give them authority to administer the sacraments when necessary—the chief responsibility being in the hands of the missionary; that these assistant pastors be allowed to do as much as possible the pastor's work, on the understanding that the chief authority is vested in the missionary. The importance of giving authority for the administration of the sacraments to other than pastors is particularly great in the Tamil districts, as the practice of the early Tranquebar missionaries has created a great misunderstanding on the subject.

'(*c*) That any appointment of assistant pastor be subject to revision at the close of three years.'

But our province is to record what has actually been achieved, and, with the statistics of the Hindu Native Church before him, no friend of Christian missions need be ashamed, whether he contemplates the number of the separate churches, or the quality of their leaders and members.

I. The Growth of the Native Christian Community in India, 1851–1890. The growth of the native Protestant Christian community in India, excluding Ceylon and Burmah, is shown in the following table:—

	Native Christian Community.		Communicants.			Native Agents.	
	Number.	Rate of Increase percent.	Number.	Rate of Increase per cent.	Proportion of the Community per cent.	Ordained.	Unordained Preachers.
1851	91,092	—	14,661	—	16·0	21	493
1861	138,731	52·3	24,976	70·3	18·0	97	1,266
1871	224,258	61·6	52,816	111·4	23·5	225	1,985
1881	417,372	86·1	113,325	114·5	27·1	461	2,488
1890	559,661	34·0	182,722	61·2	32·6	797	3,491

Scrutiny of these figures is most encouraging. The growth has been rapid; in less than forty years the number of native Christians has increased *more than sixfold.* The proportion of communicants to the whole number of baptized persons has steadily increased from 16 per cent. in 1851 to 32·6 per cent. in 1890.

The question of the Native Church held a prominent place in the Conference of 1879 at Bangalore. The Rev. J. Duthie of Nagercoil read a paper there which well illustrated the rapid progress being made on the one hand, and the relatively small impression the church has yet made upon the millions of India on the other. The Society in 1867 revolutionized its whole foreign policy, and insisted upon strenuous efforts being made to render the Indian churches under its control much more largely self-supporting. By 1879 it was possible to test with some accuracy the progress made in South India. Mr. Duthie supplied a table contrasting 1857 with 1878, which showed that in South India there were 26 native ministers in 1857, and 212 in 1878; 12,009 communicants in 1857, 53,147 in 1878; 59,607 baptized adherents in 1857, and 152,562 in 1878; and that the total contributions from native Christians in 1878 to religious work amounted to 63,456 rupees. Of these the London Missionary Society had 1 native minister in 1857, but 24 in 1878; 1,360 com-

municants in 1857, but 4,408 in 1878; 4,888 baptized in 1857, but 18,708 in 1878; and the native contributions reached the sum of 14,471 rupees. These facts all bear witness to a very marked increase in the twenty-one years. Mr. Duthie pointed out that whereas at the Ootacamund Conference in 1858 there was no paper referring to a Native Church, in 1879 it was a foremost topic. Many of his statements are of permanent value[1]:—

'We have a sure indication of vitality in this Church, in the fact that she is rapidly becoming naturalized to the country. No longer like an exotic, she is taking root amongst us—in other words, I consider that she is becoming more and more native year by year. And this, undoubtedly, is a point of very great importance. In the initial stages of our work, when our predecessors had none but their Western experience to guide them, it is not to be wondered at if some of them, in their burning zeal for the diffusion of the truth, saw less clearly than the present race of missionaries the importance of the Church in this land being purely native. But what has been called the "Science of Missions" is much better understood in these days, and partly from experience of work in other lands, as well as by study of the subject in India itself, the principle that the Church here must be a Native Church is universally acknowledged, and must be exerting a powerful influence upon all our methods of work, whether pastoral, evangelistic, or educational. Whether, in point of fact, it is thoroughly native in all our missions may be doubted, but I believe it may be considered certain that year by year it is becoming more so than formerly all over our field.

'In our Travancore Mission, one of the greatest hindrances to the establishment of the native pastorate has been, and to some extent still is, that the people do not really desire pastors; and even when a pastorate has been formed, the utmost watchfulness is needed lest, in the event of the death or the transfer of a pastor, the people

[1] Report, vol. i. pp. 274–280.

should return to their old position under the European missionary. There is a decided reluctance to let go the strong hand of the European. One cause of this seems to be a fear lest native rule should be less merciful and just than that of the missionaries, or lest the pastor should become the leader of a party and use his influence on its behalf; while yet another is their failure to apprehend clearly the necessity for pastors, and why a pastor should have so much more salary than an unordained agent, seeing that both do the same work and that the pastor does not work harder than the catechist.

'In its membership also the Native Church is becoming more native—not native in contradistinction to foreign, but native in the comprehensive sense of the term, as including all classes as opposed to particular castes. In our Southern missions it can hardly be doubted that, in one aspect of it, our very success amongst the humbler classes has created a certain prejudice against Christianity among the higher castes, and we have sometimes heard surprise expressed by such, that, seeing we have so many congregations of low-caste people, efforts to form congregations of high-caste converts should not be made. But I need hardly remark that a religion of such sort, with high-caste congregations and low-caste congregations, whatever it might be, would not be Christianity. Congregations, indeed, formed largely or entirely of one class will be found; but this happens because converts from other classes do not live in the neighbourhood. In the Home Station Church at Nagercoil, we have people from eight or nine different castes, but all mix freely together in public worship and when the ordinances of the Church are administered. In the Romish missions separate congregations for different castes is the rule; in the Protestant Church in South India no such thing is now allowed, so far at least as I am aware, and this, so far as it goes, is undoubtedly a gain.

'Formerly all our churches and chapels were erected with foreign money. But it is otherwise now. At the

present time, when new churches have to be built, the very first matter to be settled is the amount which the people of the particular congregation in question are prepared to raise. This arranged, the mission, or a general building fund, or some friend makes up the deficiency; and the work is done usually, as befits the condition of the people, inexpensively, and with little or no pretentions to style. In central stations, good, substantial, neat churches have been built—some such in Travancore, quite recently; but even to these the native Christians have contributed a considerable proportion of the outlay both in money and in work. In nearly every case, the entire cost of repairs to churches and schools is now met by the people.

'The prayerfulness of not a few in the Native Church is worthy of note, no less than that submission to the Divine will of many a sufferer which is so unlike mere fate. Family worship, though not I fear so generally observed as it ought to be, is more common than formerly. The desire to possess the Word of God is in many places very remarkable; so is their appreciation, in many instances, of the value of education for their children. The liberality of not a few is deserving of special recognition. The contributions of native Christians in South India last year amounted to over 77,000 rupees. We have at Nagercoil several whose large-hearted giving has often awakened thanksgivings to God, not only because of the amounts given (though these have been large), but chiefly because of the value of the example to all the native churches of the mission—an example, I may be permitted to state, set by one of our deacons years ago, which not a few now follow, and which will be imitated, I hope and believe, by many more in years to come. Hardly any more remarkable illustration than this of the power of a good example could be found anywhere; for this single church and congregation contributed last year nearly 1,000 rupees more than our whole Travancore Mission at the date of the Ootacamund Conference.'

The Native Church in connection with the London

Missionary Society Missions stood in 1890 in the following condition :—In 1880 there were 28 ordained native agents, in 1890 there were 40 ; in 1880 there were 236 non-ordained native workers, in 1890 there were 413. In 1880, of Church members in North India, 456 ; in South India, 890 ; in Travancore, 3,655 ; in 1890 the figures were North India, 659 ; South India, 1,527 ; Travancore, 6,004.

Commenting upon these figures the Report for 1891 states :—

'While this increase is great and gratifying, a careful study of the reports from the different stations shows that it is remarkably uneven. There are vast fields white to the harvest in which the need for great increase of workers is immediate and urgent. Such is the condition of the South Telugu Mission, in which the missionaries report that for a considerable time past they have been unable to visit heathen villages because they dare not encourage them to come over to Christianity, having no teachers to supply for their instruction. Upwards of twenty such villages have gone back to heathenism within the last few years because, having waited long for teachers, no teachers were forthcoming. The whole district, containing a population of two millions, is in such a condition of awakened, though ignorant interest, that were missionaries and teachers forthcoming to occupy all the principal places, it is probable there would be a movement towards Christianity which would see the whole Mala population nominally Christian in the course of a few years. . . . On the other hand, there are stations where not half a dozen converts have been gathered in ten years, and others where the numbers are very small. The reports from these districts, so barren of result, furnish at once the evidence that, humanly speaking, no result could have been expected under the conditions of the work. Districts with a population of three-quarters of a million, even of a million and a quarter, have been supposed to have two missionary workers ; but the exigencies of work and health have resulted in such stations being left year after year practically in the care

of one man. The "thin red line" of the British soldiery, which has so often been expected to do, and has so often done, wonders of valour in our wars, has been a solid and mighty host as compared with the mere skeleton of an army which the Church of Christ employs to fight its battles in the heathen field.'

II. The Quality of the Native Christians. Mr. Wardlaw Thompson and Mr. Albert Spicer, after their visit to India in 1883, presented a careful and full report to the Directors, in which the conditions and the prospects of the Native Church in the various missions under the control of the Society necessarily occupied a foremost position. From this report we take a few paragraphs :—

'The character of the native Christians and the prospects of the development of an indigenous Christian life by the consolidation, self-help, and enterprise of the native Church, become the crucial test of the success of missionary work. Schools, and other efforts for the social elevation of the people, are all valuable if they prove means to this end; but, if the end be not gained, they are, so far as the great object of the Society's existence is concerned, so much wasted labour. And, if the testimony of the majority of the Europeans in India is to be received as trustworthy, the end has not been gained. Repeatedly the assertion is made that there are few, if any, native Christians except in name. We had not been long in India before we had abundant evidence that this testimony was not trustworthy. It is not that there is any desire wilfully to misrepresent facts, or to bear false witness against the missionaries and their converts, but that those who thus speak are not acquainted with the facts. The path of the ordinary European in India does not often cross the humble track of the native Christian; he does not even know much about the habits of thought, or the religious condition of the much more easily visible mass of heathens. From some men, whose duties had brought them into contact with the people, we received willing testimony to the reality of the

work which was being done by the missionaries, and to the change wrought by Christianity upon those who had come under its influence. We ourselves saw the converts constantly. We met them at gatherings in the central stations, and in rural out-stations. We saw them in their homes, as well as in public. We made full and detailed inquiries of the missionaries and of the native workers as to their manner of life and their failings. And we record deliberately, and with gratitude to God for what we were permitted to hear and see, our conviction that the work of grace among the natives has been a very real and effectual work, and that there is much reason for encouragement in regard to the spread of Christianity among the people.

'Some of those whom we met, both men and women, would have been ornaments to any Christian Church in England. And we learned concerning the Christians generally, that as compared with their neighbours, they are chaste, truthful, and conscientious in a high degree. Family religion is practised, the Sabbath is observed, and the second generation of converts exhibit a firmer and steadier Christian life than the first. They have some marked faults, which seem to be very general, and are to be traced to the habits and training of generations. They are litigious, and are prone to carry every petty dispute to the law-courts. They are too ready to get into debt, and, often in connection with dowries and marriage-feasts, incur obligations which they have not the slightest prospect of being able to pay, and which reduce them and their families to a state of semi-slavery for the rest of their lives. And they are sadly deficient in self-reliance. Always accustomed to depend on those above them, they bring the same spirit of dependence into Christian life, and are prone to hang on the skirts of the missionary and the Society. As a natural consequence of this dependent spirit, their Christian life lacks enthusiasm and earnestness. We were surprised to find at most of the stations that there was little or no voluntary effort among the people

to carry on Christian work, and no ambition to become independent of the Society's help.

III. The Self-Support and Self-Government of the Native Church. The report of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Spicer in 1883 is in harmony with the later report of the South Indian District Committee already quoted. They proceed to state:—

'This state of things bears very closely upon the future prospects of the Church in relation both to self-government and self-support. It is, however, perfectly intelligible, and ought to be regarded in relation to its causes. It must be borne in mind that hitherto Christianity has won its chief triumphs among the lower castes and the poorer classes in India. In Travancore, where the success of this Society's missions has been most marked, the Christian community is almost entirely composed of Shánars and similar very low castes, who were actually in a state of servitude until Christianity interfered on their behalf. To all these it has been in many ways a distinct gain to become Christians. But they have brought into Christian life a character marked by passive, rather than by active, virtues; and, while we cannot be blind to their shortcomings, it is cause for thanksgiving that they have developed so fast and so well towards a robust Christianity. In the South Indian Missions, converts have been gathered from all the castes, but the numbers have been very much smaller than in Travancore, and the large majority have been from the lower castes. In North India, with the exception of Calcutta and its rural missions, the number of native Christians connected with the Society's stations is exceedingly limited, and their condition generally is very humble. Among such a class, belonging to a race naturally deficient in self-reliance and independence of character, accustomed to move in masses, and dreading change, how is it possible to expect a strong, energetic, and independent Christian life, except as the result of a slow and patient care? We believe the missionaries are fully alive to the need for

improvement among the people in this respect, and are doing their best to train them to undertake the responsibilities of Church life and of Christian service; and we are glad to learn that they are encouraged in many cases by observing a steady improvement. This growth will, however, necessarily be a work of time, and cannot be forced on.

'The difficulty of progress is greatly increased by the extreme poverty of the people. It is scarcely conceivable to one who is not a resident in India how deplorably poverty-stricken the bulk of the lower-caste people are. The pay of a day labourer, in all the country districts of South India, and in Travancore, varies from two annas to four annas per diem, and large numbers of cultivators have to support their families, even when harvests are good and food and work are plentiful, upon an income of three or four rupees per month. Under such conditions it seems almost hopeless to expect the people to attempt to support their own pastors, except in the very few large centres where the Christian community is numerous and remunerative employment can be obtained. Moreover, such is the uncertainty of the seasons throughout the greater part of India, and the difference of a few inches in the annual rainfall makes so frequently the difference between plenty and starvation, that those who in a prosperous season may be able to raise the amount required are very reluctant to engage in any permanent obligation to do so. They prefer to give what they can and when they can to the funds of the Society, leaving the Society to provide regularly for the maintenance of their teachers. Of course this is not by any means a healthy or satisfactory state of feeling, but it is one which requires to be recognized as existent. It is also one which can only be succesfully changed by the slow process of improvement in the condition of the people.'

At the Decennial Conference in Bombay in 1892, Mr. Hawker of Belgaum, and Mr. Duthie of Nagercoil, both referred to this subject. Mr. Hawker said:—

'In this matter of self-support I think the societies at home are driving us a little too fast. Our pastors should be educated men, able to read English literature, and to give their people the advantages of the centuries of experience and research of other Christian Churches. Excepting those places where Christians are numerous, our Churches are not yet able to give such men adequate support. If compelled, in all cases, to draw our pastors' support from the local Church we shall be obliged to be content with such men as our income will secure, and perhaps in some cases to employ undesirable pressure to increase those incomes. Evangelists and catechists, who are doing largely the same kind of work as the pastor and taking turns with him in preaching to the different congregations, cannot always see the reasonableness of being urged to give liberally out of their smaller salary to augment the larger salary of the pastor ; and when we go the length of taxing our Church members, and of placing a man outside the door of the pay-room to receive tithes of the mission agents as they go away with their monthly salary, I think the pressure is too great, and that the feeling in the minds of some of the givers was correctly characterized by a previous speaker as "painful." I think, therefore, that the societies should give, where it is necessary, assistance to enable us to support the best men available as pastors of our Churches, and that the weaker Churches at least should be encouraged to give for other objects, as, for instance, for the incidental expenses of worship and for the assistance of their poor members. In many cases this is all they can do, and mission agents will give more cheerfully for these objects than for the augmentation of the pastor's salary. If our Churches are to become really self-supporting, they must become less dependent on foreign societies. In not a few Churches, I fear, nearly all the wealthier members are agents of the missionary society, and draw their support from its funds. This is not as it should be, and I think we should be wise if we did more to fit our Christian lads for the public service, or for employment in Hindu society, and urged

them to give us more voluntary, unpaid effort in Christian endeavour.'

Mr. Duthie, of Nagercoil, stated that in Travancore the Native Church contributed in 1859 only 3,000 rupees to the support of church work; in 1891, 18,000; and that this sum was raised (1) from offertories, (2) firstfruits, (3) missionary boxes; and that this movement was originated not by the missionaries, but by the natives themselves.

IV. The Native Pastors and Preachers. Inseparably connected with the progress of a Native Church is the quality of the native pastors and teachers, and the training which they receive. The Deputation Report of 1883, already quoted, deals fully with this great question:—

'We have formed, on the whole, a very favourable opinion of the earnestness, ability, and consistency of character of the native agents of the Society, and of the pastors of the Native Christian Churches. Some of them are men of acknowledged ability and power, and most of them appear to be conscientiously doing their duty according to their ability. Without their aid in preaching, visitation, and the religious instruction of the young, the work of the European missionaries would be restricted within very narrow limits; and if Christian work is to be carried on with the necessary regularity and persistency in the districts which the Society is attempting to evangelize, it can only be done by a large increase in the number of these native workers.

'There are also some men in each part of the Indian Mission who have been recognized by the Society as ordained evangelists or assistant missionaries, or who hold very important positions in connection with educational work.

'We were sorry to learn that in many of the stations the supply of really suitable native workers was deficient, and that in some places the prospect of being able to fill up the places of those who are passing off the field was very doubtful. This state of things is due to various causes. Better

trained men are needed even for the plainest work to-day than were required a few years ago. In the early days of the missions men were appointed catechists, not always because they showed special qualifications or had special gifts, but because they were the only ones whose services were available in a time of need. Many of those early catechists have proved most faithful workers, and some have developed powers which have made their labours conspicuously successful. But the country has advanced rapidly of late years. Even in remote districts men may be found who have received an English education, and who prove formidable opponents to untrained teachers; and the spread of a general knowledge of the nature and claims of Christianity among the people generally requires that they should be addressed by men who are well informed, and who are able to make a familiar yet distasteful subject interesting. At the same time the growth of the missions, which requires more thorough and constant work in outlying districts, has greatly increased the demand for labourers; five are employed now where one was engaged thirty years ago.

'But, unfortunately, the natural growth of the Native Church has not been of such a character as to supply a sufficient number of men who are really qualified to do the work. The large majority still come from the same low stratum of the population, and are no better fitted than the previous generation to become teachers of others. The missionaries have still to employ many men, not because they seem raised up to do a special work, but because they are the only men they can get. The consequence is, that in many stations it seems to be very difficult, as the older catechists die off, to get suitable men to fill the leading places.

'This difficulty is increased by the temptations to lucrative employment which are now placed in the way of the better educated. It might be supposed that an increasing number of youths would be available from the schools who might be trained for service. It is disappointing to notice

that this is not generally the case. At the present time there seem to be openings enough in the Government service and in other lucrative employments to absorb all the youths who receive sufficient education through the agency of the mission schools. The result has been that the claims of Christian service have been cast in the shade by the attractions of more remunerative work in secular spheres.

'In answer to the question why so few were coming forward to take part in Christian service, we were repeatedly assured by the leading native workers that, unless the Society was prepared to approximate more nearly to the secular standard in its payments for work, and also to reconsider the question of status in the mission, young men of education would not be found willing to offer themselves for its service.

'Unless a very marked change comes over native society, by which the Christian community shall receive large accessions from the wealthier and more influential classes, the Native Church must needs be a very poor Church for years to come, and it will not be able to give its ministers high remuneration for their labours. While, therefore, the Society should provide for its native workers on a scale which will enable them to maintain themselves honestly in accordance with the positions in which they are placed, it would be a grievous injury to the independence of the Church, and would indefinitely postpone the prospect of self-support, to raise the standard of salary to a level at which the native Christians cannot hope to maintain it unaided.

'We are deeply impressed with the conviction that the Society has already lost the opportunity of securing one generation of workers by failing to make adequate provision for Training Institutions in different parts of India. Those who were in the institution at Bangalore at the time when it was given up are now occupying positions of usefulness and influence in other spheres; and others who might have been similarly trained have gone elsewhere. We were sorry to find also throughout the South Indian missions, that the sudden closing of that institution had resulted in producing

in the minds of the native Christians a want of confidence in the permanence of any similar work which might be commenced by the Society. The manner in which this want of confidence found expression was often very unreasonable, but the results are very real, and very prejudicial to the interests of the Society.

'In the present condition of India, and of the Indian missions of the Society, there is urgent need that special efforts should be made to secure and to train a large number of workers of every class. In addition to the constant and increasing requirements of the educational and evangelistic work, the Native Churches will more and more require men fitted to undertake the responsibilities of the pastoral office.'

No estimate of either the past or present condition of the Native Church can leave out of account the difficulties of a church built up of those just escaping from such a pervasive and degrading heathenism as the Hindu, and also from a social system dominated by the most pernicious custom of caste. The slow progress of the church, the unsatisfactory character of many of the converts, the defects of the native pastors, the tendency to rely too much upon the missionary, are mainly due to these two great causes. The Rev. J. Joshua, one of the Society's native pastors at Nagercoil, read a paper on this branch of the subject at Bangalore, in which he classified the hindrances which converts often have to surmount from the heathenism out of which they come as follows:—(1) Physical force in the way of persecution, (2) Persuasion, (3) Threats, (4) Refusal to help converts in ordinary social matters, (5) Business relations with heathen, (6) Intermarriage. In addition to all these hostile influences, many of them often being brought to bear upon the convert in very subtle and powerful forms, the whole weight of the caste system is, of course, in the most deadly enmity to Christianity. Unhappily, in addition to all these obstacles, there is evidence which cannot be gainsaid that the spread of intemperance in the Native Church has been in some parts a very serious hindrance to its progress.

The Decennial Conference of 1892, held at Bombay, devoted an early session to the consideration of the Native Church. The subject came before that gathering of missionary workers from all parts of India, on the second day, in the form of papers, and a discussion upon 'Native Church Organization and Self-support.' Mr. Kali Charan Banarji of Calcutta dwelt upon the ideal church, and reached this conclusion [1] :—

'The conception of self-support has unfortunately been reduced to a question of rupees. A self-supporting congregation is understood to mean a congregation which finds the money required for the support of its pastor. It were better to include in the conception the capability of finding, within itself, the pastor, and, we would add, the missionaries, to be supported. Before a congregation is declared self-supporting, it should be possible for it to find, within itself, both men qualified to sustain and propagate Church life, and money sufficient to provide for their support. It is desirable that the conception of "The Native Church in India" should be realized in the near future. In order to this consummation, the foreign Churches should not burden Indian Christians with the demands of their own matured organizations, but leave them free to start from simple beginnings, and to educate themselves into complex developments, such as might come naturally to them, under the leading of the Divine Spirit. The attempt to make them begin at the end is responsible for their ill success hitherto in reaching the end.'

Mr. Banarji was followed by Dr. Chamberlain of the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church, who dealt with organization, and urged that it must be such as to bring native talent to the front and give full scope to native leadership [2] :—

'We have not yet seen, I profoundly believe, that Church organization and polity that will be the Church of India and bring India to Christ. We are in a tentative stage. We are endeavouring each to contribute of our best to the Church of the future in India, but I regard none of the existing

[1] Report, i. pp. 124–7.

[2] Ibid. pp. 136–8.

Churches as a finality. More than fifty organizations have planted missions in India. These are from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Germany, Denmark, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Holland, France, the United States of America, Canada, and Australia. Each naturally models the native Church it founds, more or less, after the pattern of that home Church which sent it to India. We thus have very great diversity in the organization of the different Native Churches, in the different missions, in the different provinces, and the different languages of India. There is unquestionably some good, and not all harm, in such diversity as an incipient stage. But no stereotyped plan, cast in Occidental moulds, will prove to be the enduring Church for the Orientals. As a missionary who has already passed one-third of a century in the service of India, I have one great aspiration that fills my mind, and on which I think much in my quiet hours. It is this:—May this great land with its myriads of people be won, not for Presbyterianism, not for Independency, not for Episcopacy, not for Methodism, but FOR CHRIST, AND IN HIS WAY, and with such organization as He by His Spirit may bring out of our united efforts, we working always with teachable and expectant mind.'

Had Dr. Chamberlain been consciously expounding the 'fundamental principle' he could hardly have got nearer that mark than in these words. This is precisely what the London Missionary Society aims at, viz. to bring Christ to the hearts of Hindu men and women, and then leave them so to organize the Indian Church as best to meet the needs of that vast land, and the conditions of life and thought so different from those which obtain in the West. Mr. Banarji's ideal church is the one which the Directors would gladly aid to establish, but they feel that much remains to be done before it comes within reach.

The condition of the chief Native Churches under the Society's care at the end of the century was as follows:—

At Calcutta and in the rural districts it was growing slowly but steadily. In Benares the church was 'very small in numbers, and has consisted almost exclusively of persons

in the employ of missionaries and their families. The prejudice against Christianity in the city is so strong that those who come under the power of the Gospel have found it necessary to seek employment in Allahabad and other places, where they might be free to make a Christian profession.' From Mirzapur the report was also of hard work not yet successful in any way that admits of statistical measurement. 'So long,' the last Decennial Report for 1890 ran, 'as preaching the Gospel in a city with a population of 80,000 is left to *one* missionary, assisted by a single native catechist, it is not reasonable to suppose much impression can be made. Yet such has been for years the condition of Mirzapur.' At Almora the prospect was brighter, though only relatively. The 58 communicants of 1880 had grown to 104 in 1890, and during the ten years there had been 190 baptisms.

In the case of South India the prospect was much more encouraging as to numbers, but it has always to be borne in mind that the Gospel even there has but slightly touched the higher castes. The wide spread of education among the Christian converts and the influence of Christianity are beginning to react upon their intellectual capacity. Freed from the superstitions and degradations of Hinduism, the native Christians are more than holding their own in the intellectual arena, in the face of the hostile influence of Brahman officials. Notwithstanding these difficulties and drawbacks, the Native Church in South India is steadily growing in numbers, in influence, in capacity, and in power for aggressive work. It is highly probable that God's method of winning India, as a whole, will prove in the twentieth century to have been through the despised Málas and Shánars of South India.

In Madras the two Native Churches under the care of the Rev. C. Parthasarathi have exhibited signs of spiritual growth. The Bangalore Canarese Church was for thirty years under a native pastor of ability and education. It has not, however, shown much aggressive power, but has been built up chiefly by the orphanages connected with the

mission, and it has a promising nucleus of young persons of good Christian character In Bangalore the Tamil Church is nominally independent, as it receives no pecuniary aid from the Society; its position is anomalous. The members are mostly poor, and the pastor really receives his salary from the educational branch of the mission.

At other centres the work continues to show the familiar feature of progress indeed, but far slower than ardent faith and zeal desire. At Belgaum 'the Native Churches make very slow progress, partly because the "offence of the cross" is still very great, and partly because the Christians have very imperfectly learned Christ, and exhibit a painful amount of weakness.'

Bellary Church has never had a native pastor, but has been under the pastoral care of the missionary, assisted by native preachers. It profited much by the earnest spiritual preaching of the late Rev. Garsham Paul. It has grown steadily by accessions from the heathen.

The two districts which yield the most striking statistics are Cuddapah and Travancore. At Nagercoil, Neyoor, Pareychaley, and Trevandrum steady and large progress marked the close of the century. In Neyoor the 886 communicants of 1881 were 1,180 in 1891, and the native contributions of 1881, 2,531 rupees, had become 3,661, in 1890. In Pareychaley, a wide district of scattered hamlets, in 1890 there were 69 churches, 2 native missionary pastors, 6 evangelists, 40 catechists, and 13,960 nominal Christians.

The Rev. S. Mateer, who was for over thirty years in charge of Trevandrum, thus summarized the results of labour in his district in his report for 1890:—

	Agents.	Congregations.	Adherents.	Church Members.	Scholars.	Native Subscriptions.
1860	31	18	1,440	86	247	Rs. 270
1870	33	22	2,737	274	285	„ 815
1880	42	39	4,868	516	689	„ 1,552
1890	88	51	8,674	1,453	2,117	„ 2,178

'In the past decade, taking the above figures, we find that the *increase* in number of adherents, or regular hearers and professing Christians, is over 78 per cent.; in Church members or communicants, 181 per cent.; in scholars, 207 per cent.; and in native contributions, 40 per cent.'

To the eye of faith, to the devout soul, even for him who hungers after statistics, there is much in the history of the Hindu Native Church that is attractive and hopeful. Here, more even than in other departments, is it needful to realize how tremendous are the obstacles, how numerous the pitfalls, how weak is human nature, how inadequate are our ordinary standards to measure either failure or success. But here, once again, in the world's history the Gospel has vindicated the universality of its fitness for human need. The Hindu Church numbers among its adherents and members the haughty Muhammadan, the deified Brahman, the subtle pandit, the despised Mála and Shánar, and members of intervening castes. Their one common bond is personal surrender to Jesus Christ, and acceptance of His free, uplifting, sanctifying grace. It is yet but the day of small things, but no Christian student of Indian Missions can doubt that the little one 'will become a thousand, and the weak one a strong city.'

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Official Reports, and Annual Reports; many papers and speeches in the Reports of the Missionary Conferences at Allahabad in 1872, Bangalore in 1876, Calcutta in 1882, and Bombay in 1892; *Hindu Pastors*, by J. Ross Murray, M.A., 1892.]

CHAPTER X

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN INDIA

THE missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society have taken their full share in the great work of attempting to supply Christian literature for India. In this connection the names of John Hands, W. Reeves, Edward Pritchett, John Hay, Colin Campbell, Benjamin Rice, and Edwin Lewis in South India, with those of Dr. Mather, William Buyers, James Kennedy, G. H. Budden and others in North India, at once occur. Yet in the course of the century hardly more than a beginning has been made in this great department of service, and it is more than probable that the methods hitherto followed will have to be considerably modified if the work is to be thoroughly done. Up to the present very little progress has been made in the way of providing an *Indian* Christian literature. The utmost that can be said is that the Bible, or parts of it, have been translated into a goodly number of Hindu languages, and that a considerable number of Christian books and tracts have been, with more or less success, put into a Hindu dress. Many school books have been prepared, and a few papers and periodicals provided and maintained. Yet it is hardly too much to say that a Hindu Christian literature in any sufficient sense is still practically non-existent.

In every important centre of missionary activity the plan followed has been the same. The Bible, either wholly or in part, has been put into vernacular form. Tracts and simple statements of Christian truth, followed by commentaries on Scripture, more or less elaborate, have followed,

accompanied, and often preceded reading and other school books. Auxiliary Bible Societies, aided by grants from the British and Foreign Bible Society, local tract and book societies, largely subsidized by the Religious Tract Society, and mission presses have been established in various parts. In early days the literature thus provided was generally given away, but soon this practice was abandoned, and now it is almost invariably sold. The literature prepared and circulated in this way falls into several groups.

I. Versions of the Scriptures made by missionaries of the London Missionary Society.

1. *Bengali.* The only version in this language in which the Society's missionaries have taken part is the Musalmani Bengali, a form of Bengali largely mixed with Persian, and other foreign words and forms, and spoken by Musalmans. The Rev. J. Paterson began the work with the Gospel of Luke in 1853, and the Rev. S. J. Hill continued it in 1866, with the translation of John's Gospel, and in the course of five years added Matthew, Mark, Acts, Genesis, Exodus i–xx, the Psalms, and Isaiah. As in some quarters the language was looked upon as a jargon of Bengali and Persian, the version at this point was dropped. But in 1876 the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, under the care of the Rev. J. E. Payne, issued another edition of the Gospel of Luke.

2. *Hindi.* The Scriptures in this tongue were not actually translated by London Missionary Society workers, but first the Rev. James Kennedy and then the Rev. J. A. Lambert did much patient and scholarly work in the important work of revision.

3. *Urdu* or *Hindustani.* The New Testament, originally the work of Henry Martyn and Mirza Fitrut, was revised and issued in 1842 by a joint committee of London Missionary Society and Church Missionary Society missionaries. In this labour William Buyers and J. A. Shurman were the chief workers. In 1842 an edition of the New Testament in Romanized Urdu was also issued in Benares.

Messrs. Shurman and J. Kennedy completed and revised a version of the Old Testament, and then the whole Bible was revised in both Roman and Arabic character. Edwin Lewis was a member of the revision committee of the Dakham New Testament prepared for the Muhammadans of South India.

4. *Gujarati.* In 1815 J. Skinner and W. Fyvie opened the long-delayed mission at Surat, and by 1821 had made and printed, among all their other labours, a version of the New Testament in Gujarati. Then Mr. Skinner died ; but Mr. Fyvie, in the course of 1823, completed the Old Testament, and during his long residence at Surat continued to revise the version, and to issue new editions of the whole or of portions. In 1846 this mission was given over to the Irish Presbyterian Mission, and thus the one entirely original version of the Scriptures made by the Society's missionaries in North India passed out of their control.

5. *Telugu.* Des Granges, with the aid of the Brahman convert Anandárayer, translated, prior to his death in 1810 at Vizagapatam, the New Testament as far as 1 Corinthians into Telugu. But only Matthew, Mark, and Luke were found to be ready for press, and in 1812 these were printed at Serampore. Edward Pritchett completed the New Testament, but the Rev. J. Gordon prepared another version, which, however, did not displace Pritchett's. He also began the Old Testament, which was gradually completed by the Vizagapatam missionaries. The Serampore missionaries had provided a Revised Version of the New Testament. The necessary revision of this most important version was undertaken by John Hay and J. S. Wardlaw, and upon the latter's death Dr. Hay for many years acted as the Bible Society's chief Telugu reviser. The work is now in the hands of the Rev. J. R. Bacon, assisted by a native clergyman of the Church Missionary Society.

6. *Canarese.* This version was begun by John Hands of Bellary, and in 1820 the Gospels and Acts were printed, and in 1821 the whole New Testament. Assisted by W. Reeve Mr. Hands also translated the Old Testament,

which was completed in 1827. In 1837 John Reid commenced a revision, but owing to his death the work remained for a time in abeyance. In 1842 a representative committee was formed for a new version. Mr. Weigh of the Basel Mission prepared the first draft, but the book after that was carried through by Benjamin Rice and Colin Campbell, who jointly undertook the task, and formed a representative committee, and endeavoured to apply more scholarly methods to the work. This revision was thoroughly done, and occupied seventeen years before completion in 1859. Recently a new revision has been undertaken, also the work of a representative committee, of which the late Mr. Edwin Lewis of Bellary and the Rev. E. P. Rice of Bangalore are permanent members.

7. *Malayálim.* Much valuable assistance for many years in the revision of this version was given by the Rev. Samuel Mateer.

II. Preparation of tracts and books for educational purposes and for theological instruction. This work has been general over the whole mission-field, though, of course, it has been done for the most part by men either of strong literary instinct, or who were driven by a deep sense of the need to do what they could to supply it. Two great drawbacks have been common to most of the Indian literary work of the century.

1. Responsibility for the adequate performance of this work has never been fully and frankly recognized by the home governing bodies. They have, it is true, devoted considerable sums of money to it from time to time, and recognized the legitimacy of a missionary giving much of his time to Christian literature. But they have never studied it carefully, and they have been far too ready to relegate much of the work to other agencies. The Religious Tract Society has done noble service in encouraging, sustaining, and subsidizing Christian literature not only in India, but in all parts of the great mission-field. Providentially this Society has grown and strengthened side by side with the great missionary societies, and

has become the handmaid of them all, spending in some years from £10,000 to £15,000 in the foreign mission-field. Auxiliary local tract societies, such as those at Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, and Allahabad, have done, and are doing, very fine service. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been the motive force in the publication of the different versions of the Scriptures. Still, admitting to the full all the beneficial work these willing agencies have done, it yet remains true that they have had to some extent the mischievous effect of lessening the responsibility for literary work in the minds of boards of directors and committees of management. It has often been much easier to say 'Apply to the Religious Tract Society,' than to accept the legitimate responsibility which missionary work involves. Consequently, the home authorities have not always realized that it is often the best possible way of 'preaching the Gospel,' to write and publish a tract, a newspaper, a treatise, or a leaflet. Sometimes it is the only possible way. But Christian literature up to the present has not been a fully recognized and adequately supported department of mission-work.

2. This state of things has, among other serious drawbacks, prevented the existence of a class of literary missionaries. By this is meant the absolute release of gifted and capable men from other missionary duties, and especially from those multitudinous details connected with a station which are necessary and yet which use up so much nervous energy and consume so much time, in order that he may give himself wholly to the important task of creating a *native* Christian literature. From time to time by actual vote of governing bodies, but more often by pressure of circumstances from which there was no escape, good men have *for a time* given themselves to literary work. But, so far as we know, the literary missionary in the true sense of the term, that is, a competent, consecrated, well-equipped missionary, wholly devoted with the full sanction of his home committee to Christian literature for India, and the task of choosing suitable topics, getting

competent native converts to clothe them in the appropriate Hindu dress, possibly writing books himself, has hardly yet made his appearance. This, perhaps, will be one of the developments which the twentieth century has in store.

As an illustration of how this work has usually been accomplished, we may instance the example of Benjamin Rice at Bangalore about 1840. His biographer states:—

'One great drawback to the prosperity of the Canarese schools was the want of a good series of school books. In fact, all that existed in Canarese appears to have been a single sheet containing short sentences, such as "God is One," "God is Holy," &c. When this had been read through, there was nothing more in the shape of a school book to be had. Benjamin Rice, with characteristic energy, at once set to work to supply the deficiency. He had already published, early in 1839, his first tract, entitled *Strictures on Hinduism*, consisting of quotations from the Hindu Shastras on the chief doctrines of Hinduism, with arguments in refutation, and a statement of the doctrines of Christianity on the same subjects. This book, subsequently revised, has passed through many editions, and is still a useful tract. Many instances have come to knowledge of its being the means of awakening Hindu minds to a totally new view of divine truth. He now set to work on a series of school books. Just at that time (1840) a School Book Society was established in Bangalore, of which he became a member, and to which he offered the books which he successively prepared. His labours on these extended over several years, and included, among others, the following books:—

First Reading Book	1839
Second Reading Book	1840
Catechism of Scripture History . .	1842
Epitome of the Bible	1844
Elements of Arithmetic	1846
Elements of Geography	1847

To which in later years were added :—

Third Reading Book (from the Tamil) .	1859
First Scripture Catechism (from the Tamil)	1860
Second ditto ditto	1861
Outlines of General History . . .	1870

Besides all this work, he revised and edited a large number of works prepared by other authors[1].'

'The literary and other labours of Benjamin Rice in connection with the Bangalore Tract Society are thus described by the Rev. J. Hudson, chairman of the Wesleyan Mission in Mysore, who was his neighbour and intimate fellow-worker for many years :—"In later years he felt the need of publications which would more fully set forth Christian truth, and accordingly he prepared a series of a hundred Biblical tracts, which contain the substance of the Bible in Scripture language, with suitable explanations and reflections appended. The Native Church in the Mysore is indebted to him more than to any other man for its literature. The hymn-book, which he repeatedly revised and enlarged, and which now contains two hundred and fifty hymns, more than a hundred of which are from his own pen, is the only Canarese hymnal used in the Mysore. His musical taste helped him much in preparing this book. The translation of the Religious Tract Society's New Testament Commentary, executed under his care, has been a great boon. . . . As secretary, Mr. Rice had entire charge of the Bible and Tract and Book Depôts, and the editing of all the publications of the two Societies. Practically the entire work was in his hands. He was himself secretary, treasurer, editor, and committee. In Mr. Rice's opinion, the best kind of committee was a committee of *one*. About October we used to meet together to listen to the report and to pass a vote of thanks to the secretary, and then we separated, sometimes for an entire year. It was difficult to suppress a smile as Mr. Rice assured us with perfect *naïveté* that there was really no business for the

[1] *Benjamin Rice*, p. 59.

committee to transact—a statement that was quite true, as he had done it all himself. A delineation of Mr. Rice's character would be incomplete if this trait were left out, but we have no idea of drawing the lines heavily enough to constitute a blemish. It would doubtless have been better if he had taken the committee more fully into his confidence, but the course he followed was perfectly natural. He knew far more about the work than any one else; he was stationary, while the committee changed; and those who bear the burden have most claim to exercise the power[1].'"

Statements like these go to prove that most of the literary work so far accomplished in India has been done not so much as the result of careful thought and matured system, but under the strong pressure of immediate need, and by men who had the will to override all obstacles, or who were so placed as to be able by virtue of their position to prepare the literature. Benjamin Rice was a strong man of this kind.

No useful end could be secured by describing in detail the tracts, booklets, and various publications which have been issued in millions from the various mission presses during the last century. The preceding pages of history will have been written in vain if they have not prepared the mind of the reader for a larger and broader outlook upon missionary methods and departures. The Rev. E. P. Rice, B.A., the son and successor of Benjamin Rice (born in India, who has now had twenty-five years' experience as an itinerating missionary, and coupled with this large experience in the work of education and of Bible revision), in 1895, before a meeting in London of the secretaries of all the great English missionary societies, read a paper on this subject which has never before been printed. We reproduce some of the main points of that paper, because they put the case so clearly and so forcibly that they cannot fail to help all who desire from the achievements and failures and shortcomings of the past to gain the true

[1] *Benjamin Rice*, p. 167.

principles of action which should direct future policy. It may possibly be said that this is not history. But it is a fact that many of our foremost missionaries are profoundly dissatisfied with what has hitherto been achieved in the way of Hindu vernacular Christian literature. The views of Mr. Rice, and those for whom he was the spokesman, are based upon a thorough acquaintance with what has been done in the past, and what the effect has been upon Hindu thought of existing Christian literature. In his paper Mr. Rice propounded the following views:—

'1. I wish to emphasize the need for *a much more extended use of the press*, because it is the only means by which a small body of workers can reach and influence the vast multitudes of a country like India. In that country we have a population equal to five times that of all the rest of the British Empire put together. If the problem be stated thus: Given a non-Christian population equal to five times that of the rest of the British Empire, and as many foreign missionaries to make known to them the truths of the Gospel as could be gathered into any single average London church, to find the most effective means of accomplishing the task: one would think that the immediate reply which would spring to the lips of all would be: It can only be done through the large use of the press; one missionary with a really good supply of literature will effect more than two or three missionaries without adequate literature. And yet, strange to say, I am not aware that any one of the great missionary societies of England has a literary department in its Indian missions corresponding to the itinerating, medical, educational, and zenana departments. What is done in this way is confined mainly to the German and American Societies. William Carey grasped the situation at once, and with instinctive wisdom lived the life of a literary man, and accomplished an amount of influential work that astonishes us. His work proved much more far-reaching than that of his colleague Ward, who was a good vernacular preacher. Yet somehow the tradition has been allowed largely to die out.

What literary work is now done by missionaries in the vernaculars is in a casual way by busy men, who with difficulty snatch the requisite leisure in the midst of other pressing responsibilities, and who are generally without adequate native help.

'The demand becomes more imperative when we consider that all the more influential portion of the Indian peoples have been for centuries a reading people. There were said to be 15,000,000 readers in India in 1895, and the extension of education is increasing that number year by year. These, if they do not find healthful literature, will read hurtful literature. If they have not literature based on noble ideals of life and duty, they will read books which set before them low ideals and appeal to unworthy motives. Already India is being flooded with prurient English literature.

'2. *Christian literature in India is inadequate*, both as to quantity and quality. An erroneous idea is prevalent as to the amount and value of the Christian literature already existing in India. Much of the literary work done by missionaries consists of grammars, dictionaries, and similar works which, though invaluable aids to the missionary, are no part of vernacular literature. Another portion consists of school books of a purely secular character, which might have been prepared as well by non-Christians as by Christians, and which are indeed being now very largely replaced by Government and Hindu publications. These must all be eliminated. Then again, of the literature now being produced by the Christian publishing societies of India, the great bulk is in the English language. This no doubt is of great value, as it reaches many of the most influential classes; but still it can only touch a minute percentage of the whole population of India; it leaves untouched the masses of the people who for many a long day yet must be dependent upon the vernacular for instruction.

'Setting aside all these, the amount and effective value of the vernacular Christian literature, properly so called, is extremely scanty. It consists largely of tiny tractlets

which sell for a farthing or less each. These may be classified as good, bad, and indifferent. In any case they cannot in such small compass deal thoroughly with the questions which they touch. Moreover, of those tracts which are most satisfactorily done, a large proportion are negative and iconoclastic in character, pointing out the imperfection of Hindu doctrine and practice—a comparatively easy task. On the side of *positive* instruction, and the exposition and enforcement of Christian ideals, we are very poorly off.

'Of the larger works, the majority and the best appeal solely to native Christian readers, and do not in the slightest degree touch the non-Christian community. Moreover, many of these are translations, and no translation, however excellent, is capable of affecting deeply a Hindu mind, or touching and stirring a Hindu heart. Even the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is one of the most suitable books for translation, and of which we possess excellent versions, moves in an atmosphere of thought so thoroughly foreign and so thoroughly Christian that it does not commend itself to a Hindu until he has entered the Christian Church. For those outside the Christian Church we have extremely little of any value. I know of no good attractive life of Christ or forceful presentation of His unique personality and work. I know of no fairly adequate exposition of the aims of the Christian propaganda for thoughtful inquirers beyond the compass of a farthing tractlet. Moreover, as the Hindu approaches these subjects from the side of the Hindu sacred books and traditions, we ought to have discriminating accounts of the contents and teaching of these books, and of the origin of their traditions. Further, we lack books which properly grapple with the very important pantheistic system of the Vedanta. Besides all this, we need the true ideals of life presented for the popular reader in the form of narrative and tale. In all these matters we are sadly wanting.

'Passing from the *amount* of available literature to its *effective value*, the result of impartial inquiry is even less

satisfactory. I limit what I have to say to books prepared for Hindus. Literature for Muhammadans, which is almost entirely in Hindustani. requires separate consideration. It is, I believe, much superior to that provided for Hindus.

'From outside the Christian Church in India it would be impossible to find a more sympathetic, intelligent, and well-qualified judge than Mr. P. C. Mozumdar, the most prominent member of the Brahmo Somaj. In an article contributed to the New York *Outlook* (May 19, 1894), he speaks in high terms of the literary industry of Carey and his colleagues and successors, and then goes on to say:—

'"To the growing native Christian community, then a handful, the vernacular Bible and the storm of tracts and leaflets must have been of the greatest service. They were not only strengthened in their knowledge of Christian doctrines, Christian principles, and the history of their faith, but they received a general education which but few of them possessed when they entered the missionary fold. But if you ask me what religious service all this did to the literary Hindu public, my answer would be that the Christian vernacular literature, in Bengal at all events, is the most serious stumbling-block to the spread of the religion of Christ. . . . Not that the Bible is a disagreeable book, not that thoughtful Hindus are disinclined to the study of foreign religions . . . but because the translation of the Bible is so atrociously bad, and the language so utterly outlandish."

'This is strong language, but it is in my opinion justified. Mr. Mozumdar speaks of Bengali, of which I know nothing. I speak of such languages of South India as I am able to form a judgment about. Mr. Mozumdar continues as follows:—

'"The vernaculars of such progressive races as the Bengalis and Mahrattas are being perpetually refined and broadened. A thorough revival of letters has taken place during the last half-century. To the endless resources of the Sanskrit classics, now studied in the universities, the

endless and increasing resources of English literature are daily added ; and the double culture results in the grace and improvement of the vernaculars which already exercise a mighty influence in every kind of national unity. Strange that the Christian vernacular literature has neither part nor lot in the new power.

'So far Mr. Mozumdar. Now I will quote the words of a missionary, than whom no one has done more to provide literature of the most effective sort in the vernacular in which he is working—Mr. Haigh, of the Wesleyan Mission, Mysore. He writes as follows :—

'"Such vernacular literature as we have for our Christian Churches is simply English literature—done more or less idiomatically into the vernacular, and always with much loss of meaning and suggestiveness. In form and spirit, in everything but words, it is English. And this is what our people have to feed upon. Those who are baptized as children and have a long training in our schools gain some conception of the meaning of our books. That is, they are really receiving an English training through the medium of the vernacular. But they are by that very means made strangers and foreigners to their Hindu brethren. There are no points of approach between them. The language of the one has no grip on the other, recalls no memories, suggests no common starting-place, but suggests rather a great gulf fixed, so that those who would pass over cannot. The Christian Church of India is in great danger of having a language of its own. We may call it the language of Canaan if we please, but it is only English metamorphosed and sadly attenuated in the process. It will have meaning and may come to have power for those who are trained from childhood in our Churches. But my point is this—that if our vernacular Christian literature is to be so completely unrelated in thought and so largely unlike in style to the literature on which India has been feeding for centuries, we shall soon create a new caste which, while growing rapidly within, will decrease in power without. This is a real danger, as those can testify who

have watched the methods and listened to the discourses of many of our native brethren. After long experience I am bound to say that those discourses are generally almost as foreign as anything an Englishman with only ordinary powers of adaptation would inevitably deliver." '

'I quote Mozumdar once more:—

'"I have repeatedly urged the retranslation of the Bible, always receiving virtually the same answer, 'It is impossible to render an infallible book into a foreign idiom.' I ask whether liberal Christians in America and England cannot organize something to give India decent vernacular editions, if not the whole Bible, at least of some parts of it both in the Old Testament and the New. There is no denying that the Christian missionaries are a painstaking body, and if they could only be made to see their duty in the matter they would do it. I take it," he adds, "that people at home will show it to them better than we can hope to do here."

'Alas, he does not know that many of the missionaries themselves are chafing under their restraint, and that the officials at home are bound by the conditions laid down for them by the public which provides the funds. Under the conditions laid down, the translations made are as excellent as could be expected, but the principles are wrong, and we want new principles. It often takes long experience before a missionary himself detects the source of trouble. When he does so he ceases to quote from the vernacular Bible or to use its Hebraistic phrases, but puts the thoughts into free paraphrase of his own; and he finds that he is wielding a new weapon. He is now talking as the people themselves talk, and writing as they write, and what they formerly were repelled by they now find interesting and attractive. This was recognized as long ago as the time of Rhenius, who wrote a pamphlet on the subject in 1827. He also made an attempt at a more intelligible version of the Bible; but he was in advance of his time, and the church reverted to the transverbation principle. Only now are we generally beginning to act on the principles he laid down,

and in our most recent revisions of the Scriptures much progress has been made towards the making the translation of the Bible really attractive to educated Hindus.

'3. What is *the remedy for this state of things*?

'(1) If we are to make adequate provision for the needs of India we cannot legislate for the country as a whole, we must study its constituent parts. It was inevitable at the beginning of missions that we should speak for convenience sake of vernacular literature "for India," but the expression is about as vague as if we spoke of the vernacular literature "of Europe." We must realize, e. g. that the United States contains 9,000,000 less people than the Province of Bengal alone; that all our African possessions contain only a third of the number of the Telugu people; and so on. We shall never make any solid advance until we break up the whole into its constituent parts and inquire into the openings for literature and other work in the Tamil country, the Telugu country, the Canarese country—just as in Europe we distinguish works in Spanish from those in Turkish or German.

'(2) Each linguistic area should have its one or more workers specially appointed to look after the needs of the vernacular spoken in it, and either to supply or to arrange for the supply of those needs. Those who are to produce the vernacular Christian literature of the future must be the natives of India themselves. But in this, as in other departments of Christian work, they need for some time to be led, guided, and directed by Christian missionaries. At the present time there are extremely few native Christians who have shown ability to convey the new ideals of Christianity and the new information derived from English books to their fellow countrymen in forceful vernacular. While therefore we use every endeavour to lead native Christians with literary tastes and talents to enter into this path of service, in the meantime we need European leaders to officer the new movement.

'On this point Mr. Haigh's testimony is of great value.

'"Some men who have joined the Church after middle life, and who up to that time had drunk deeply of Hindu

literature, have found it a serious and even discouraging effort to accustom themselves to our style of literature. And when they have mastered some portions of it, they have found it necessary to translate it afresh for themselves, not formally but none the less really, before they could make any use of it. I have known one or two such men. One was a Brahman. He had read intently the best standard Canarese literature and a good deal of Sanskrit—read as one who loved it and let his mind bathe itself in it. When about thirty years of age this man was brought into contact with the Bible by a teacher exceptionally able, patient, and sympathetic, one too who felt much the foreign character of our Christian literature. This teacher read with him and encouraged him at every step to reproduce what he had read in his own way, the way of his books. To hear that man, after four or five years of this kind of work, expound in thoroughly Hindu fashion the essential teachings of the Gospel, was to me a perfect revelation of what might be done with our native preachers. A crowded audience listened to him with eager and in many places excited attention. He swayed them as he pleased, and from beginning to end we had a fine exhibition of properly 'Hinduized Christianity.' The books provided for our native Christians should be carefully related to Hindu thought, expressed in its terms, done in its style, adopting where it can its positions, and leading on, still in Hindu fashion and with its terminology, from points of agreement to essential points of difference. To continue to send forth books of the old type will be to continue fatally to denationalize our Christian converts."

'(3) Whence are these workers to come? Obviously, for the present, they must come from among the missionaries. It is vain to ask such societies as the Religious Tract Society or Christian Literature Society to supply them. They have not the men at their command. And, moreover, these societies are already doing their full and fair share in undertaking, as they liberally do, the cost of publication and of circulation. It is the clear duty of the Missionary Societies

to give the men and to support them while they do the work. In asking these missionaries to undertake special literary work, the Missionary Societies should not think they are making any sacrifice, as though they were parting company with them. They should rather feel glad that they are thus able to supply a pressing need, and to give formal recognition to an important branch of labour which hitherto has been by most societies almost ignored.

'(4) Every such "literary missionary" should be assisted by one or more first-class native assistants. No missionary that I have ever met has such a flexible command of the language and thorough understanding of Hindu points of view as to be able to do without this. Missionaries have a free and useful knowledge of the language, but they only began to learn it in middle life, and then under great disadvantage, inasmuch as the caste system of India forbids them living in a Hindu home and mixing freely with its members. He is always an outsider. Only a Hindu born can suggest the homely phraseology, the racy expressions, the forceful illustration, can determine nice points of idiom, and can distinguish between ideas universally understood and those which are only the property of the scholar. The large amount of literary work which the earlier generations of missionaries got through was due to the fact that then it was the custom of each mission to have its permanent native muṇshi, who was always at hand as a referee and helper.

'4. *The classes of literature needed.* It is coming to be more and more clearly seen and accepted by all who are competent to form an opinion, that no mere translation of a Western book, however excellent, can go far to influence the people of India. Their thoughts are cast into an altogether different mould from our own. Translations from English are about as far away from appealing to Hindu minds and touching Hindu hearts as translations of Egyptian and Assyrian texts are from the life and thought of the England of to-day. We must not ignore the profound effect of differentiation produced by India's

3,000 years of comparative isolation. Sit down and try to render a page of *Punch* into some other European language, or to give a version of one of Tom Hood's punning poems, and note how entirely the fun and interest of the thing is lost. That is very like the effect of ordinary translations from English into the Indian vernaculars. The words are there, the meaning of the sentences is correctly rendered, but the same emotions are not stirred. The only possible way to effect the desired end is to let the ideas of the original sink into the mind, and then to produce an entirely new work, adopting perhaps a different arrangement, and selecting different illustrations, so as to adapt it to the Indian reader. So does a mother adapt a story to the requirements of her three-year-old child. So are Bible incidents transformed when told by a skilful preacher in an Indian bazaar.

'But although translations from English are of but little value, a good work produced in one vernacular of India can sometimes be rendered with ease and advantage into another vernacular because the types of thought and language are the same. The literary missionary ought therefore to keep himself informed of books which have proved successful in other languages of India. Abstracts of them can be made for him by native assistants, and if approved, those same assistants can produce complete translations. Thus what is done well in one part of India will not be lost upon other parts.

'(1) If vernacular Christian literature is to be a power in India, it must get altogether away from the influence of the vernacular Bible and of the verbiage of English books. The models of style and presentation must be the language as spoken by the Hindus themselves, as used in Hindu newspapers and Hindu popular books. The writers must take the pure molten thought of Christian truth and pour it into Indian moulds to solidify there. When presented thus it will be welcomed by every earnest Hindu and begin to exert a due influence in the land.

'(2) Special attention should be devoted to the production

of good periodical literature—both newspapers and magazines. However ably a subject may be treated in a book, comparatively few have the interest to purchase it or the perseverance to read it through. One of the most important tasks if we would lead India to Christ is to keep Christianity constantly in evidence before Hindus, to present it to them daily in fresh lights and in new relations to life, so that it may be a constant source of surprise, instruction and healthful stimulus. This can best be done by means of magazines and newspapers, which always come to the reader with something fresh, and in which the relation of Christianity is exhibited towards the questions of the day which are engaging people's minds.

'(3) Every endeavour must be used to make the literature provided pay its own expenses—at least for printing, publication, and circulation. This will place it on a sound commercial basis, and prove a test (I will not say of the intrinsic worth, but) of the general acceptability of the literature.'

So far Mr. Rice, but in this connection, and as illustrative of the incalculable influence of the right kind of Christian literature, we adduce two examples from the report of the Bombay Decennial Conference. The first was given by the Rev. G. P. Taylor, of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Ahmedabad :—

'More than fifty years ago, the veteran missionaries of the London Mission were sadly and anxiously questioning whether they should not abandon this mission-field, when lo! two Hindus appeared at the gates of Surat, inquiring for the missionary's house. They had come from a village a hundred miles to the north, and as the warrant for their coming showed the tracts they had been reading, which invited all who might wish to learn further about Christ to visit the missionaries in person. These two men stated that in their district many were reading Christian books, that there was a large sphere of labour open among the

villagers, and that they themselves would gladly receive baptism. Such was the origin of the first mission on the banks of the River Mahi, the parent of the present mission with its two thousand converts.'

The other was from the experience of the Rev. W. Haigh of Mysore, whose literary work has perhaps attained most nearly to the ideal:—

'For some years past I have had charge of a Canarese paper, called the *Vrittanta Patrike*. Every Thursday morning we send forth from our little press an issue varying from 1,500 to 2,000. It is a bonâ fide newspaper that we publish, and every copy is sold. We discuss all the leading topics of the day in as frank and fresh a way as we know how, and always from the distinctively Christian standpoint. People quite understand that now, and buy their paper, knowing what they will find. In every issue we try to carry to the people an urgent call to religious concern, and that part of the paper is as much appreciated as any. We do not mince matters; while speaking always with the greatest possible kindness and respect, we speak always with unhesitating candour. Now this paper is doing much useful pioneer work. We have only a limited number of evangelists, and they by no means cover the area within which we are working. But the newspaper goes to scores of villages which the preacher cannot at present visit, and is doing its work in a way that makes us devoutly thankful. Some time ago I went to a village where no missionary had ever been before. After some inquiry I found the head man of the place and sat down to have a chat with him. He was a fine old man, not educated, but otherwise well fitted to be a leader among his fellows. I asked him if any one in the village could read. "Only one man," was his reply; "I have engaged a Brahman to teach the boys of the village." This led me to remark on the advantages of education, if, for nothing else, yet at least for making them acquainted with all that goes on in the world. "Oh, we get to know that. On market-days we hear a good deal from different people, and besides that there is another

way." "What is that?" I inquired. "Why, sir, every Friday evening, about this time, a newspaper comes to our village. It is called the *Vrittanta Patrike*, and I have myself paid the subscription for it." "But what good is such a paper to you?" I asked. "Why," said he, "when it comes I take it to the schoolmaster, and a boy goes round to tell the neighbours. After a while they all come together and sit down under that great tree, as many as thirty or forty." "Then," said I, "do you have it all read through that night?" "No," he answered; "there is a great deal in the paper, and besides, we have great talks about everything it tells us. We generally meet five or six times before finishing one paper, and then we are ready for the next!" The man had no idea who I was, and I encouraged him to talk freely. "What sort of things are there in this *Vrittanta Patrike*?" I inquired. "All sorts of things, sir. There is an almanac every week, and we always see what are the market prices in Mysore and Bangalore. Then it explains all that the Sirkar is doing, and sometimes tells the Sirkar that it is making mistakes." "Is that all?" I gently persisted. "No; it says a great many things about our customs. It is always telling us that idolatry is false, and we have great talks about that; and every week there is something about a Great Guru, called Jesus Christ. The paper says that He is everybody's Guru. We have read a great deal about Him. He did a lot of wonderful things, and He was very kind to those who were in trouble." Then, growing confident, he continued: "Do you know anything about this Jesus Swami, sir?" The way was opened for my message, and I was able to deliver it to people who had been well prepared for it by previous reading and discussions. This is just one illustration of the work that may be done by a Christian vernacular newspaper.'

CHAPTER XI

INDIA IN 1895

We have passed in review the main features of the work carried on in India by the Society during a century, and have tried to realize in some degree the chief results attained. How far has Christianity transformed Hindu life and thought, and in what respects does the India of Victoria, Queen and Empress, differ from the India of George III? Most of those great forces enumerated in Chapter I as hostile to Christianity, are still operative in deadly antagonism to the Gospel. And yet upon them all to some extent the Gospel has exerted a transforming power. Considered in themselves as they work to-day, these forces would appear to show that very little has yet been achieved by the Gospel. Contrasted in 1895 with what they were in 1795, they seem hardly more than shadows of their former selves.

India to-day is as near to us as France was to our great grandfathers. Steamships and all the marvellous facilities for transit, the telegraph and all the accompanying developments of communication, modern habits of travel, newspapers and books, the enormous increase of the civil and military establishments, the more frequent furloughs of missionaries, and the constant visitation of India by many different classes of Englishmen—all these variously effective influences have tended to draw England and India together in a way that a century ago was absolutely unthinkable.

In 1795 there were in India, of the army of modern missionaries, only two—the great pioneer, William Carey,

and his coadjutor, Thomas; in 1895 there were over one thousand. At that time there were no converts; in 1895 the numbers were 600,000. But this method of contrast is very imperfect, and as apt to mislead as to instruct. It is not the number of workers on the one hand, or of converts on the other, which is all-important. The point of supreme moment is how far the love of Jesus Christ has won the heart of India, how far the mind of that vast continent with its 250,000,000 has come under the controlling sway and inspiration of the words of Jesus. These are questions which do not admit of exact and exhaustive reply, and yet the reply given determines to a large extent how widely and in what momentous respects the India of to-day differs from the India of Clive and Warren Hastings.

Many men, each well acquainted with India, might give varying replies to investigations of this kind. We are concerned mainly with the India of to-day as a land in which the Gospel has been preached and lived throughout a century by devoted men and women—but only by scores when there ought to have been thousands. With all this consecrated life and work and experience behind, what is India's outlook for the second century of Christian life and witness? Let the late Mr. Edwin Lewis of Bellary, than whom none was more competent to judge, answer this great question for us:—

'India to-day is a very different country from the India when the British first became acquainted with it. There were then many kings, great and small; some ruling benignly in their own domain, others ruling tyrannically in their kingdoms; great jealousy prevailed; jealousies led to feuds, to wars; and there was constant turmoil amongst the people. There was no homogeneity amongst the various races in the land; no feeling of patriotism in any heart. The strongest held sway, the weak were oppressed; the most clever exerted power, the gentle became slaves. Some of the tribes which originally possessed the land, valiant but weak in numbers, fled to the hill fortresses and the jungles. To-day almost the whole country is under

British sway; British law prevails; justice is meted to all classes with impartial hand. Peoples of different races, different customs, different languages, different religions and traditions, the strong and the weak; the vigorous tribes in the North-West Provinces, the millions of Bengal, the masses in Central and South India—Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees, Dravidians, and Hill tribes—all find equal protection as subjects of a benign, paternal Government, and are learning under the liberal measures of that Government to become patriots, and to desire great things for their country.

'The Brahmans, who, in the great classic language of the people, are the "gods of the earth," who for ages held the keys of learning and supreme priestly power; the Rajputs, "sons of kings," born for warfare, with their strength and pride of arms; the Varisya, created for trade, endowed with special power for commerce; the Sudras, born from the feet of Brahma, made to serve, to toil in field and factory; the Outcastes, scarcely to be acknowledged as men, but rather classed with the beasts of the field; —all alike are the subjects of our Queen, our fellow subjects, with equal rights, all eligible for posts of honour and responsibility.

'Not a few of the best sons of Britain have laboured, and are labouring, for the permanent good of the land, as administrators, magistrates, judges, engineers, medical men, educationists, and merchants; they deserve our praise and esteem. There are in India, States, some larger and some smaller, ruled by their own native princes; but so great is British influence in the land, that even in such States British rule is regarded as the ideal; and independent rulers profess to follow it, however far they fall short in administering it.

'Another change, still more radical, and fuller of promise of good and great things, has begun and made great progress in India; another kingdom has been established, another King has entered and laid His gracious hand upon the land and claimed the people as His own. He is

working through His servants to bring the people into loving fellowship with Him, and happy, cheerful submission to His will. Chunder Sen, the late great leader of the Brahmo Somaj, expressed his view of the influence of Christianity in his country in these words:—"We breathe, think, feel, move in a Christian atmosphere, under the influence of Christian education; the whole of native society is awakened, enlightened, reformed." And again he said, "Our hearts have been touched, conquered, subjugated by a superior power, and that power is Christ. Christ rules British India, and not the British Government. England has sent us a tremendous moral force, in the life and character of that mighty prophet, to conquer and hold this vast empire. None but Jesus ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem—India—and Christ shall have it."

'There are to be seen in many parts of India very old and elaborately carved Hindu temples. The most sacred of them are surrounded with a high wall to guard them; and many of them have high towers. No stranger is allowed to enter in; the shadow of a foreigner would profane it. The numerous priests have a personal interest in maintaining the sacredness of the buildings, and they guard their preserves with jealous care. I have at different times made friends of some who have authority in the temples, and gained entrance. Having crossed the high threshold of a temple we come to an open courtyard, in which may be seen men sitting about, talking, reading, a few bathing at the sacred well. Past the courtyard are numerous shrines, palkis in which the gods are taken in procession, gongs, bells, lamps, drums, many signs of religious ceremonial, the paraphernalia of worship; further on is "the holy of holies," in which is placed the image of the god, a distant peep of which is all that a stranger can be privileged to gain. The whole place and its surroundings are consecrated. As I walk round and come out from the precincts of the temple, I feel an involuntary sigh of sadness. The place is called an abode of God.

Many idols are there, 'tis true; but God dwelleth not there.

'Such a temple is a picture of Hindu society, of the heart of Hindu life. Hindu society is guarded by the high, thick, strong wall of caste; around it is the air of exclusiveness. At the doors are the guardians, not a few who have stood to their posts for ages; they give way before no force, yield to no fear. The door is only open to friends. I am thankful that I have been able to gain admission at least into some of the secret chambers, and there I have found very much human nature; love has called forth love in response, and heart has spoken to heart. In the inner temple of Hindu society there are gods many, formed after their own desires—pride of race, selfishness, love of ease, superstition, deceit, subtle philosophy, asceticism, idolatry with all its proud and foolish ceremonials. If this were swept and garnished, if the evil were all taken away, the idols abolished, if the pure light of God's truth, the incense of obedience, the treasures of love were brought in, if Christ were here, if God reigned supreme, what a beauteous temple this would be!

'It is to bring about this glorious transformation that we, in Christ's name, labour in India. It is not a hopeless task, for it is Christ's; we are His messengers, He is the Saviour. But—

'1. There are still multitudes of orthodox, thorough-going Hindus, full of faith in the gods, imbued with a pantheistic philosophy, always engaged in religious ritual, learned in the Vedas, verses from which are ever flowing from their lips; they are almost unapproachable, their manner says, "Come not near to me, for I am holier than thou;" they speak of themselves as like the beautiful lotus flower growing out of the mud in the lake, but uncultivated. These men are found all over the country, and they have great influence.

'2. There is another class, the "educated," the "enlightened," the "progressive" class, increasing from year to year, destined to exert a tremendous influence in Hindu society.

A most important and critical part of the battle-ground of the next century will be where we meet with the advanced, enlightened, reforming party of young India. This body is composed of men of undoubted ability, educated in English, who have broken away from most of the superstitions, though not the vices of the Hindus, who do not want to be in bondage to any man or to any creed; they have breathed the fresh air of Western thought, and are elated with the first experience of liberty; they are beginning to feel the impulses of patriotism, are seeking to become statesmen and leaders; they see and acknowledge the value of character, and have an ambition to become men of character. Many of them have learned much from their contact with Europeans and Christian missionaries amongst them. They are men whom it is a pleasure to know: there is much in them we admire, much we would correct; we have a great affection for them, and desire for them the best blessings. The question is asked, "Need we trouble about evangelizing them? Are they not very well off as they are?" I have never seen one of them who, in my judgment, would not have been an inexpressibly better and stronger and purer man if he had been a follower of Jesus. Our hearts yearn for such; and we believe that our Lord loves them, and longs to save them.

'As a class they do not in the slightest degree wish to become Christians—there are some individual exceptions. They are not as a body hostile to missionaries, are not opposed to our work; some of them seem to approve of our trying to bring into the Christian fold the outcaste and down-trodden classes; they join with us readily in philanthropic and educational work. They do not consider themselves in danger of becoming Christians; they resist, scoff at efforts made to bring them to Christ; they say, "Jesus may well be to the English people what Hindu sages have been and are to us Hindus; but we do not need Him." They do not wildly, foolishly, and with the zeal of bigots refuse to acknowledge the good they see in the

Christian religion; they are eager to discover similar good things in Hinduism, and to absorb into their religion many of the doctrines of Christ. Hinduism has great absorbing power; and these men will try to read into Hinduism what they have learned from Christianity; and will give out as from Hindu sources precious treasures they have received from Christ's storehouse.

'These men are not at present a large host, but are increasing from year to year; they are strong, influential; as enemies they will be formidable; if they become Christians as friends and allies, they will be as a band of the angels of the Lord. They stand in the very front, in the highest places of the battle-ground at the beginning of the new century. The best blood, the divinest skill, the finest and most consecrated talent, the largest hearts, the most Christlike men in our churches at home may well be employed for this portion of the field.

'If these, which may be called the high places, the fortresses, be won for Christ, it does not follow that the warfare is accomplished—the wide-stretching battle-ground is beyond. The greater, if not the most important part of the whole field is amongst the masses of the people, the caste people, in their town life and in their village homes. Village life is simple, and may become very sweet; the homes of the masses may be made very peaceful. If the men are Christians and the women followers of Jesus, and the children are brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, homes will be transformed, village and town life will be beautiful. We believe this is God's will; it is possible through Christ; in and through Him alone. This is the Christian ideal; the aim of our warfare is to set up the bright lamp of truth in every home, the Saviour in every heart, the kingdom of God in every village.

'Buddhist legends say that all nature budded into spring, and a thrill of joy reached every animated being, that the blind saw and the dumb spake, that prisoners were set free, and the flames of hell extinguished, and a mighty sound of music arose from heaven and earth, when a

human soul so pure and holy, and thus filled with an almost infinite compassion as Buddha, began its life in the body. But the Buddha whom India has known for ages did not give any great hope to mankind ; he did not bring to his followers any faith in the heavenly Father. His doctrine early gathered around it gross superstitions ; it degenerated into senseless idolatry ; it developed useless asceticism and ecclesiasticism ; it was accompanied with the most mechanical routine service instead of a free, moral, and spiritual life. Wherever Christ comes the wilderness and the solitary place are glad ; the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose.'

WEST INDIES

'Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh'?—ISA. lviii. 6, 7.

'The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening *of the prison* to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn.'—ISA. lxi. 1, 2.

'The calumniated minister had so far humanized his poor flock, his dangerous preaching had so enlightened them, the lessons of himself and his hated brethren had sank so deep in their minds, that, by the testimony of the clergyman, and even of the overseers, the maxims of the Gospel of peace were upon their lips in the midst of rebellion, and restrained their hands when no other force was present to resist them. "We will take no life," said they, "for our pastors taught us not to take that which we cannot give," a memorable peculiarity to be found in no other passage of negro warfare within the West Indian Seas.'—HENRY BROUGHAM'S Speech in the House of Commons, June 1, 1824.

'The Missionary Smith's case became a watchword and a rallying cry with all the friends of religious liberty, as well as the enemies of West Indian slavery. The measures of the abolitionists all over the country became more bold and decided, as their principles commanded a more general and warmer concurrence. All saw that at the fetters of the slave a blow was at length struck which must, if followed up, make them fall off his limbs for ever.'—*The Demerara Martyr*, p. 217.

'Hear it and hail it; the call
Island to island prolong;
Liberty! liberty! all
Join in that jubilee song.'

'Hark! 'tis the children's hosannahs that ring!
Hark! they are freemen, whose voices unite!
While England, the Indies, and Africa sing,
"Amen! hallelujah" to "Let there be light!"'

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

CHAPTER XII

THE MISSION TO TOBAGO AND TRINIDAD

THE Report for 1798 contained this paragraph: 'A mission to the poor blacks in Jamaica has engaged much of our attention; and, though circumstances have deferred its final execution, it continues among the objects we have in view.' The occupation of Jamaica remained among the objects 'in view' for many years. This was due partly to the difficulties attending the start of a new mission, but also partly to the fact that the Wesleyans had, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, taken up work in that island. In 1807 a mission was begun in Demarara, but before telling the story of that movement it is needful to briefly sketch the attempts made to gain a footing in Tobago and Trinidad.

The Report for 1808 states: 'It has long been in the contemplation of the Society to send missionaries to the negroes in the West India Islands. Few, perhaps, of all the children of Adam can have a stronger claim on our benevolence than those unhappy people, who have been cruelly torn from their native country and dearest connections, the victims of violence and avarice. The abolition of the slave trade, an event in which, with millions of our fellow subjects, we sincerely rejoice, seems to promise a fairer prospect than before for the evangelizing our sable brethren. A kind disposition to ameliorate their condition has appeared in many worthy planters, some of whom have expressed a readiness not only to permit but to encourage the labours of missionaries among them.'

The Committee of the Council and Assembly of Tobago had in 1799 published a report in which they affirmed the

—for legislative councils of that day—extraordinary opinion that endeavour should be made 'to instil into the minds of the negroes the principles of religion and morality,' and that immediate measures should be taken 'to provide such a number of missionaries as the legislature may judge necessary for that purpose[1].' In consequence of this, in February, 1808, Mr. Richard Elliott was sent to labour among the 20,000 negroes of Tobago. He was allowed by some of the principal planters to preach to the negroes on their estates, and he conducted services in the town of Scarborough. He was at first greatly encouraged in his work. His wife joined him in January, 1809, having previously acquired 'an art which may render her useful among the female slaves, and at the same time lessen the great expense likely to be incurred by this mission[2].'

In May, 1808, Mr. Elliott was joined by a colleague, Mr. Isaac Purkis. For a time he was well received by many of the negroes, and by some of the planters, but it is curious indeed in the Report for 1810 to read this sentence from one of his letters: 'It has even been proposed to the Council and Assembly of Tobago that a salary should be allowed me by the colony; and although my friends have failed in their kind efforts for this purpose, yet perhaps their wishes may eventually be accomplished[3].' This sentence further illustrates the tentative condition of the home administration, and the persistence with which at this epoch the Directors impressed upon their missionaries the duty of securing at all hazards, if possible, local support. Mr. Purkis was recalled to England in June, 1810, and in 1811 the Directors decided to abandon the Tobago Mission on the ground of expense, 'the necessaries of life being purchasable only at an enormous rate,' and the pecuniary assistance rendered by the planters not being equal to their desires. The Board had intended to send Mr. Elliott to North America, but on learning that in May, 1812, a chapel had been erected, and in deference to

[1] Reports, 1795-1814, p. 288.
[2] Ibid. 1795-1814, p. 316.
[3] Ibid. 1795-1814, p. 345.

Mr. Elliott's wishes, they allowed him to stay at Tobago a while longer. Yet the mission still hung fire, and in March, 1814, Mr. Elliott removed to Le Resouvenir. The Directors remark that they will be not unwilling to send another missionary should the inhabitants be willing 'to defray a part of the heavy expense.'

With Mr. Purkis there had been sent out to Demerara another missionary student, Thomas Adam by name. Failing to find any useful opening in Demerara he went, in August, 1809, to Trinidad with letters of recommendation to some of the residents. He conducted services in the Freemasons' Hall in Port au Spain, and a sum of £500 was subscribed towards the building of a chapel. Desirable as the scheme was, the Directors did not consider this the purpose for which he had been sent out, and urged him as far as possible to evangelize the negroes. That the Directors did not obstinately adhere to this view is shown by the fact that they ultimately gave £100 to the chapel fund; and Mr. Adam on his part did all that he could to gain an influence for good over the negroes. The new chapel was opened in 1813, and Mr. Adam, in addition to his evangelistic work, did all in his power to educate his hearers, and to circulate Christian literature among them. But the cost of the mission in proportion to the results from it still weighed upon the minds of the Directors. In 1816 they placed on record their view that a Director should visit the West Indies, as Mr. Campbell had visited Africa, and for a similar purpose; and they further state, 'Many of the planters may, by personal application, be induced to engage for the support of pious mechanics as the instructors of their slaves; and that not only the present stations might be rendered less burdensome to the Society, but that new stations might be formed which should require little or no financial support from England.'

In March, 1818, Mr. James Mercer reached Port au Spain to act as the colleague of Mr. Adam, whose work had developed by itineration among the various planta-

tions. One feature of special interest was the visits he paid to 600 slaves who had been captured in the war with the United States in 1812, set free, and landed upon Trinidad. Some of these had acquired a knowledge of the Gospel in the United States, and these co-operated in the efforts to make it more widely known. But in 1818 the governor exacted from the missionaries a penalty bond of £500 to abstain from all 'contentious refutations' of the tenets of the Churches of England and Rome. Those who would not sign this were debarred from preaching. Mr. Adam signed it, 'unwilling that his usefulness should be suspended.' Mr. Mercer declined on the ground that it was 'a virtual surrender of religious liberty, and of the rights of British subjects.' In this he was upheld by the Directors, who represented in a deputation to Earl Bathurst that while they entertained no fear that their missionaries either publicly or privately would speak 'contentiously,' yet this action of the governor's was a violation of the Act of Toleration. Meanwhile Mr. Mercer's chapel was closed, and he retired for a time to Demerara. The governor, however, persisted in his high-handed action, and in 1820 the Directors recalled Mr. Adam.

In 1822 Mr. Mercer returned to Trinidad and preached to the negroes on the estates of Jordan Hill and Couva. In the hope of reviving and strengthening the mission Mr. Thomas Dexter was sent out to join him in 1823, but he died after a residence of less than six months. The outbreak in Demerara in this year exerted a very adverse influence for a time upon all missionary efforts in the West Indies. Mr. Mercer was summoned before the Governor of Trinidad, but nothing could be alleged against him. This did not prevent all kinds of slander and opposition, due, as the Directors point out, to the fact that he was a missionary. Finally, deeming his prospects of usefulness hopeless for the present, in 1825 the Directors recalled him, and the Trinidad Mission came to an end.

[AUTHORITIES.—Reports and Letters; *Evangelical Magazine*, 1807–25.]

CHAPTER XIII

PIONEER WORK IN DEMERARA AND BERBICE

In 1807 the Society established a mission in Demerara. Mr. H. H. Post, a planter, concerned for the spiritual welfare of the slaves and others under his care, had written to the Directors urging them to send out a minister, and promising his own protection and assistance. Mr. John Wray, a student at Gosport, was selected for this service. He was about twenty-seven years old, not highly educated or richly endowed with natural gifts, but a man of sterling character, sound common sense, and truly Christian in spirit. He landed in the colony February 6, 1808. The slave *trade* has been ended by a Bill passed in 1807, but slavery itself was not yet abolished in British colonies, and as the missionary's vessel sailed into Demerara, the last vessel to import a cargo of slaves there was sailing out. He was received and hospitably entertained by Mr. Post at Le Resouvenir, his plantation, some eight miles from George Town. Wray's work lay chiefly among Mr. Post's negroes, and any from neighbouring estates who were allowed to attend the meetings. Numbers of white and free coloured persons came to the services, many of them from considerable distances. It was only in this way that religious and educational work could be carried on among the slaves. The local authorities were hostile, or at least indifferent from the first. Many of the planters, demoralized as masters always are by the slavery from

which they profit, feared the consequences of such work as Mr. Wray's. Moreover, it was only with the goodwill of the owner that anything could be done, and this was not in many cases to be had.

But Mr. Post was a tower of strength. A chapel capable of holding 600 hearers was built, mainly at his expense and upon his land, the Directors contributing £100. It was opened September 11, 1808. Mr. Post built also a minister's house, expending on these works over £1,000. But while there was much latent, if little open, opposition on the part of planters and residents, there was also some sympathy, for the Directors note in 1809 that £200 had been raised locally for the support of the mission. On March 6 of that year Mr. Wray wrote, 'I have reason to believe that more than 150 of these poor ignorant people are earnestly seeking the salvation of their souls.' He also notes that many of those who formerly 'usually spent their time in drumming, dancing, intoxication, and other evils, now employ their leisure time in receiving and giving religious instruction, and in prayer and praise.'

In 1809 Mr. Adam, who had been in Trinidad, and Mr. Davies reached Demerara. escorting Miss Ashford, who became the devoted and energetic wife of Mr. Wray. Mr. Davies took up work in the town of Staebrok, afterwards known more widely as George Town. During 1810 the influence of the mission steadily extended. It was given to Mr. Post to begin the good work, but not to watch its progress. He died in 1809, having done what he could for the continuity of the mission by securing to the Society the chapel and minister's house at Le Resouvenir, and by endowing it to the extent of £100 per annum. The moral and spiritual force of Mr. Wray's work extended far beyond the limits of his own sphere. Some planters and overseers and residents were stirred up to do what they could in their own localities, negroes who occasionally attended the services or school carried what they learned to other districts, and the prospect of the mission seemed very bright when the first conflict with the

authorities occurred. The occasion for this is set forth in the Report for 1812:—

'In Jamaica and in some of the other West India colonies, the governors have thought proper to issue proclamations, forbidding, under severe penalties, the assembling of the negroes before the hour of sun-rising, or after that of sun-setting. This regulation, though professedly intended merely to prevent meetings for the purpose of mutiny or rebellion, was found to operate almost to the total suppression of the assemblies of the slaves for religious instruction, as the principal opportunities for that end were from seven to nine in the evening, after they had done their work; that part of the Sabbath in which they are not engaged at market being totally insufficient for poor ignorant negroes, who must needs have line upon line, and whose chief advantage was derived from learning the catechism, which. as few of them can read, must be repeated to them again and again.'

The Governor of Demerara at this time, Mr. H. W. Bentinck, issued this proclamation for the colony on May 25, 1811. In this action he was following the bad example set him in Jamaica. Mr. Wray saw at once that if this proclamation were upheld it was fatal to his work. Protests proving ineffective with the governor, the missionary acted with characteristic energy and sagacity. He sailed for England in the first vessel upon which he could secure a passage. His daughter's account of this episode is very graphic:—

'My father left his Excellency, and at once proceeded to the waterside to look for a ship about to sail for England. There was but one, taking in cotton, and it would sail in a few days. "Captain," he said, "I want to go to England." "Oh," said the captain, "I can't possibly take you: every berth is filled with cotton bales." "But," said my father, "I will do without a berth; I will sleep on the cotton bales—only let me come on board, and I will put up with any inconvenience." The captain yielded; my father rode back to Le Resouvenir, told

mother of his interview with the Governor, and that he had taken his passage in a ship which would sail in a few days [1].'

In this way, unconscious as Mr. Wray was of the importance of the step he took, began that relation to the British Government and influence of the Society's missionary labour in the West Indies which later on, in consequence of the judicial murder of Mr. Smith, had so much to do with the final triumph of emancipation. Mr. Wray's object in visiting England was to obtain through the Colonial Office the immediate repeal of the obnoxious proclamation. The Directors warmly supported his action ; he was introduced to Wilberforce and Stephens, who used all their influence to aid him, the latter drawing up the memorial to Lord Liverpool. The prime minister himself conferred with Mr. Wray and the Secretaries of the Society. The effect of Wray's visit in bringing home to the friends of emancipation the work yet to be done is referred to in Wilberforce's *Life* :—

'The reluctant conviction that their work was incomplete was being forced upon the abolition leaders. The West Indies clung too fondly to the vices of the old system ; and though perhaps Mr. Wilberforce himself did not as yet look forward to those great attempts to which he was led on step by step by the gradual progress of events, yet the present vigilance and zeal of the protector of the negro were undoubtedly preparing for them.'

A later extract runs : 'His present object was to stop the "persecution of the missionaries, or rather, the forbidding religion to the slaves of Trinidad and Demerara." For this purpose he appealed earnestly to Lord Liverpool, pointing out to him that it was "a cause interesting not merely to the objects of the particular sect to which the missionaries belonged, but all religionists will make it their own."'

The result of Wray's visit is told in the following letter

[1] *The Life and Labours of John Wray*, by Thomas Rain (1892), p. 55.

to the Secretaries of the Society, from Sir Robert Peel, dated November 15, 1811:—

'In consequence of the instructions which have been transmitted by his lordship (Lord Liverpool) to the Governor of Demerara, the slaves in that colony will be permitted to assemble for Divine worship and instruction on Sundays between the hours of five in the morning and nine at night, and on the other days of the week between the hours of seven and nine at night.'

Even before this communication reached the Directors, Wray was on his way back. He sailed on November 13, in a ship whose authorities were at first reluctant to book him. 'When the owner was applied to, he said he did not much like to have missionaries in his ship, for the devil was against them, and he was the prince of the power of the air, and perhaps he would raise a storm at sea and the ship would be lost.' But the voyage passed uneventfully, and Wray landed in Demerara on December 18, after an absence of just six months, an absence in which he had accomplished vastly more than the immediate object of his visit.

Mr. Wray waited upon Governor Bentinck the day after his return. 'He did not receive me very politely,' is the missionary's account of the interview. He had not only not recalled the proclamation, but he was at the time secretly scheming to delay, and if possible defeat, the policy of the Home Government. Tidings of Bentinck's action reached Lord Liverpool. He was recalled, and on April 7, 1812, the acting-governor, H. L. Carmichael, issued the following proclamation:—

'Whereas I have received instructions from His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to recall the Proclamation issued on the 25th of May, 1811, and to give every aid to missionaries in the instruction of religion, the Proclamation of the above date is hereby recalled, and the following regulations will take place from this date:—

'"*First.*—It is to be understood that no limitation or restraint can be enforced upon the right of instruction upon particular estates, provided the meetings for that purpose

take place upon the estate, and with the consent and approbation of the proprietor and overseer of such estate.

'" *Secondly.*—(Hours of meeting on Sundays and other days to be as stated in the instructions sent out by the Home Government, already given.)

'" *Thirdly.*—All chapels and places for Divine worship or public resort shall be registered in the Colonial Secretary's office, and the names of persons officiating in them shall be made known to the Governor; and the doors of the places shall remain open during the time of public worship or instruction.

'" Given under my hand and seal-at-arms at the Camp House, this 7th day of April, 1812, and in the fifty-second year of His Majesty's Reign."'

The joy of the missionaries can readily be imagined. They called on the acting-governor, who then, and on later occasions, showed himself heartily sympathetic towards their good work. 'He assured us of his assistance and protection, and said that if we could suggest any plan for the furtherance of the Gospel he would communicate it to the Prince Regent. He gave us some very excellent advice, and observed that, to make ourselves as useful as possible, it would be well to meet the prejudices of the planters as far as we could.' In his reply to their address also, he expressed himself in a way which might with advantage have been followed by other colonial governors:

'It is my opinion that your exertions, if properly directed, may be advantageous to negroes and others, both in religion and morality—as also to the political government of the West India colonies in general—by instilling the doctrines of Christ into the minds of all ranks of the community, to render to the King loyalty and his dues in all respects; and the Divine precepts (which) further enjoin governors, magistrates, masters, and servants, not only their respective duties to the public, but their reciprocal conduct to each other as explained in the Holy Scriptures, inculcating toleration and benevolence. I feel much satisfaction, gentlemen, in your assurance that it will be always your

concern to perform your duty as missionaries, so as to meet the approbation of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. In which case you may rely on every assistance and support in my power.'

In consequence of this action of the acting-governor, the missionaries were greatly encouraged, and stimulated to more active exertions. They endeavoured to obtain from the Government grants of land in various parts of the colony upon which chapels might be built, and also the abolition of the heavy marriage fees for free coloured persons, which had hitherto amounted to from £16 to £20. The result of these charges had been that large numbers lived together without marriage. A strong side light is thrown upon the accursed system of slavery, by recalling the fact that slaves in the colony were actually prohibited by law from marrying. In these efforts the missionaries were only partially successful. Mr. Wray's influence continued to grow, and from time to time he undertook the delicate work, when called in by those most closely concerned, of acting as mediator between overseer and negroes, or between the authorities and the slaves. This was a tribute to his character and influence, but it was work which required wary walking.

'Not, however, as preacher and peacemaker, in public or by the master alone, were the services of Mr. Wray sought and willingly afforded ; as Christian pastor and as pleader for the wronged and the oppressed, he was often inquired for more privately and by persons of all ranks, both bond and free ; and himself and his excellent wife were at times much engaged in ministering to mind or body diseased, at the bedside of suffering or death, in the planter's house or humbler cot ; or elsewhere listening to pleas for sympathy and counsel by the wronged bondman, or watching the course of justice as professedly administered[1].'

How high the prejudice against the negro ran in those days in the colony, and how difficult was the missionary's position, is illustrated by an incident :—

[1] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, p. 78.

'A white lady from town came to spend a few days with us on account of her health. Mrs. Wray has at school some children of colour whose parents and friends are rich planters, and who have put their children under her care to receive an education. This lady took Mrs. Wray aside, and said if we were accustomed to have these children to sit at table with us, she would thank her to send her a little of something into her chamber, for she could not think of eating with them. She spoke of them in the most degrading language, considering them of a different species from us [1].'

The plantation of Mr. Post had, after his death, passed into other hands, and with the transfer the welfare of all the hapless slaves.

'The negroes on Success picked the whole of yesterday (Sunday, the 14th). They came to ask my advice, but I found it difficult to give it them in their situation as slaves. I could only read to them the fourth commandment. Oh, what a curse is slavery! . . . I hear the cart-whip every day on Le Resouvenir. Asia, the driver of the female gang, makes sad complaints, with tears in her eyes, of the treatment they meet with from the manager. Larger baskets than usual are given to them, and he flogs them severely if they are not full. It is in vain to deny this, because our own eyes see it, and our ears hear it. Our own senses cannot deceive us. Cursed slavery! We endeavoured to comfort Asia. . . . The whip is constantly sounding in our ears; this renders our situation uncomfortable, and we can do these poor people no good [2].'

On October 6, 1812, Mr. Vanderhaas, Mr. Post's successor, died. Complaints of the cruelties committed towards the negroes had reached the fiscal's ears, and he consulted Mr. Wray as to their truth. The missionary aided the fiscal in his inquiries, the wrongs of the negroes were in some small measure alleviated, and Mr. Wray remarks, 'though many evil reports were soon circulated about me,

[1] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, p. 78.

[2] Ibid. p. 80.

that I was the cause of the negroes going to the Fiscal, I do not regret what I have done.'

Wray's work at Le Resouvenir, so well begun, was soon to end by his transfer to what was then the separate Crown Colony of Berbice, seventy miles to the west of Demerara. During his visit to England Wray had been consulted by the Commissioners for Managing the Crown Property in South America. Of these Wilberforce and Stephens were the chief. In 1812 Zachary Macaulay was Secretary to the Commissioners, and a letter from him was presented to the missionary on October 20 by A. A. De la Court, Crown Agent in Berbice. It requested Wray to afford all assistance in his power to establish a mission among the Crown slaves in Berbice, of whom there were then 1,143. The colony had been badly administered, and the estates were transferred to the Commissioners in 1811. They influenced the Government to determine 'not to barter away both the bodies and souls of these poor people,' and this request to Wray was a part of their scheme of amelioration. To Wray this request came as a call from God, and after consideration he resolved to obey it should the Directors confirm his decision. He at once visited Berbice, at that period a difficult and fatiguing journey. Two clergymen, one belonging to the Church of England, the other a Dutch Lutheran, were supposed to care for the spiritual needs of the colony. Truth compels Wray to state that more unsuitable men than those who from time to time held these offices could hardly be imagined.

How colonial opinion regarded the Commission is indicated by the fact that the governor requested more troops as soon as its authority was established. Wray returned to Demerara for a time. Early in 1813 Providence Chapel was opened in George Town under the care of Mr. Davies. In April, 1813, Wray paid a second visit to Berbice. In May, Demerara sustained a great loss in the sudden death of Governor Carmichael. The missionary's mind was greatly exercised about the coming change. 'My mind is much exercised about moving to Berbice, as it will be

neither so pleasant nor healthy as the East Coast of Demerara; and the Crown estates being very distant one from another, very inconveniently situated, and in unhealthy spots, great labour will attend the undertaking. The negroes also are mostly unacquainted with English, and to be understood, it will be necessary to learn the Creole.' But a favourable reply had been received from the Directors, and on June 6, 1813, Wray preached his farewell sermon at Le Resouvenir. On June 16, with his family, he sailed in a colony schooner from Demerara to the Berbice River.

'Thus we bade farewell to Demerara, and to our beloved home and congregation at Le Resouvenir. During our residence there we had experienced many blessings, and though we had met with great opposition, yet we had many friends among the planters who had treated us with great kindness, and who expressed much sorrow at our leaving. I trust also the Lord has blessed our labours, and that many, by the preaching of the Gospel, have been called out of darkness into marvellous light, and have been turned from sin and Satan to serve the true and living God [1].'

[1] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, p. 98.

CHAPTER XIV

WRAY'S WORK IN BERBICE

WRAY still remained connected with the Society, although he had now become responsible to the Commissioners of the Crown estates, and acted as their agent, they finding most of the money required for his work. His reception was favourable on the whole, but one planter who called upon him soon after his arrival expressed the sentiments held by a good many.

'"Well, Mr. Wray," he said, "come to Berbice to make your fortune? We all come here for that, you know." My father replied that was not his object. He had come to Berbice to tell to all, white and black, that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." Mr. K. replied, "That won't do, Mr. Wray; we won't have the blacks taught. Now, we wish to be friendly, and if you will give up that nonsense, we will soon put you in the way of making your fortune." My father of course declined; the interview ended; Mr. K. left, politely telling my father he was either a fool or a madman[1].'

New Amsterdam now became Wray's head quarters, and he did what he could to instruct and help to ameliorate the terrible condition of the Crown negroes at Dageraad, an estate thirty-five miles up the Berbice River. He attempted to establish schools wherever possible. During his early years in Berbice he often visited his old station at Le

[1] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, p. 101.

Resouvenir, as some years passed before a satisfactory successor to himself was established there. During one of these visits he had a long talk with Governor Murray, who in later years was to become notorious for his infamous treatment of both missionaries and negroes. The governor said he approved of oral instruction being given to the slaves, but would set his face against their being taught to read. He thought this would endanger the peace of the colony. Soon after this conversation Murray became Governor of Berbice, and Wray did teach the negroes to read, having first told the governor he should not desist from so doing unless officially forbidden. Fear of the Commissioners probably kept Murray from so prohibiting him.

Slaves had to grow their own food, and as they toiled all the week the only time they had for cultivating their gardens and for market barter was the Sunday. Wray, though bitterly opposed by the planters, was successful in putting an end to this state of things by getting the Crown slaves allowed one day a fortnight in which to attend to their gardens, thus gaining time for their instruction on the Sunday. Constant difficulties arose because of the prevalent degrading Obeah superstition and practices. To these the Government opposed imprisonment and even death; Wray believed they could be exorcised only by the spread of light and knowledge.

In October 13, 1813, Wray removed to Sandvoort, hoping to find it a healthier residence, and there the house of the agent, absent on a visit to England, was his home until May, 1815, when he returned again to New Amsterdam. In the course of 1814 an influence developed which was to be for years to come a great hindrance to all progress in the colony. This was the persistent and increasing rumours of impending slave insurrections. For these there was never much real foundation; although the atrocious cruelties with which many of the whites treated their slaves might well produce in the minds of the oppressors guilty fears of a retribution which they well deserved. But these rumours

increased the hatred exhibited towards Wray and his associates, and the insults which from time to time, both publicly and privately, were heaped upon them. The character of the men who on the one hand committed the cruelties, and on the other denounced missionaries as a source of danger to the colony, may be judged from this example :—

'The licentiousness of some of the whites is awful. We cannot keep a servant virtuous, for the manager takes a delight in prostituting those in our house. He obliges them to comply by threats and actual punishments. We have been constrained, by his base conduct, to part with four or five valuable servants, three of whom have each a child by this unnatural man.'

'When guests, or callers for accommodation at the houses of the managers of the Crown estates, could be guilty, as occasionally they were, of the grossest violations of politeness and decency towards the pioneer, it may be taken as an indication that ill-will towards the plans and purposes of the Commissioners had, since the apprehended insurrection, become more general, certainly more loud-voiced. E. g. one Sunday evening, company at the Sandvoort manager's set up loud song-singing, seemingly to outrival hymns being sung at worship; and later, when going home, the rowdy guests visited Mr. Wray's residence, rousing the retired inmates with indecent shouts and attempts to effect an entrance, all with apparent impunity. . . . The penalties of the new laws, too, were very severe, a slave leaving his estate without a pass being liable to lashes up to thirty-nine; singing or shouting or uttering songs of certain kinds to slaves on other estates when passing along river or creek, liable to lashes up to 100; and a white person permitting his slaves so to sing, &c., to a fine up to 100 guilders (nearly £7).'

'The congregation of New Amsterdam grew in numbers, both of whites and free coloured people, as well as of negro slaves. Thus, October 1, 1815, twenty whites were present at evening service, on the 8th twenty whites and from thirty to forty free people of colour. But of the twenty

whites present on the 1st he notes that four were living in open and notorious adultery, another was a profane infidel, and most were living in fornication [1].'

Some slaves on the West Coast, Berbice, were seized. 'No one,' as far as Mr. Wray could learn, 'had been injured by them, neither was any property destroyed, yet on April 12 six of the unhappy people apprehended on the West Coast were executed in New Amsterdam as ringleaders, their heads cut off and fixed upon poles on the different estates to which they belonged; one of them white with age, whose master, Mr. Rader, told Mr. Wray that he denied to the last having any bad intentions. Several others were flogged under the gallows, and some were transported. A proclamation was subsequently issued to the effect that as "the privilege allowed the slaves of the colony, of publicly or privately dancing on estates and other places at stated periods, had been perverted by them to purposes of the *most dangerous nature*, all dancing was forbidden until next year, 1815, or the further pleasure of the Court"; but, notwithstanding the charges brought against the missionaries and instruction, assigning no blame to them [2].'

The routine of Wray's work at this time consisted in preaching to the negroes on Sunday, and doing all that he could for their instruction and general welfare around Sandvoort and New Amsterdam. Sickness in himself and in the members of his family was often a great hindrance. From time to time he still paid visits to Demerara. In 1815 some of the worst evils on the Crown estates were removed by the appointment of a new and better agent and assistant-agent. A brief period of promise ensued, to be followed by the dark hours of seeming triumph to the enemy and oppressor, immediately preceding the final victory of emancipation. In November, 1815, an active Auxiliary Bible Society was formed by Wray, which proved a source of usefulness for many years. In 1816

[1] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, pp. 130, 131, 145.
[2] Ibid. p. 122.

a portion of the Crown estates was restored to the Dutch Company, to whom they had formerly belonged. This was for a time fatal to Wray's work with the negroes, as the Dutch managers were hostile to their instruction.

At the close of 1817 Wray visited England a second time, seeking the aid of the British Government against intolerable cruelty perpetrated in its name upon a negro—one example only of many such horrors:—

'A most cruel punishment was inflicted on a woman—I think her name was America. She was in the last stage of pregnancy. In that state, stripped of all clothing, she was fastened down to the ground and inhumanly flogged by the drivers within an inch of her life. The babe of course was killed, and she was for a long time at death's door. And what was her offence? The manager who witnessed the punishment had, as almost all the white men, his kept mistress, and she had, as her servants, as many negro girls as she chose. One of these girls was a daughter of America. This girl, for some trifling offence, was most severely flogged. Her mother, hearing of it, went to her mistress to inquire into the affair. When she saw her child had been so cruelly treated, she no doubt spoke her mind. Her offence was "impudence" to this mistress. When my parents heard of it, and more too, my father could bear it no longer. The lashes inflicted on these poor creatures seemed to eat into his very soul. No redress could be got in the Colony, and he determined to go to England[1].'

Mr. Wray saw Earl Bathurst, and received from him the assurance that if he 'returned to Berbice he should receive protection from the Colonial Government, and the respect due to a minister of the Gospel.' His visit also did much to

[1] A printed account since met with (*Evangelical Magazine*, 1818, p. 343) gives the girl as being a little daughter, and the mother as receiving 170 lashes, 'the savage manager meanwhile deliberately smoking his pipe during the punishment. This manager was, however, tried for the offence, found guilty, and sentenced to a fine of about £25, and three months' imprisonment'; though whether before or after Wray started for England is not stated in the contemporary reports.

reinforce at a critical period in the struggle the somewhat flagging energy of the anti-slavery crusade.

'He appealed to His Majesty's ministers, stirred up the anti-slavery party, and, wherever his voice could be heard, he denounced slavery. He pleaded that the flogging of women should be abolished, that the long hours of work should be curtailed; and though it took some time, and though it brought great persecution on him after his return to Berbice, he eventually gained what he asked. He was in constant communication with Buxton, Wilberforce, and others, to whom he had personally appealed; never let the matter rest, and though he did not live to see entire emancipation (repeal of the apprenticeship clauses), he had the settled conviction that it would come, that the negroes would receive it gratefully, and that not a hair of a white man would be injured.'

On Wray's return in July, 1818, a sum of money which had been unjustly withheld from him by a hostile official was paid over. Wray had long desired a suitable chapel in New Amsterdam; but no owners would sell land for this purpose. This money enabled him to buy a house in which to reside, and with it also a large piece of land. Upon part of this land Wray built his chapel, getting towards it £400 from residents and £200 from the Society. During 1821 the debt on the building was paid, and a school-room added.

The pioneer missionary had now been fifteen years in the colony. He was widely known and respected, and he had been enabled to lay good and solid foundation for future work. It was not unreasonable to anticipate steady and fruitful progress. As his biographer notes at this point, 'It might then seem that missionary operations, now well launched in both colonies, had only to go on and prosper; especially as planter after planter, and manager after manager, testified to the beneficial results, and in Berbice a Governor friendly to Mr. Wray and his work had succeeded Mr. Bentinck. But there still existed in large numbers persons of another stamp, planters and

residents, whose language and spirit were bitterly inimical, the lives of many of them godless and profane, and their view of the pious missionary and his work one of malignant and cruel hatred. These, and their like in Britain, keenly opposed to any interference or attempt at improving the slave and his condition, had of late watched such attempts with increasing excitement, which grew as 1823 went on, and culminated at last in words and deeds of such brutality and cowardice, cruelty and crime, as to form one of the darkest passages of our colonial history.' To this dark story we must now turn.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *The Life and Labours of John Wray, compiled chiefly from his own Manuscripts and Letters*, by Thomas Rain, London, 1892.]

CHAPTER XV

THE DEMERARA MARTYR

UPON Mr. Wray's removal to Berbice the Directors at once endeavoured to supply his place in Demerara. But nearly four years passed before this could be done. In March, 1817, Mr. John Smith began his work at Le Resouvenir. There he continued to labour quietly and successfully until August, 1823, when the events occurred which made his name for ever memorable in the history of West Indian Emancipation.

John Smith was born in 1790, and in 1809 he first came under the power of religious conviction. In 1810 a sermon based upon Isaiah lv. 6, 7, preached at Tonbridge Chapel (Somers Town) by Mr. Leifchild, then of Kensington, led him into peace. He became a member of Tonbridge Chapel, and an active worker in the Sunday school and other departments of Christian work. One of the annual missionary sermons preached in the Tabernacle by Mr. Jefferson, of Basingstoke, aroused in him the desire to become a missionary, and after a correspondence with Mr. Burder and an interval of two years of thought and preparation, he applied to the Directors and was accepted. He passed some time in preparatory studies under Mr. Newton at Witham in Essex, and in 1816 was appointed to succeed Mr. Wray. He married Jane Godden, a member of Tonbridge Chapel, and was ordained there December 12, 1816, Dr. Waugh and the Rev. George Burder, among others, taking part

James Gilmour
(Mongolia)

J. K. Mackenzie
(Tientsin)

John Wray
(Demerara)

John Foreman
(Demerara)

James Smith
(Demerara)

in the services. The young couple sailed from Liverpool for the colony, and reached Demerara on February 23, 1817.

Mr. Smith's reception by the authorities was significant, considered in the light of later events. 'In a letter to his tutor, dated April 2, 1817, he says:—"Two days after our arrival, I waited upon the Governor, being introduced by Mr. Elliott. His excellency frowned upon me. He asked me what I had come to do, and how I purposed to instruct the negroes. I answered, by teaching them to read; by teaching them Dr. Watts' Catechisms; and by preaching the Gospel in a plain manner. To which he replied, 'If ever you teach a negro to read, and I hear of it, I will banish you from the colony immediately.'" Mr. Smith, however, waited upon the Governor a second time, on March 6, when his excellency read the instructions given him by the Directors (which have recently received the approbation of His Majesty's Government) and the certificate of his ordination: in which his excellency said he saw nothing objectionable. On which Mr. Smith obtained permission to preach, with the promise of the Governor's protection[1].'

But though the authorities frowned upon him those whom he had come to benefit gladly welcomed him, and rejoiced to have once more the comfort, aid, and blessing which the missionary and his wife brought to many of the despised and ill-treated slaves. The work in George Town was carried on by Mr. Davies, and on the West Coast by Mr. Elliott. Mr. Smith devoted himself with all his heart to his work at Le Resouvenir. The old chapel was found too small.

'In the Report for 1819 the following extract is given from one of his letters to the Directors:—"If there be anything on this side heaven which excites in the heart of a missionary anything like a fullness of joy, it is to behold whole families of heathens embracing the Gospel, and living so as to glorify God. This joy many of your

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1824, p. 295.

missionaries realize. This joy, too. is mine; and to hear these things will be the joy of the Missionary Society. This is noble interest for the money of British Christians, for the redemption of the soul is precious. It affords us, it will afford the Directors, great satisfaction to learn that the religious negroes conduct themselves with great propriety. In all my inquiries among the planters concerning the behaviour of the slaves who come to the chapel, I never heard any one of them say that religion had spoiled them, although some of the planters say it will spoil them, and this is the only reason assigned for their opposition." '

Mr. Wray's heart rejoiced over the success which attended the labours of his successor. In a letter dated August 22, 1822, he writes:—

'On the 11th of last month I arrived at Le Resouvenir, spent two days with Mr. Smith, and preached to the people on Friday evening. I had great pleasure in seeing many of those who were the first-fruits of the Gospel there, walking in truth and rejoicing in the Lord Jesus; others have been taken to their heavenly rest. They manifest great zeal in the ways of religion, and adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour. I rejoice that they have a minister so much interested in their spiritual welfare as Mr. Smith. I was also much pleased with some of his plans, particularly his dividing them into classes, according to the estates to which they belong, and examining their progress in the Catechism in rotation. He thinks the number under regular instruction is about 2,000. I greatly lament that the missionaries in Demerara are not permitted to teach the slaves to read. Mr. Smith would willingly devote part of the day to this work; and yet, after all, many do acquire the art of reading. I met with a negro, halfway between New Amsterdam and George Town, who has no opportunity to attend chapel, learning to read and studying Dr. Watts' Catechism. Indeed, all along the coast, which is about seventy miles, a desire for instruction prevails.'

And later on, in February, 1823, after having laboured six years at his station, Mr. Smith wrote:—'We have now

many candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper. Our average congregation is 800 persons. We have certainly much cause to be thankful to the great Head of the Church for the success that attends our labours. We behold every Sabbath an overflowing congregation, behaving with praiseworthy decorum ; and we see them zealous for the spread of Christianity. They are fast abandoning their wicked practices for more regular habits of life, as is evident from the number of marriages, few of which (not one in fifty) have been hitherto violated. A great proportion of them are furnished with Bibles, Testaments, Dr. Watts' First or Second Catechism, and a hymn-book ; and these, being their whole library, they usually bring to chapel on the Sabbath. All our congregation, young and old, bond and free, are catechized every Sunday, first individually in classes, and afterwards collectively.'

The events of August, 1823, can be rightly understood only by those who know accurately what the state of feeling in Great Britain was upon emancipation, what slavery really was in Demerara, and also with what bitter dislike and prejudice the authorities and the great bulk of the planters and resident white population regarded the missionaries.

At this distance of time, and with our views upon slavery, it is hardly possible for us to conceive the hostility with which even such mild legislation on behalf of the negroes, as had been accomplished prior to 1820, was received. The curse of slavery is that it degrades the master even more than his oppressed chattel. This has been the universal experience, and in the West Indies at the period of which we write, the general body of planters, overseers, and officials of various kinds, all directly interested in the maintenance of slavery, had fallen very low indeed in morality and in general intelligence, for even a slaveholding community. Mr. Smith in 1822 sent home to England a picture of slavery in Demerara which enables all who wish to do so to understand the treatment which such a community soon afterwards meted out to

him. The account should be studied in its completeness[1]. Quietly and temperately written it is nevertheless one of the most appalling descriptions of inhumanity exercised by man against his fellow man, ever penned. After sketching the plantation system, and showing how absolutely dependent the slave was upon the master, he depicts the cruel conditions of labour; the absence of hope; the way in which Sunday, nominally a day of rest, was filched from the slave by vexatious tasks; the savage cruelty of the punishments, frequently illegal, inflicted; the way in which they were neglected when ill; the prohibition of marriage; and gives a picture of their moral and religious character which we venture to quote:—

'Respecting the moral character of the negro slaves, but little needs be said. It corresponds with their degraded condition. As reasonably might we look for grapes on thorn bushes, or figs on thistles, as to expect to find moral feeling among uninstructed men, and especially when they are slaves. Of honour or decency, they have no sense whatever. They know nothing of the obligations of truth, honesty, sobriety, chastity, &c. They are complete masters of the black art of lying, and make no scruple to resort to it on any occasion when they fancy their interest is concerned. When that is the case, their word is not to be taken, unless corroborated by other evidence. Their numerous thefts are mostly of a petty kind; housebreaking or highway robberies being seldom heard of as committed by plantation-slaves. So secure do the whites on the plantations feel themselves, that they are indifferent whether their doors or windows have any fastening or not, and they frequently leave the latter open all night. In profane swearing, the negroes generally are outdone by their managers: the domestics can often vie with their tutors. The grossest licentiousness is practised by the negroes all over the West Indies. Indeed, nothing short of a miracle can prevent it, until the system of management be altered.

[1] See *The Demerara Martyr: Memoirs of the Rev. John Smith, Missionary to Demerara*, by E. A. Wallbridge (1848), pp. 37–52.

'With respect to religion, the negroes in the West Indies cannot be said to have any. They believe there is a God; but whatever notions they have of Him, it is certain they pay Him no kind of worship, nor do they appear to consider themselves under any obligation to serve Him. They have some confused apprehension of future rewards and punishments, for they talk of "top" and "bottom," or, in other words, heaven and hell. As heathens, it is a good thing they have no religion, because they would then require time, and would hold meetings, to perform its rites; and as these privileges or rights would be denied them, it would add to their present burdens the most unbearable of all oppressions, and be the cause of endless stripes and persecutions. Christianity is worth suffering for, but the pagan superstitions will ever be burdensome and profitless to their votaries.

'When it is said, the negroes have no religion, such of them as are happily under the instructions of the missionaries must be excepted. Most of these are much attached to the Christian religion, and, considering their condition in life, are very regular in their attendance at public worship, and exemplary in their general conduct. The obvious reformation in the characters and morals of the negroes that attend upon the missionaries, is frequently attributed, by the planters, to their own superior management. But the single fact, that no such reformation takes place among those who are not within the sphere of the missionaries' exertions, though under managers equally skilful, is sufficient to refute all such speculative reasoning. That many of the Christian negroes conduct themselves in a manner highly creditable to their profession is indisputable; and yet this very circumstance often exposes them to the hatred and persecution of their masters. Could Christianity be reduced to a mere system of moral duties, and divested of its purity and devotional spirit, it would probably excite less disgust and opposition; but while it teaches men to live soberly, righteously, and godly, it will subject its sincere professors, who are slaves, to

perpetual vexations. The patience and constancy of some of the Christian negroes under severe sufferings on account of their religion. are truly astonishing. Neither the whip, nor the stocks, nor the dark hole, nor their being deprived of their allowance of food, nor the additional work laid on them, can conquer their attachment to their chapel and their Bible. Some among them will, of course, relinquish their holy religion, and sacrifice their brightest hopes, through a timid fear of temporary punishment, or the promise of trifling gain.

'A transient resident in the West Indies can know little or nothing of slavery as it exists on the plantations. Though he travel the country over, he will still be in the dark respecting this mystery of iniquity. The planter will not, of course. present himself for examination. He is interested in concealing the evils and enormities of negro slavery. The most odious part of the system is necessarily withdrawn from public view. Every stranger is treated with hospitality; how then can he attribute anything inhuman to his kind host? But, whatever such persons (chiefly sailors and merchants), on their return to Britain, report in palliation of a system with which they had no opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted, should be listened to with great caution. Their knowledge extends no further than to what they have heard from an interested party. or saw in the few slaves employed in domestic concerns, or as jobbers, whose condition, generally, is much better than that of the plantation gang.'

After indicating how greatly the evils of the system are aggravated by the fact that so many of the proprietors were absentees, leaving the management of their estates to men who were not unfrequently worse in moral type than even the slaves, the sketch closes with the impassioned words:—

'The British nation has done well in obtaining from Government enactments prohibiting the importation of Africans into the West Indies; but what single legislative measure have we, as a nation, yet adopted, for lightening

the grievous burdens under which those already there are daily suffering; for protecting them against oppression; for raising them in the scale of being; or for securing their posterity from interminable bondage? To nurture this system of "slavery is a foul blot on the British character, which every lover of his country should dedicate his whole life to efface."'

Something *had* at last been done—very grudgingly and unwillingly, it is true—by the House of Commons to alleviate these evils, and one of the first consequences of their action was to make Smith himself the hapless victim of most foul injustice. Wray's second visit to England was a critical period in the emancipation movement. He was in frequent consultation with Wilberforce and the other anti-slavery leaders. In March, 1823, Wilberforce published 'An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, on behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.' Upon Thomas Fowell Buxton at this time the mantle of Wilberforce was falling, and as a consequence of Wilberforce's Appeal the Anti-Slavery Society was formed with Buxton as vice-president, and he gave notice that on May 15, 1823, 'He should submit a motion that the House should take into consideration the state of slavery in the British Colonies.' On that date he moved 'That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.' Canning met this with the following amendments, which were carried:—

'First. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's Colonies.

'Second. That, through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such

as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects.

'Third. That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private proprietors.'

In accordance with these resolutions the Government addressed circular letters to the colonial governors, containing copies of them, and recommending reforms. In the case of Crown Colonies Orders in Council were sent enjoining the limitation of the hours of labour to nine a day, and absolutely prohibiting the flogging of female slaves.

As soon as the Order in Council reached Berbice the governor asked Mr. Wray to explain fully to the negroes from the pulpit what it meant. By this means the risk of such troubles as soon occurred in Demerara was entirely averted. The slaves, knowing exactly what had been done, remained quiet and law-abiding. But the Governor of Demerara, although he had received the Order in Council on July 7, deliberately kept it back. Not content with this disregard of duty he talked about the Order so that his servants heard him. Plantation managers talked about it with their negro mistresses, and rumours, some accurate, some wild, soon spread among the slaves. Weeks passed, and the idea seized upon large numbers of them that although the king had ordered the slaves to be freed the governor would not make this fact known. Mr. Smith, on being appealed to, told the negroes they were mistaken in supposing that freedom had been granted, but said 'that something was come for their good; and advised patience, therefore, until the governor should see fit to make it known.' Further delay led the slaves to attempt, not an insurrection with all the usual violence and bloodshed, but something in the nature of a strike. Two negroes who occasionally attended the services at Le

Resouvenir acted as leaders. The father of one of them, Quamina by name, was present at a meeting of slaves on Sunday, August 17. This was held on Sunday because it was the only day on which any large meeting could be got together.

'At the slaves' meeting, which did not last many minutes, various opinions were expressed. Some were for waiting; a simple cessation from work was most in favour by those disposed to take any step; whilst a proposition to seize any guns for the purpose of self-defence, which was urged by the leaders and some others, led a number who were only for milder action to hesitate altogether. Of these was Quamina. He had so far yielded to the growing impatience of waiting, and to the opinion more and more prevailing, that something should be done to bring out official information, as to say that they should "put down shovel, hoe, and cutlass [1], and sit down." Disposed at the end of the meeting to draw back, and even, according to subsequent report, entreating afterwards his son, Jack Gladstone, with tears to refrain; eventually he may be said not to have gone beyond his own counsel, protecting his manager from hurt, and resting or rambling only on the estate or its immediate vicinity. The people separated; part of them, including a few connected with the chapel, determined on something, and, more definitely still, on beginning about sundown of the next day; of course communicating this decision to others on various estates [2].'

This movement among the slaves became known to the authorities on Monday. At four in the afternoon, the governor, with a party of cavalry, met a band of negroes, and then doing what he had, with a scandalous disregard of duty, failed to do for six weeks, told them of the Order. Not unnaturally they distrusted him, would not give up their arms, and one of them even fired at the governor. About six o'clock on Monday, Mr. Smith, for the first time,

[1] A very common implement; a kind of broad and long-bladed knife with short haft, used in cutting grass, sugarcane, &c.

[2] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, pp. 185, 186.

learned what was going on, and that another meeting of slaves was to be held that evening. Soon after he was sent for by Mr. Hamilton, the manager of the estate, whose house he found surrounded by negroes demanding 'the guns and our rights.' The slaves secured the guns, and Mr. Smith, after doing all in his power to check these riotous actions, returned to his home. The same evening a similar outbreak occurred at the plantation called Success, where Quamina acted much as Mr. Smith had done. The movement spread to other estates, and was led by men who for the most part had had little or nothing to do with the mission, and was most active on estates the officials of which were hostile to Christianity. One beneficial result of missionary influence was that many of the slaves said, 'We will take no life, for our pastors have taught us not to take that which we cannot give,' and hence many white persons who would otherwise certainly have been murdered were only put into the stocks.

'It was nine o'clock in the evening before the governor again reached town. By midnight fresh troops were on their way up the coast, and at break of day the militia were called out, and martial law was proclaimed. The Scotch Church, its minister an earnest defender of slavery and a most bitter opponent of the missionaries, was turned into barracks, and all free people were put under arms. The Wesleyan minister presenting himself, his services were declined, the governor politely hinting that he might do more good in his own line of things than by handling a musket. The Rev. W. S. Austin proposed that Mr. Smith and himself should go amongst the people and use their joint influence as ministers of the Gospel of peace in persuading them quietly to return to their accustomed employments, wise counsel which, remarks Mr. Wallbridge, "was madly rejected." An insane, unreasoning prejudice against Mr. Smith and the missionary cause led the rulers of that day to set aside the interposition of one who might thus have rendered them the most valuable service.

'Instead of this, "an immediate appeal was made to military force." During the 19th, further detachments of troops were dispatched up the coast, and all united met with a large body of the negroes early on Wednesday morning at Bachelor's Adventure. A few of these had firearms, but by no means skill to use them; others, cutlasses or bayonets fixed on poles.

'A parley ensued; the commander of the troops, Colonel Leahy, asking the slaves what they wanted; and they in reply, after details of hard usage, concluding, "and we hear for true that the great Buckra at home (the king) give us our freedom for true." Peremptorily refusing to lay down their arms unless certain requests for time in the week for themselves were at once granted, which requests the colonel said he would communicate to the governor, an hour was allowed them for consideration. As they still continued obstinate, the soldiers were ordered to fire; and a conflict ensued, fatal to nearly 200 of the negroes. Several other brief skirmishes on that and the two following days took place, much to the disadvantage of the slaves; and what of revolt existed, then ceased. Some fled into the bush, but the greater part had returned to their respective plantations and had resumed their labours.

'Not a single white soldier lost his life, yet shocking slaughter of the negroes and a display of horrible brutality accompanied and followed these events. Little mercy was shown. Many prisoners were wantonly shot by the militia for mere sport, and Colonel Leahy stood upon no ceremony as to trial, no less than twenty-three being put to death by his sole authority. Martial law was continued for five calendar months, and a court-martial assembled to try prisoners, of whom there remained nearly 200. So, whilst the military were being honoured—Colonel Leahy by the Court of Policy with a vote of 200 guineas for a sword, and, jointly with the other officers of his regiment, with a vote of 500 guineas for the purchase of plate, besides a piece of plate of 350 guineas' value presented to the colonel by people on the West Coast; the officers of

another regiment by the Court of Policy with a vote of 200 guineas, and a lieutenant with one of 50 guineas—trials, floggings, and executions were going on incessantly. Seventeen prisoners were sentenced to lashes numbering from 200 to 1,000, and to work in chains; ten, within a week, receiving some 600 or 700, and five 1,000 each, of which one received the whole, and two almost the whole, at once. More still were condemned to death, and before the end of September forty-seven had been executed—e.g. thus: August 26, two; 27, two; 28, four; September 6, six; 12, nine; several being hung in chains along the East Coast road, others decapitated, and their heads stuck on poles. On May 24, 1824, fifty prisoners still remained under sentence of death; but the British public, who had now begun to learn and, though late, to believe the true state of the case, were becoming horrified, and the bloody proceedings were arrested by orders from home. The outbreak, caused really by disobedience to his sovereign's commands of one who had taken oath and office both as a military general and a civil governor, cost the Colony chest more than £50,000[1].'

This episode is one, out of unhappily a large number in our colonial annals, which illustrates how, wherever men outraged Divine and human law by slavery, nemesis was inevitable. 'The truth is, that a community in which slavery exists, like a city built on the bosom of a volcano, is ever in danger of an overwhelming and fatal convulsion. The injustice—gross, cruel injustice—the irresponsible abuse of power—the revolting scenes of bloodshed and unmitigated woe—which slavery necessarily involves, will, in the very nature of things, invariably be accompanied by insecurity and dread, and oftentimes by open disturbance, and the frantic reaction of misery against oppression. Even the worm will turn on the foot that crushes it to the earth. And although resort to brute force, even to recover the inalienable right of liberty, which every man, African or European, possesses, is to be deplored, rather than defended;

[1] *Life and Labours of John Wray*, pp. 189–91.

yet, in such a case, the terrific evils of insurrection are to be laid less to the charge of the half-enlightened slave, struggling for the freedom which is his birthright, than to the door of those who, by a previous resort to unhallowed physical compulsion, reduced him to a mere chattel—to a thing that might be bought and sold like an ox or ass [1].'

This unwise but very natural action on the part of the negroes was at once used by their enemies to destroy the influence of the missionaries. The brutalized public opinion of the colony, under the lead of an unscrupulous man named M'Turk, who hated Mr. Smith in particular and all missionaries in general, and who was at that time acting as captain of a troop of militia, determined to make the missionary the victim of its blind rage. Martial law had been proclaimed, and Mr. Smith was ordered to take up arms. Refusing to do so, an action in his case both natural and right, he was summarily arrested, and with his wife hurried off to prison. The charge was immediately brought against him that by his preaching he had incited the slaves to rebel, and that, knowing an insurrection was intended, he yet took no steps to inform the authorities. Contrary to every principle of justice, Mr. Smith was tried by court-martial, and every effort was made to suborn witnesses from among the negroes in prison. He was arrested on August 21, but his trial did not begin until *October* 13. On November 24 he was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be hung, and yet recommended to mercy! Had he been guilty of a tithe of the charges which the court-martial held to be proved, he would have richly deserved hanging. The men who tried him knew that their verdict was a lie, that the whole performance was an attempt to crush missionary enterprise, and the members of the court-martial, after showing that they had murder in their hearts, had not the courage to carry out their own sentence, for, as Brougham said in the House of Commons in 1824, 'If they had dared to take this innocent man's life they must *themselves* have died the death of the murderer.'

[1] *The Demerara Martyr*, p. 93.

After the sentence Mr. Smith was sent to the common jail, and although he was known to be in bad health he was placed in a room on the ground floor beneath which was stagnant water. Here he was kept, against the strong protests of his doctor, for seven weeks. He was visited and aided to the full extent of their power by his colleague, Mr. Elliott, and by the Rev. W. S. Austin, minister of the English Church in George Town, and chaplain to the garrison. This gentleman was a member of the Committee of Inquiry, and became early and strongly convinced of Mr. Smith's innocence, and most bravely stood by him. By this action he rendered himself so obnoxious to the governor and the residents, that he was soon compelled to resign his post and return to England. But neither of these friends could do much to mitigate Mr. Smith's condition. The governor and military authorities, shrinking from the execution of their own sentence, took this equally efficacious method of murdering an innocent man. When it became evident that death was near, and not until then, Mr. Smith was removed to an upper room. In a letter from the pen of Mrs. Smith, written after the death of her husband, the almost incredible cruelty of the authorities is set forth :—

'Myself and Mr. Smith were very desirous that Mrs. Elliott should be permitted to see him, and thought our enemies would surely comply with so small a request, if made by Mrs. Elliott herself; this she kindly did, but it was not until she had been *seven times to the Secretary's Office, and thirteen or fourteen days had elapsed, that permission was given, and then only for one day*; but Mrs. Elliott, finding Mr. Smith so far gone, was determined to repeat her visits at the risk of being molested. However, by this time, Mr. Smith's recovery was impossible, and the strictness of prison rules was therefore done away, the door of the room in which Mr. Smith was, was left open, and Mrs. Elliott had the adjoining room given up to her; but it was too late!'

On February 6, 1824, this brave soldier in the cause of

freedom died. It is impossible, even after the lapse of seventy-five years, to read the story without fierce indignation. Probably alarmed at the result of their action, when they learned that their victim was dead, the authorities altered the depositions of the two doctors who attended the inquest.

'The Fiscal then addressed himself to Mrs. Smith, and asked her, what she considered to have been the cause of Mr. Smith's death? She replied, that he had been for some time past in a very delicate state of health; but that the false accusations which had been brought against him, the cruel persecutions he had endured, and his long imprisonment, had no doubt hastened his death. The words, "false accusations," and "cruel persecutions," were rejected with vehemence; and one of the members of the Court of Policy said, it was not Mrs. Smith's opinion they wanted, but the cause of his death. The Fiscal then asked Mrs. Smith by whom he had been dieted and nursed for the last month? She answered, by herself and Mrs. Elliott. She was then asked, how Mr. Padmore, the jailor, had behaved to Mr. Smith? She replied, "He has always treated Mr. Smith and myself with the greatest kindness."'

Mrs. Elliott, treated in the same fashion, refused to answer any of the fiscal's questions.

'Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, Mr. Thompson, the second head-constable, came to the prison, and told Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Elliott, that he was ordered to inform them that he should come at four o'clock next morning, to demand the body of Mr. Smith for interment. Mrs. Elliott then inquired, "Why they were not permitted to bury Mr. Smith at ten o'clock, as they intended?" She asked, also, "Whether any persons would be allowed to follow the corpse?" He answered, "No." Mrs. Elliott asked, "Whether Mrs. Smith and herself were included in that prohibition?" He replied, "Yes." Mrs. Elliott asked, "From whom he received his orders?" He answered, "From His Excellency." Mrs. Elliott then said, "Is it possible, that General Murray can wish to prevent a poor

widow from following her husband to the grave? Surely, they do not mean to pursue their persecutions to the grave, as they have done to death!" And she added, "If Mrs. Smith will go, I will go with her; we are not prisoners; we may go where we please." He replied, "It is probable there will be soldiers there, and something unpleasant may occur: and, therefore, I advise you not to go." Mrs. Smith then exclaimed, in a loud and frantic voice, "General Murray shall not prevent my following my husband to the grave, and I will go in spite of all he can do."

'Mr. Thompson, finding they were so determined, said, "I must go to His Excellency again." He accordingly left them, and shortly after returned, and told a gentleman in the prison-yard, that if they attempted to follow the corpse, he had orders to confine them; and begged he would inform them, as he would gladly avoid any violence. The gentleman referred to, did make this communication; and they determined, as they were not permitted to follow, that they would meet the corpse at the grave.

'They, therefore, left the jail at half-past three o'clock in the morning, dark as it was, accompanied only by a free black man, with a lanthorn; and proceeded to the burial-place, where they beheld the mournful spectacle of a beloved husband and a dear friend committed to the silent grave. The funeral service was read by the Rev. W. S. Austin, who incurred general odium in the Colony, because he dared to vindicate the character of a man, whom he believed to be perfectly innocent of the crimes laid to his charge.'

As a last insult to the dead, when the fiscal heard that two negroes, members of Mr. Smith's congregation, one a carpenter, the other a bricklayer, had begun to rail in and to brick over the grave, he ordered even these humble memorials to be destroyed. The martyr's remains sleep in an unknown grave.

[1] *The Demerara Martyr*, pp. 142–53.

John Smith's death, even if not entirely caused by, was thus greatly accelerated by the conduct of officials who hated missionaries, and who objected in the strongest possible degree to their slaves being either taught to read or instructed in the Gospel. These men had the instinct of tyrants and oppressors in every age, viz. that if they did not root out the Gospel, the Gospel would root out them. And since they dared not proclaim hostility to the Gospel as the real motive of their actions they trumped up false accusations against a man they believed too weak to defend himself, and when their hearts failed them in the exercise of open violence they availed themselves of their victim's physical weakness to bring about the end desired. Among the far too numerous atrocious episodes in our colonial administration, both in South Africa and in the West Indies, the judicial murder of John Smith possesses a bad pre-eminence.

While these events were happening in the colony the Directors and the friends of emancipation at home were in great difficulty. For a time the letters of their agents were stopped. The newspapers which reached England were full of unmeasured abuse of Smith, of Christian missions in general, and of the London Missionary Society in particular. Earl Bathurst, then Colonial Secretary, at the request of the Directors sent out instructions for Mr. Smith to be sent at once to England. These arrived February 9, 1824, three days after Mr. Smith's death. The dispatch also contained the recall of the governor, upon whom the heavy responsibility for all the bloodshed and outrage which had taken place really rested. Fierce was the indignation in the colony. Governor Murray's supporters gave him as a parting remembrance plate to the value of twelve hundred guineas. They also petitioned the Court of Policy to expel all missionaries from the colony. Fiercer still was the storm which began to rage at home as the true story of what had happened gradually became known. The Directors were for some time without any reliable information upon which to base a judgment. The British

Government, having considered the report which Governor Murray sent home, were pleased on March 30 to remit the sentence of death, but they directed that Mr. Smith be dismissed the colony and not allowed to reside in either the West Indies or the Bahamas. But weeks before this decision was reached Mr. Smith had gone to the tribunal where the judgment is final and unerring.

The many enemies of the anti-slavery movement at once pointed to Demerara as a vindication of their views on the dangers of emancipation. The Government were so influenced by their supporters that they even determined to throw over their Resolutions of 1823. Buxton, however, stood firm, and on April 24, 1824, a petition for the revision of the court-martial upon Mr. Smith, and the repeal of his outrageous and unrighteous sentence, was presented in the House of Commons. Meetings were held all over England, and 200 petitions were presented to Parliament in eleven days. On June 1, 1824, a great debate upon Mr. Smith's trial was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham, who moved :—

'That a humble address be presented to His Majesty, representing that this House having taken into its most serious consideration the papers laid before them, relating to the trial and condemnation of the late Rev. John Smith, a missionary in the Colony of Demerara, deem it their duty now to declare, that they contemplate with serious alarm, and deep sorrow, the violation of law and justice which is manifested in these unexampled proceedings, and most earnestly praying that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to adopt such measures as in His Royal wisdom may seem meet, for such a just and humane administration of law in that Colony, as may protect the voluntary instructors of the negroes, as well as the rest of His Majesty's subjects, from oppression.'

The debate was prolonged into a second night. Wilberforce in an impassioned speech, the last he ever uttered in that assembly in which for so many years he had been a potent influence for good, pleaded for the reversal of

gross injustice. Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and others spoke powerfully on the same side. The Government, who were largely under the influence of the slave-owners, were disposed at first to meet the motion by a direct negative. But feeling both inside and outside the House was so strong that on the second night of the debate Canning moved the previous question. This was ultimately carried by only 193 to 146 votes. Thus the stigma was allowed to remain upon the dead missionary, but the debate killed slavery in the British dominions. Ten years later there came across the sea to all the negroes in Demerara the glad tidings that they were free men.

Wisely or unwisely the Directors resolved to leave the matter where it stood, and to this day the sentence passed by an unrighteous and illegal court-martial still stands recorded against an innocent man. But on June 14, 1824, the Directors passed the following resolution :—

'Resolved, That the cordial and most grateful thanks of the Directors be presented to Henry Brougham, Esq., for his unsolicited, energetic, and most eloquent defence in the Honourable the House of Commons, of the late Rev. John Smith ; by which he has so clearly and powerfully displayed before the world, the unsullied innocence and unjust condemnation of that much-injured missionary.'

Similar resolutions were passed in acknowledgement of the services of Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and others, and also to the Ministry of the House of Commons.

The state of feeling in Demerara in 1824 is illustrated by the following resolution, passed in February at a great public meeting in George Town, held under the sanction of Governor Murray :—

'We, therefore, deem it our sacred and bounden duty to ourselves and our dependants, to oppose and resist, by every authorized means, the establishment in this Colony, of sectaries of any description, and more particularly those of the London Missionary Society. It is, therefore, resolved, that the Court of Policy be forthwith petitioned to expel all missionaries from the Colony ; and that a law

be passed, prohibiting the admission of any missionary preachers into this Colony, for the future.'

Only four at the meeting had either the courage or the good sense to oppose this monstrous proposition. *The Colonist*, a leading newspaper, in its issue for February 18, said : 'It is a question whether Christianity was ever meant to be the religion of men in a savage or slave state.' The public meeting, referred to above, passed in all twenty-five resolutions, among them those which led to the pernicious policy of concurrent endowment—a policy of which it is hardly too much to say that it has been a positive hindrance to all spiritual religion wherever it has been carried out. The resolution ran :—

'That keeping in view these necessary distinctions in the religious persuasions of the different members of the community, it is highly desirable that in every instance the majority of the proprietors in the respective districts, or in the artificial local divisions or parishes which may be formed, should select that form of worship of one or other of the national churches which they may prefer, and should use means to obtain a regularly ordained clergyman of that persuasion—the patronage remaining vested in the proprietors, subject always to the approbation and control of His Majesty's representative, and of the Colonial Legislature.'

The proposal to expel and to exclude missionaries was, of course, never executed; but the Court of Policy, with the sanction of the British Government, carried out the other recommendations. Two clergymen, Lugar and Nurse by name, arrived in the colony in April, 1824. The former took up the work from which Mr. Austin had been removed by the arbitrary action of Governor D'Urban, and the latter occupied Bethel Chapel, the building in which Wray and Smith had preached, which, though it was the property of the London Missionary Society, the Colonial Legislature unjustly seized and handed over to this clergyman. In this way originated the ecclesiastical system which has since obtained in the colony. In 1826 Demerara,

Essequibo, and Berbice were appended to the diocese of Barbadoes. Demerara itself was divided into twelve parishes, seven being allotted to the Church of England. and five to the Church of Scotland. In 1842 the Colony of British Guiana was made an independent bishopric.

Outwardly complete, and apparently fair in its practice of not confining State aid to one denomination, this system has been open, ever since its establishment, to most serious objection. Here is a testimony from a competent witness nearly twenty-five years after the inauguration of the system. He quotes first a contemporary view, and then expresses his own :—

'The hatred of the planters to the Missionaries arises from the latter mingling more with the negroes, and taking a greater interest in their concerns than the stationary clergy. A minister who has acquired his quantum of Greek and Latin at college is appointed to a living in the West Indies ; he goes out there, preaches regularly on a Sunday, or "does duty," as he would at home. Unless he disregards being looked upon by the whites as being over-zealous and intermeddling, he will not go beyond this, though he may sometimes feel a temptation to do so. We repeat it, and we know the fact, that little good beyond what may arise from the fulfilment of the commonplace routine of duty in the parish church, is to be expected from four-fifths of the beneficed clergy in the West Indies.

'The white inhabitants of the Colony, forming the higher classes of the community, have benefited but little from the State establishments of religion, with which nearly all of them are nominally connected. A very small proportion of Europeans pay even an outward regard to the decencies of religion by an attendance at public worship ; while in too many cases, they are addicted to the grosser forms of immorality.

'With respect to the lower orders of the people—the great bulk of those who profess any regard to religion attend either the Missionary or the Wesleyan places of worship. Those who are connected with the State-supported churches

are generally persons who are anxious to participate in the outward ordinances of religion, to which they ignorantly attach a superstitious value, and at the same time to avoid a strict pastoral supervision of their general deportment. They seek, and most of the State-paid clergy are ready enough to gratify their desire, to possess some of the *forms* of godliness, without wishing to experience its *power*.

'The costly ecclesiastical systems established by the Legislature did not, however, effect the desired deliverance of the Colonists from the odious presence of "sectarian or Missionary preachers"; in the midst of all the opposition they have had to encounter, their history affords a striking illustration of the inspired record,—"He that hath *clean hands* shall wax stronger and stronger." With regard also to the other main object, the perpetuation of slavery, for which the four or five State churches were set up and sustained at the expense of the tax-payers—in this too they have signally failed. The cruel and murderous persecution of the Missionary Smith excited a thorough detestation of this abominable system in the British nation. The reckless burning of the Baptist Mission chapels by the planters of Jamaica, nine years after, increased this feeling, and a determination was formed to abolish, at any cost, the accursed system, that thus warred both with the cause of God and the liberties of man. One of the earliest fruits, therefore, of a reformed House of Commons, in which the popular voice could be heard, was a bill for emancipating, on August 1, 1834, all held as slaves in the British West Indian Colonies.

'Since the abolition of slavery, the State-paid clergy have allowed every kind of injustice perpetrated upon the emancipated people of British Guiana, to pass unchallenged. Against stringently coercive laws, designed to restore a modified slavery—against immigration ordinances, as unjust to the native labourers as they are cruel to the immigrants themselves—against burdensome and vexatious imposts—against legislative colonial arrangements, that enable a *few* to monopolize all political power,—no word

of remonstrance or complaint has ever escaped from one minister of the compulsory churches. They have habitually sided *with* the oppressor—*against* the oppressed; and what the late Dr. Arnold wrote of the Church of England, may be truly said of the State church, or rather of the State churches of British Guiana: "These churches bear, and have ever borne, the marks of their birth; the children of slaveholding and plantocratic selfishness, and unprincipled tyranny, they have never dared to speak to the great, but have contented themselves with lecturing the poor[1].""

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Report of the Proceedings against the late Rev. J. Smith of Demerara, who was tried under Martial Law, &c.*, London, 1824; *The Demerara Martyr: Memoirs of the Rev. John Smith*, by E. A. Wallbridge, London, 1848; and *The Life and Labours of John Wray*.]

[1] *The Demerara Martyr*, pp. 182-185.

CHAPTER XVI

DEMERARA AND BERBICE: 1825–66

WHILE the exciting events described in the last chapter were taking place, Wray continued his work in Berbice, but with many hindrances, and much opposition: Elliott's chapel on the west coast had been seized and handed over to the Church of England, and he himself compelled to leave the colony. In 1827 Davies died. It seemed for a time as though the enemies of the Society had triumphed. But in December, 1828, Joseph Ketley reached Demerara to recommence the work at Providence Chapel, George Town. With Wray's co-operation he induced the governor to grant him possession again of Elliott's chapel on the west coast in 1829, and Michael Lewis worked there until 1832, when he died, and was succeeded by James Scott. In 1833 James Mirams took charge of Lonsdale, in Berbice, and laboured there until 1836, when he returned to England. The church at Providence Chapel, George Town, flourished under Ketley's care. Vigorous outstations, attended mainly by Indians, were maintained at Fort Island and Caria-Caria on the Essequibo River. Providence New Chapel, built by Ketley, was at that time the largest in the colony, and in 1838 became wholly self-supporting.

In 1831 Berbice, which had up to that date been an independent colony, was united to Demerara and Essequibo. Wray exerted himself to meet the heavy require-

ments imposed upon the Christian workers in Berbice by emancipation. Orange Chapel was opened; Hanover Chapel enlarged; and a large new chapel built at Waterloo by the negroes. In the year 1835 Berbice had, in connection with the Society, six stations, 604 members, and 6,000 under instruction. The desire for education by the newly emancipated slaves was very great, and it was largely stimulated by an offer of the Bible Society to present every emancipated slave who, on August 1, 1835, could read, with a copy of the New Testament and the Psalms. For this purpose no less than 3,000 copies were forwarded to Wray, who took a very deep interest in this good work.

The winter of 1835-36 was very bad, heavy rains and severe floods rendering work difficult and unhealthy. In April, 1836, the new church at Waterloo was opened by Wray, his son-in-law, Mr. Howe, and Mr. and Mrs. Forward, newly arrived in the colony, being present also. The veteran was reaching the end of his labours. Active and vigorous to the last, cheered by many tokens of prosperity, he yet experienced very heavy sorrows. In August, 1836, his son Robert died from a sunstroke. Many of his old friends and helpers were stricken down. But he worked on bravely to the last. One of the first actions of his career had been to secure liberty for slaves to attend the worship of God; one of the last was to do all in his power to destroy the highly objectionable system of apprenticeship with which emancipation had been saddled. This system gave the planters power, under certain conditions, to compel the negroes to work. This power many of them promptly abused. Few officials took the needful trouble to explain to the slaves exactly what the law required of them. The result was oppression on the one hand, suspicion and resistance on the other. In 1836 a strong deputation visited the colony to look into the working of the system on the spot. It consisted of Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey, Mr. Lloyd, and John Scoble. Their investigations, aided by Wray and other missionaries, were issued towards the end of 1837 in book form in England; and in May, 1838, Sir Eardley

Wilmot carried in the House of Commons a motion to abolish apprenticeship. This came into force on August 1, 1838, and emancipation was as complete as legislation could make it. But before this final victory was won Wray had passed to his rest. On June 6, 1837, Howe died in Wray's home. He had reached New Amsterdam in 1833, and had laboured with great efficiency for nearly four years at Hanover Chapel. Wray's daughter, Mrs. Howe, writing of this time, says:—

'My father, just at the time my husband died, was better, that is, the fever had left him; but it soon returned with increased violence, and delirium came on. He fancied himself in his beloved pulpit preaching, and preach he did, and prayed for God's blessing to rest on the mission; then, mistaking the missionaries for the gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Association, he addressed them on the slavery question, earnestly entreating them to use all their influence to bring about complete emancipation. This state of things continued for some hours, after which he fell into a sort of stupor, and all was quiet for a time. Mother had but just left the room, when he opened his eyes, looked round at Elizabeth and myself, who stood by his side fanning him, said, "Where is mother?" and immediately, with a last effort, he raised himself, threw his arms round us both, and said, "My dear children, my work is done; I am going home." He fell back, and before mother got into the room he was gone; and the mission had lost its true and faithful servant.'

The tablet erected to his memory, with more accuracy than such memorials sometimes exhibit, sums up a noble career:—

'Sacred to the memory of Rev. John Wray, the first Christian missionary to British Guiana, whose unostentatious but firm and constant friendship for the afflicted and the oppressed, whose steady promotion of education, and faithful and affectionate preaching and teaching the Gospel of Christ, which he exemplified by a holy, active, and blameless life, during a period of thirty eventful years,

secured for him the esteem and confidence of all classes of society, and the grateful love of the people of his peculiar care; and by the Divine goodness rendered him the honoured instrument of enabling many to look from amidst the toils and sufferings of the present state, to the glories and blessedness of immortality.'

On August 1, 1834, the Act of Emancipation came into force in the colony. It had been foreseen that this great measure of justice would place an enormous strain upon the resources of the Society, and add greatly to the labours of the scanty workers in so great a field. The home churches rose to the occasion, contributing large sums of money in addition to the funds requisite for the ordinary work of the mission, and also additional workers.

During the eight years 1834 to 1842 there were also sent out to British Guiana the Revs. S. Haywood, John Ross, C. D. Watt, C. Rattray, R. B. Taylor, D. Kenyon, G. Forward, S. S. Murkland, J. Morris, T. Henderson, H. S. Seabden, J. Edwards, J. Roome, J. Waddington, E. Davies, J. Giles, G. Pettigrew, E. A. Wallbridge, J. Dalgleish, and J. L. Parker—twenty in all. The climate, always trying to Europeans, greatly affected the health of many of these workers; combined with this, the strain of the work and the excitement of a great epoch revealed weak points in the *morale* of others. The result was that only a few out of the twenty were able to maintain any long term of residence and useful service in the colony.

For a few years the work went ahead with great vigour and with undoubted signs of manifold success. Multitudes of the freed slaves gladly heard the Gospel. After making full allowance for the instability of the negro character, only just delivered from a degrading servitude, in large numbers of cases the message of salvation was accepted to the saving of the soul and to the transformation of life. From the date of emancipation, however, two very serious drawbacks exerted a baneful influence. One was the introduction of a large number of coolies into the colony, who

brought with them all the superstition, the heathenism, and the immorality of the most degraded stratum of Oriental peoples. The other was the almost total failure of all attempts to raise up a native ministry.

In June, 1834, the Rev. C. D. Watt resumed the work which had been stopped by the arrest and trial of Mr. Smith. At Montrose, an estate in the neighbourhood of Le Resouvenir, a piece of land was given to him by one of the planters who had taken an active part in the arrest of Smith, and the very building in which Smith had ministered was removed to and re-erected for Christian worship at Montrose. In August, 1834, the Rev. Charles Rattray began work at Canal No. 1. In 1837 the chapel at Lusten-Rust was erected, and in 1844 Salem Chapel was built in another part of the same district. Mr. Rattray laboured successfully in this district for many years. The Rev. Thomas Henderson in 1839 took charge of the station at Leguan Island, and in 1840 removed to Lusignan. In 1842 the Rev. E. A. Wallbridge built, as a memorial to the martyred missionary, Smith Chapel, in what was then a suburb of George Town, very near the spot where the jail stood in which he died. The building is now in the heart of the city. It was opened for worship in August, 1844.

The extending work naturally fell into two main departments—evangelization and education. It is hardly too much to say that education was almost as urgent and as important as evangelization. The labours of the preceding twenty-seven years had not been thrown away. Chapels had been built, churches of living members, energized by the Spirit of God, organized, Sunday schools and day schools built and started on their beneficent way, many negroes converted into warm-hearted Christians, and many, both old and young, taught to read. Emancipation called for no new departure in work; it demanded rather the consolidation and extension of work already well begun. In the large number of new workers sent out the requirements of the preacher and of the teacher were both borne in mind.

The need for greater energy in the work of evangelization was recognized by the many additions to the staff. Men like C. Rattray, C. D. Watt, E. A. Wallbridge, S. S. Murkland, and J. Dalgleish did much most valuable service in strengthening the old churches and in originating new ones. In this they were greatly aided by the willingness on the part of the negroes, at least during 1834 to 1844, to contribute freely of their substance for the maintenance and the extension of the Christian churches. Mr. Freeman, after his visit to the West Indies in 1842, computed that the negroes in British Guiana and Jamaica, in connection with the various missionary societies, had contributed at least *a quarter of a million* sterling to the maintenance and extension of Christian work. Freely they had received, freely they gave.

There were many difficulties in the way. It was, of course, hopeless to expect that thousands of slaves could be uplifted in a decade to a much higher social, moral, and spiritual level, even by such a mighty lever as emancipation obtained by the efforts of Christian men. Sanguine expectations on the one side were disappointed. Bitter hatred and hostility on the other often pointed the finger of scorn at defects in the moral and religious state of the recent slave that might have been more justly and usefully directed against the low morality and spirituality of the recent master.

Then there were the usual hindrances, seemingly inseparable from times of great excitement in religious work. For the first twenty-five years the conditions in Guiana were such that each worker was a law unto himself, and practically had to be such, the control from the home authorities being much more nominal than real. With the larger staff and the increased expenditure the Directors naturally sought to strengthen their hold upon the administration of the mission. And they sought to do this in the way which during the century has more and more commended itself to the men responsible for the conduct of our great missionary societies. On April 12, 1836, the Western Committee of the Board resolved: '(1) That the

brethren in Demerara be requested to form themselves into a District Committee, on the principle, and subject to the provisions, of the regulations adopted for the constitution and government of the same. (2) That the Revs. Ketley, Scott, Watt, Rattray, and Taylor be appointed members of the Demerara District Committee.'

The Directors believed then, as they believe now, that in the conduct of a mission there is safety in combined rather than individual action. In few departments has individuality of action resulted in more costly and not unfrequently disastrous experiment than in foreign missions. The early pioneer missionaries, like Wray, Moffat, and others, did not willingly fall in with the new system. Here and there an exceptional spirit, like Livingstone, refused to submit. But in the long run the system has worked well, and ought to work still better as the years pass and as the scope and importance of the work grows.

In Demerara there was a little difficulty at the start. The younger members of the mission were quite ready to guide Ketley; but the veteran was not quite so willing to be guided. For eight years he had successfully conducted Providence Chapel, George Town. The congregation was large and almost self-supporting. A rupture between Ketley and the District Committee finally took place on the issue that Providence Chapel was a Congregational Church, and that neither Committee nor Directors had any authority to interfere in its administration, or in that of the stations connected with it. This action initiated a correspondence extending over several years. The church had had a varied history. The ground on which it stood was given to Mr. Davies, the first missionary in George Town, by a Mr. Vincent. The colonists gave £700 towards the erection of the building in 1812, and the Directors £300. The land had been conveyed to Davies in his own name—a practice common in this and other fields at that early stage. After the death of Davies the widow refused to convey the land and building to the Society, without what she considered just compensation, and finally the Directors

paid her £1,000 to induce her to execute the necessary legal documents. About 1830 the chapel was rebuilt by Ketley at a cost of £3,000, of which the Directors supplied only £400, a sum which the Church considered a loan. The Directors at length agreed that if the Church would repurchase the land and church at a fair valuation, they would relinquish all claim upon it. In 1838 the Church repaid the loan of £400, but they refused to admit any responsibility to buy back the land and church. Finally it was put in trust, six of the trustees being resident in Great Britain and six in the colony, and clauses were inserted to secure as far as possible that it should always be secured for Congregational worship and polity. Ketley ceased as early as 1836 to be associated in any way other than friendly co-operation with either the District Committee or the Society.

The personal factor proved as important and as difficult sometimes to control in Demerara as in Tahiti or South Africa. Some of the men sent out as teachers persisted in demanding ordination to the ministry, some of those in charge of churches proved unequal to the strain, but on the whole good and abiding work was done for the five and twenty years following emancipation.

The work of education, important in all fields, but doubly so in the West Indies in 1834, received very constant attention from both Directors and missionaries. On July 25, 1835, the Western Committee recommended to the Board 'that twenty men be engaged as schoolmasters and catechists for the instruction of the newly enfranchised population of the British colonies,' and coupled with this the recommendation that their wives also, if possible, should be duly qualified teachers. Resolutions passed on October 12, 1835, decided that all sent out should possess the full certificate of the British and Foreign School Society; the salary if the wife were fully qualified £150 per annum, if she were not, £120; and on November 2, 'that the schoolmasters be instructed to give their first and best attention to the particular department of labour for which they are

specially engaged—that of teaching,' and 'that they be instructed to place themselves under the direction of the Society's missionary at the station to which they may be attached, and to be guided by him in regard to the sphere of their labours, and the nature of the services in which they are to engage.' The salaries of the teachers were to be paid through the resident missionary.

The last two regulations were intended to prevent two great practical difficulties. The teachers were expected to be Christian men, willing and able also to co-operate in evangelistic work, so far as this was consistent with their first and all-important duty—teaching. Unfortunately not a few of them persisted in using the teacher's office merely as a stepping-stone to an appointment as full missionary. The Directors by placing the teachers under the control and guidance of the missionaries hoped to minimize the other great practical difficulty—a restlessness and disinclination to control, often exhibited by the teachers after a few months' experience of colonial life.

This great development of educational work was due partly to the recognition of its supreme importance at the time. But it was also greatly stimulated by the action of the Government. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, and the Government of the day were most anxious to do all that could be wisely done by legislative action in co-operating with the great missionary societies in ameliorating the conditions of the native races subject to Great Britain. Earl Grey's Ministry had voted a sum of £20,000 'in aid of voluntary contributions towards the erection of school-houses in the colonies and settlements in which slavery has been abolished.' Lord Glenelg proposed 'in the distribution of this sum to avail himself, so far as practicable, of the agency of the several religious societies at present engaged in promoting education among the negroes,' and to afford 'pecuniary assistance towards the erection of such school-houses for negro education as they may consider to be required during the present year' (1835–36). It was obvious that such action on the part

of the Government could not pass without comment, and that some friends might doubt the wisdom of a religious society in accepting even this amount and form of aid. A deputation waited upon Sir George Grey, and after consultation with him they issued an appeal to the friends of the Society in the *Evangelical Magazine* for January, 1836. In this they point out that—

'The aid is to be furnished on the same principle as that on which assistance is granted towards the erection of schools in connection with the British and Foreign School Society in this country, viz. the Government advance a sum towards the estimated cost of the building, the remainder to be supplied by the parties by whom it is erected. Considering the specific object contemplated in the above communication, viz. *the building of school-houses*, the number of these amounting to between thirty and forty, which the missionaries have stated to be now required, it has appeared to the Directors as a matter of the utmost importance to the negroes that the means of their education should be increased without delay. Considering, further, that the Society has already a missionary apparatus in operation, which will be rendered far more efficient by the proposed addition to the schools; that the schools are to "be conducted on the principles and plan sanctioned by the rules and constitution of the Society,"—the Directors have felt it their duty, gratefully to avail themselves of the aid proposed to be rendered, in erecting the school-houses now required, by their missionaries in the British colonies. The tenure by which the buildings will be held; the entire control over the schools which the Society will possess; and their exemption from all interference in regard to the principles and details of their operation, as contained in the subjoined statement of His Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, obligingly furnished in reply to the inquiries of the Directors on the above points, will, they are persuaded, be very generally satisfactory to the friends of the Society:—

' '1. In the case of school-houses, the property of either of

the societies to which that circular (viz. letter of September 10, 1835) was addressed, the permanent character of the Society affords the best security for the continued appropriation of the building to the purposes of negro education. It is not, therefore, the intention of Government, in such cases, to acquire any right or proprietorship in the school-houses, towards the erection of which aid may be afforded, but they will be considered as belonging to the Society, to be held by the same tenure as its other buildings.

'"2. That the appointment of masters and mistresses will rest exclusively with the Society; the schoolmasters to stand in the same relation thereunto as missionaries or catechists, and to be under the sole direction and control of the Society.

'"3. The object of the inspection of the schools, towards the erection of which the aid of Government may have been received, will be to enable His Majesty's Government to ascertain such particulars respecting the number and attendance of the scholars, the time during which the school is open for instruction, and the superintendence under which it is placed, as will satisfy them that the money advanced has been actually applied according to the intentions of Parliament. The Inspector will not exercise any control over the religious instruction given in the schools, for the character of which the principles of the Society will be a sufficient guarantee; but he will be required to report, generally, the different branches of education in which the scholars are instructed."

'The proportion furnished by His Majesty's Government is liberal, being two-thirds of the estimated cost of the buildings. It will be paid in this country, or to the missionaries in the colonies. But besides this, and the aid expected in the colonies, further assistance will be required; and for this the Directors respectfully apply to the friends of Scriptural education, through the medium of the *Missionary Chronicle*.'

This appeal is preceded by a statement enforcing the urgency of the need.

'It is estimated that there were in the British colonies on August 1, 1834, not fewer than 130,000 negro children, under six years of age, and therefore legally exempt from all impediments to attending at the schools. The circumstances of these children—the future peasantry of the colonies—whose character and habits will so greatly depend on their being either educated in the principles and duties of Christianity, or left to grow up in ignorance and vice, point out the importance of immediate and vigorous efforts to enable them to read for themselves the Holy Scriptures,—the best and only sure foundation of social order, industry, and happiness. Besides the free children, those above seven years of age, with almost the entire amount of the enfranchised adult population, need. and many of them would gladly receive, instruction, if the means of obtaining it were supplied.

'It affords the Directors much pleasure to state that the proprietors and managers of estates, and others in the colonies in which their missionaries are stationed, have in an increasing number of instances shown a truly commendable readiness to favour the introduction of religious instruction among the people: they have also rendered valuable aid towards the erection of the buildings which the enlarged operations of the Society have rendered necessary; and there is reason to expect that, as the benefits of education become increasingly apparent, greater assistance will be given by persons residing on the spot. But in addition to the means of religious instruction now provided, the missionaries have stated that they are in great need of an increased number of agents, especially schoolmasters and mistresses: and, exclusive of those required in Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, they have applied to the Society for means to erect between thirty and forty school-houses, the estimated cost of which amounts to between nine and ten thousand pounds.

'Large as this amount is, and much as the additional schoolmasters and mistresses required will augment the number of labourers engaged by the Society; yet, taking

into consideration the present peculiar state of the negroes, the impracticability of their rising above the debasing ignorance and vice attendant upon slavery, without education; and the degree in which this will promote their acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures,—it has appeared to the Directors of the highest importance to increase the operations of the Society in this particular department to the utmost practicable extent.

'Besides the consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the apprentices, the encouraging prospect of assistance in the colonies, from the Government, and the friends of education at home, the Directors were also influenced, in the arrangements they have made, by a regard to the gratitude so uniformly shown by the negroes for the benefits of religious instruction; and the very liberal manner in which they have, to the utmost limit of their ability, contributed of their earnings, towards defraying the expenses incurred on their behalf. The means of religious instruction for the negroes and their children never were more needed than at the present time. The cost of providing them the Directors are convinced they cannot possibly meet; but they cherish a firm assurance, strengthened by experience of the past liberality of the negroes, that, as soon as they are able, they will not only cheerfully bear to their utmost ability the expense of any efforts made for their benefit, but contribute generously towards sending the Gospel to others.'

A feature of special interest to the readers of this old record is that the Government correspondence with the Society on this subject was carried on through one of the under-secretaries, then little known, but in later years to become famous throughout the civilized world. The minutes of a special Western Committee held March 26, 1835, run:—

'1. Read a letter from W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P., one of the Under-Secretaries of State, Colonial Office, 25th March, requesting that the replies furnished by the agents of this Society to the queries forwarded from the said office

in November last might be transmitted to His Majesty's Government previous to 10th inst.

'2. Read also letter from the Rev. Dr. Raffles, Liverpool, 15th Jan., 1835, requesting some information as to the intentions of this Society, in accepting proposals of assistance from His Majesty's Government.'

The Committee, having devoted their best attention to the preceding documents, resolved:—

'1. That an answer to the letter of the Under-Secretary of State be prepared, embodying the copies of replies to the list of questions received from the missionaries, with such other information as may be requisite to convey a full and correct account of the extent of the Society's operations in Demerara, Berbice, and Jamaica; and of the relation which these operations bear to the entire population of the respective localities.

'2. That the Society is prepared to extend its operations in the British Colonies so far as a just regard to the claims of other parts of the world, and the extent of its means, may permit.

'3. That in the judgment of this Committee it would be consistent with the principles of this Society to accept a portion of any grant made by Parliament for promoting Christian education, on liberal and comprehensive principles, in the British Colonies.'

Further correspondence on this subject led to the development of educational work, and the appeal to all friends of the Society on behalf of the West Indies.

A detailed description of the work at all the different stations in the West Indies during the thirty years, 1835 to 1865, would only confuse and weary the reader. The broad features were a great extension of both evangelistic and educational work for ten years. A very sanguine expectation of steady and great progress was cherished. This was doomed to disappointment. The negroes, as they became used to freedom and self-control, lost much of their first ardour. The failure to establish a reliable and vigorous native ministry had considerable influence. The conditions

of life in the colony, the low moral tone of much of the white population, the system of concurrent endowment, the enervating climate have all been against steady and permanent progress. Yet the friends of missions have no need to be ashamed of the part they have taken. If they have not been able to achieve all they desired, they have been very powerful factors in the spiritual progress developed and in the moral and religious uplifting of the negroes.

The work in Berbice during the thirty years was practically identical with that accomplished in Demerara. Evangelistic and educational work was steadily carried forward at several centres, of which the following were the most important:—

1. New Amsterdam. Here, after Mr. Wray's death in 1838, the Rev. H. Seaborn was stationed, and was succeeded in 1840 by the Rev. E. Davies. He, in turn, in 1849 was followed by the Rev. J. Dalgleish, who remained in charge of the station until January, 1860, when his place was taken by the Rev. Robert Ricards, who, through failure of health, returned to England in 1866.

2. Lonsdale. This station was situated seven miles up the Berbice River, on the estate of Mr. W. Henry, who even in 1832 had granted Mr. Wray a site for the church and mission house. Here, from 1833 to 1836, the Rev. J. Mirams laboured until ill health compelled his retirement. From 1836 to 1840 the Rev. Giles Forward, when his health also failed. From 1842 to 1849 the Rev. John Dalgleish carried on the work, when he returned to New Amsterdam, still superintending the station at Lonsdale. In 1853 the Rev. G. Foreman took charge, but removed to Rodborough in 1856, and in 1860 Mr. Dalgleish returned again to his former station.

3. Brunswick. This station, thirty miles up the Berbice River, begun by Mr. Wray in 1834, was for the most part worked by native agents. The Rev. R. Thompson was there for a year or two, 1841 to 1843, and Mr. McKellar 1843 to 1845, when the latter died there in 1845. From 1853 to 1857 Mr. H. B. Ingram was in charge.

4. Other stations in Berbice worked by the Society from 1834 to 1836, were Fearn and Light Town on the Berbice River; Rodborough on the west coast; Ithaca; Orange Chapel, Sandvoort; and Albion station. For some years also, an Indian station at Maria Henriette, 200 miles up the Berbice River, was worked with some measure of success.

In 1860 the chief statistics of the Berbice Mission were nine stations, 1,072 church members, 2,164 scholars, and a local income of about £4,000 per annum.

CHAPTER XVII

JAMAICA

ALTHOUGH a mission to the great island of Jamaica was projected as early as 1798 it was not carried into effect by the Society until 1834. This delay was partly due to the fact that the Wesleyans had already begun mission work there, and in other of the West Indian islands, and it was felt that the Society would do more good by breaking fresh ground. The Baptist Missionary Society also established a strong mission in Jamaica as early as 1814. But when the Act of Emancipation liberated 800,000 negroes, the conviction that there was more work than could possibly be overtaken led the Directors to greatly strengthen their other West Indian missions, and to establish a new one in Jamaica. The considerations upon which this action was based are given in the Report for 1835:—

'The Directors very fully participate in the grateful joy with which the British public, especially the friends of missions, have received tidings of the circumstances under which the change from absolute slavery to comparative freedom was effected in the British Colonies. The accounts of the manner in which the memorable 1st of August, 1834, was observed at the missionary stations, were such as to call forth grateful thanksgiving to the Most High, and to inspire hopes that the people would improve the facilities which their altered circumstances afforded for receiving that instruction, which their best friends have ever regarded

as equally essential to their own happiness and the prosperity of the colonies. These hopes have not been disappointed, and in many of the stations a desire for religious instruction, and a perseverance in its pursuit, have been manifested, which are truly encouraging. On the abolition of slavery, the Directors were deeply impressed with the conviction, which was shared by the nation at large, that in proportion as the means employed for the religious education of the negroes were adequate and efficient, or otherwise, the change itself would be a blessing to the Colonies, or the reverse. They felt, in common with the great body of the members of the Society, that it was their duty, in harmony with the movements of other portions of the Christian public, to increase their exertions in the British Colonies at the present, which may justly be regarded as a peculiar and important period in their history.

'Under these convictions, besides reinforcing the Society's missions in Demerara and Berbice, the Directors were led to direct their attention to the important Island of Jamaica, whose population includes nearly one-half the entire number of emancipated negroes; many of whom, especially in the interior of the island, are, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of the devoted missionaries of other societies, destitute of the means of Christian education and instruction[1].'

Six missionaries were appointed to the work in Jamaica; four, Messrs. Wooldridge, Barrett, Hodge, and Slatyer, in the southern portions, and two, Messrs. Vine and Alloway, in the northern. Mr. Barrett, who laboured successfully first in Jamaica and then in Demerara, was the father of Dr. Barrett of Norwich, and of the Rev. E. M. Barrett of Liverpool. A sketch of the mission, published in 1861, enables the reader to understand the character of the work, and how it was done:—

'On their arrival these brethren experienced but little difficulty in finding localities with large populations entirely destitute of the means of grace; greatly needing and

[1] Report for 1835, pp. 116–7.

anxious to obtain instruction both for themselves and for their children. Mr. Wooldridge was for some time employed in visiting the sugar plantations in the neighbourhood of Kingston, and for several months preached in a chapel on Papine Estate, placed at his disposal by T. Wildman, Esq.; but ultimately he fixed his residence in Kingston, where he purchased the premises occupied by the Society in that city. Mr. Hodge was stationed at Morant Bay, in St. Thomas in the East; Mr. Barrett at Four Paths, in Clarendon; Mr. Slatyer at Porus, in Manchester; Mr. Vine at Arcadia, in Trelawney; and Mr. Alloway at Dry Harbour, in St. Ann's. From these centres they extended their spheres of labour, and formed out-stations, some of which soon became of sufficient importance to induce the Directors to send out additional missionaries to occupy them. Those of the brethren who were located in the agricultural districts found that, although the people were in many respects still treated as slaves, they enjoyed frequent opportunities of assembling to hear the Gospel, and also to learn to read, so that at once they entered upon their important and interesting labours. To be "instant in season and out of season" in *preaching* the Gospel to the people, was felt by the missionaries to be their great work, and, next to that, to endeavour to teach as many of them as possible to read that Gospel for themselves. To this latter work all the members of the mission cheerfully and zealously devoted their energies. Infant schools, for the children under six years of age (all of whom had, a few months before, been made free by the Emancipation Act), were formed, and conducted by the wives of the missionaries at their various dwellings; and there, too, many of the adults assembled, after their day of hard and unrequited toil in the field, or at the sugar works; and thus not a few were taught to read that word which became "the power of God unto their salvation." Some of those who commenced the acquisition of knowledge under such great difficulties grew weary, and gave up the pursuit; but at every station there were many who, by their diligence and

progress, encouraged their teachers to persevere in their labours, and who, before many years had passed, amply compensated them for all their toil, by becoming intelligent members of the mission churches, and, in some instances, efficient teachers in the schools.

'It was not long before all the missionary brethren were privileged to witness some spiritual results which cheered them in their arduous work; the word preached was with power, so that during the first five years of the mission, a Christian Church was formed at each of their stations. The beginnings were small; they might have been larger, but the pastors were deeply convinced of the vast importance of admitting none to Christian fellowship who did not give satisfactory evidence of being truly converted to God. And, as at the formation of the Churches, so also during subsequent years, when a profession of religion became so general, they firmly resisted the inducement to admit to their Communion those of whose Christian character they stood in doubt; and it is probably to their fidelity in this respect that the present generally healthy and prosperous condition of their Churches is to be attributed.

'Soon after the mission churches had been formed, substantial and commodious chapels and school-rooms were built at the several stations, towards the erection of which the people contributed with commendable liberality. As illustrations, it may be stated that when the foundation stone of Whitefield Chapel, Porus, was laid, in 1842, the collection amounted to the sum of £40 sterling; and when, in the following year, the spacious building was dedicated to the worship of God, the congregation, consisting almost entirely of persons belonging to the emancipated classes, testified their grateful joy by a contribution of more than double that amount.

'The social condition of the people generally, and especially of those connected with the mission stations, as compared with what it was in 1834 is such as to constrain any one from personal observation to compare the present

with the past, and to exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" They were then living on the estates of their owners, but now the greater part reside on their own freeholds, purchased with the fruit of their industry, forming in many cases peaceful and prosperous villages, the principal building in which is generally a chapel or school-house. The missionaries are encouraged in their work by the large numbers attending their ministry, the growing intelligence of the younger members of their Churches, and the increased attendance at many of their day schools. From the commencement of the mission the brethren have never failed to devote a considerable portion of their attention to the education of the young, and the day, as well as the Sabbath school, has always been regarded as an indispensable institution at each of their stations. These schools are entirely unsectarian in their character; their chief support is derived from the school fees, and in no instance are they aided by Government grants or grants from the Society's funds. It is also an encouraging circumstance in connection with these schools, that they are all conducted by native teachers, under the supervision of the missionaries.

'In 1855 the brethren, with the cordial concurrence and assistance of the Directors, formed a Training Institution at Ridgemount. Five young men were received, three of whom finished the course of study prescribed by the Committee, and were engaged as assistant missionaries; and the other two have found employment more suited to their talents as teachers. The following extract from the Report of the Institution, for 1859, expressed the views of the missionaries with regard to this branch of their labours:—"The studies of the young men have been prosecuted with diligence and success; and although all that could have been desired has not been obtained, enough has been accomplished to excite the gratitude of the Committee, and to encourage them to proceed with their undertaking[1].''

In 1860 the Society's work in Jamaica was carried on at

[1] *Chronicle*, 1861, p. 50.

sixteen stations, under the care of six European missionaries, three native pastors, eleven native catechists and schoolmasters, and three candidates for the ministry. There were 1,691 church members, 2,243 scholars in the Sunday schools, and 1,346 in the day schools, and the contributions locally raised towards the cost of the mission were £1,577.

In the closing months of 1860 and the earlier part of 1861 a very remarkable revival of religion took place in the island. It followed the great religious revivals which had occurred in America and in Ireland. It was confined to no one district or mission, but most powerfully affected the whole island. Mr. Alloway, in a letter dated Nov. 5, 1860, has given a deeply interesting sketch of this extraordinary spiritual movement:—

'A few weeks since the attendance on the means of grace was large and regular; but we had to mourn over the lukewarmness of many in the Church, the impenitence of numbers in the congregation, and the aboundings of iniquity around us. This conviction pressed so heavily on my mind, that I was led a few Sabbaths ago to preach from Psalm xxi. 8, "Thine hand shall find out all thine enemies:" and, on the following Sabbath, from Hab. iii. 2, "O Lord, revive Thy work." Having shown in what a *revival* consists, and that we greatly needed one, I urged the importance of special prayer for the desired blessing, and added that a large attendance at the prayer-meetings would be the best token we could have that it was near at hand. Great attention was manifested, but nothing particular occurred until the evening of the 22nd ult., when, at one of our district prayer-meetings, about seven miles from this place, and presided over by Mr. Bryan, one of the deacons, a youth suddenly fell down, and uttered a cry for mercy. Mr. Bryan was so alarmed that he at once closed the meeting, attended to the lad, and, as soon as he became a little composed, some friends led him home. The same evening many persons were affected in a similar manner, at a prayer-meeting held in the Moravian School-house in that vicinity, and among them several of our own

people. On the 24th ult., Mr. Bryan sent for me, stating that there was "a glorious revival" among the people, and that he hoped I would come down at once, "and see with my own eyes," and give the people the advice which they needed; that, as for himself, he could do nothing but look, and wonder at the work which was going on. I was too glad to learn that there was at length a shaking among the dry bones, to delay a moment. On my way, the few persons whom I met showed by their serious demeanour that they too had heard the news. One woman said, as I met her, "We poor sinners are, for true, in a great degradation. It is time for the Lord to work."

'I had occasionally seen crowds of these people, for whose good I have so long laboured, excited almost to madness by some "lying vanity," so that I wished to come as unprepared as possible upon the unwonted scene of a congregation of them weeping for their sins, and calling aloud for mercy. I was soon there, and found my deacon at his post; but it was, as he had said, only that of observation. The meeting was at the Moravian School-house at Broadleaf, and most of the people present were Moravians; but there were many of ours there also. On entering the premises, I witnessed a scene which I shall never forget. A number of persons were walking about the chapel-yard, and, as soon as I entered, they came around me, to tell me, as they always do, "Morning, Minister—glad to see you"; but they looked so strange, that at first I did not recognize some of our own people, although I had seen them, at the chapel here, only a few days before. They looked to me as if, during the brief interval, they had suffered from a severe attack of illness. I soon found that these were among the first "stricken," and had now realized peace in believing in Jesus. This feeling so entirely pervaded the minds of some of them, as to give to their countenances an expression which I cannot describe, and which I never saw, except on those of eminent Christians when on the threshold of heaven. I spoke to two or three, and was as much surprised by their conversa-

tion as I had previously been at their appearance. As a people (even those most advanced in the Divine life) they seldom *converse* freely on religious subjects; but these seemed glad with the opportunity of telling "what great things God had done for them." Among them I observed an intelligent young woman, a member of my own church, and asked her to give me a short account of what she had experienced. She immediately replied, "O minister, I never saw that sin was so sinful as I have within these few days. I thought I should have perished. I spent one whole night in prayer, was enabled to put *all* my trust in the Saviour, and then found peace—blessed peace." I replied, that if it were a good peace, it was the Saviour's gift; that she must be thankful for it, and careful of it. She looked upwards, as if "to the hills from whence came her help," and as I looked upon her features, the index to her calm and happy mind. I could not but hope, and believe, that her experience was of that kind which can only be enjoyed by those who place their entire trust in Christ, and live in communion with Him. I then entered the school-room, where I found a great number of people, most of them engaged in praying and exhorting in a loud voice. No one presided over the meeting. At first it seemed to me as if they were *all* doing wrong; but after I had gone about among them, I thought otherwise. They seemed quite unconscious of my presence. and no one was at all interrupted by the noise which his fellow worshipper or worker was making. Some were kneeling, weeping, and praying; confessing their sins to God, naming them, even those that had been committed many years ago—their neglect of Divine ordinances, unbelief, hardness of heart, sins of commission, and their secret sins, as they were "set in order" before their minds by the Holy Spirit. This they did audibly; sometimes not only specifying and deploring their crimes, but also praying for their companions in guilt *by name*. A few were kneeling, looking upwards, their lips moving, but not uttering a word, as if, having received the answer to their prayers, they were engaged in rendering

thanks to the God of their salvation. Others were diligently employed in directing and consoling the distressed, and in exhorting those who were as yet merely spectators. I saw such—some of them the vilest of men; but I saw no *mockers—not one.* All my ideas as to the *fitness* of the instrumentality for such important and difficult work, were confounded by what I saw; but as I went from one to another, and listened to their utterances, so Scriptural and appropriate, I remembered that "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise," &c.; and the reason for His doing His work in this way must be, "that no flesh should glory in His presence." I saw some things which I could not approve, and felt sure they would injure the cause which they were intended to promote; but to attempt at that moment to point them out to that multitude, seemed hopeless, so I said nothing, until the teacher asked me if I would deliver an address. I consented; and as I went up to the desk, and selected a hymn, the voices gradually subsided, until all became perfectly quiet. We sang, "There is a fountain," &c., and then I addressed them for about half an hour, endeavouring to lead them to Jesus, and also gave them such counsels and cautions as I deemed appropriate. Several thanked me for my kindness in visiting and speaking to them; but I soon saw that they did not intend to leave the chapel. I now wondered how it would be possible for them to renew the exercises which the long pause and my address had allayed; but in an incredibly short time they all resumed their engagements. I looked at my watch, and was surprised to find that I had been with them five hours.

'On Monday morning I went down to the six o'clock prayer-meeting at Royal Flat (four miles from here). We had a good meeting, after which I took down the names of all who wished it, and who were not previously either members or inquirers. I found that this composed their minds by making them feel that they were associated with those who would take an interest in their spiritual welfare.

I went on to Davyton, and held a similar service; and during subsequent days visited each district where the revival had appeared among our people, and at every place some came forward and begged to be received into the classes. The total number of those which I have thus enrolled within a few days, here and at Davyton, amounts to 150.

'Many of the rum-shops and gambling-houses, which were the greatest hindrances to our usefulness, have been closed; husbands and wives, long separated, have been reconciled; prodigal children have returned penitent to their parents; banns of marriage were published last Sabbath in some of the chapels by the score; ministers have been aroused to greater diligence and zeal; the churches are being purified; sinners are converted; *every* place of worship in this vicinity is crowded on the Sabbath; the demand for Bibles is beyond our power to supply it; all classes are compelled to give some attention to that Divine Power which *alone* could accomplish *such* results; and many, "who *hate* the change," are compelled to exclaim, "This is the finger of God!"'

A movement of this kind among a dense population of semi-civilized, excitable negroes was certain to produce extravagances and much that was repugnant to quiet, unemotional people. The enemies of Christianity were not slow to seize upon these, to distort them and to attempt to use them to the discredit of that mission-work which many of them disliked and even openly resented. But the testimony of men of sober judgment is that at least 20,000 souls were savingly awakened at this period. The missionaries on the spot believed it to be a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit in response to prayer. The Rev. D. Fletcher, of Chapelton, writing on February 19, 1861, said:—

'During a week, early in November, our chapel was crowded, with little intermission, by night and by day, with men, women, and children, weeping and wailing aloud for their sins. A scene so solemn and overwhelming I thought could not be witnessed prior to the judgment

day. I continued with the people till my strength was completely exhausted, and then applied to the Rev. C. H. Hall, the rector of the parish, for assistance, who promptly complied, and relieved me for a few days.

'After the first excitement subsided, we invited all who could solemnly believe that they had undergone a saving change, to meet us for the purpose of forming a general class of candidates for Church-fellowship; and between three and four hundred professed to have been converted during one month, not a few of whom had been living in gross immorality. They comprised some of the most intelligent, and many of the most ignorant, of our community. We had a few extraordinary cases of persons "stricken," or prostrated; but we have not had reason to complain of such extravagance and superstition as have been reported in some other parts of the island, where the people have been left very much to themselves during the excitement.

'The following are a few of the pleasant fruits of the revival at Chapelton:—Union and peace among all classes—places of worship crowded with earnest worshippers—court-houses deserted—policemen and magistrates superseded—scenes of revelry and debauchery forsaken—hundreds of persons who had lived in concubinage entered into the sacred state of matrimony—a Christian association formed, numbering about six hundred members—a Dorcas society—a benevolent society—and a vocal music society. I may add, that our day school at Chapelton has increased in numbers to two hundred and forty since the revival, the half of which number would have been reckoned a large school in former times.'

The Rev. W. Hillyer, of Mount Zion, writing on February 23, 1861, confirmed this testimony:—

'Since the great religious movement commenced, it is most gratifying to see the crowds of persons of all ages who flock to the house of God. For several weeks we held a variety of extra meetings, which were all well attended. I had open-air preaching in different parts of the neighbourhood. A large number have joined the

classes, and many who were living in open sin have been reclaimed. Men who had long deserted their wives, and wives their husbands, sought out each other, and have been reconciled; and on every hand there are tokens of the work of the Holy Spirit.

'Much has been said and written for and against the revival. Some men of high temperature have scarcely acknowledged an error in the whole affair; others have taken the entirely opposite view, and have condemned it as the work of the devil. I have seen much of it, and have calmly and deliberately considered the matter, and can testify that although there is a decided improvement among the people in every respect, there are not so many instances of conversion to God as we at first anticipated. When the people have been under little or no pastoral control, extravagant errors abound, to the great annoyance of the better disposed ones.'

The missionaries exercised a wise discretion in not adding too hastily to the churches those who had been so deeply stirred by the revival. The most hopeful converts were the young, and many of these and not a few of the elder converts were permanently gained for the service of Christ. But the time of spiritual exaltation was followed by one of reaction in which many from whom better things had been hoped fell away. A season of drought led to much sickness; the Civil War in the United States also injuriously affected the island, and then followed the change of policy in 1867, which ultimately led the Society to close its work in Jamaica. The reasons for this, and the methods employed, are set forth in the next chapter. As a result of this action no new missionaries were sent to Jamaica, and one by one, as the missionaries died or retired, the stations occupied by the Society disappeared from the list. Missionary work in the island was greatly affected by the disturbances which broke out in the Morant Bay district in 1865, and which were so savagely repressed by Governor Eyre.

The missionaries of the Society and the stations occu-

pied in 1866 were: Rev. James Milne, First Hill and Dry Harbour; Rev. W. Alloway, Ridgemount; Rev. W. Hillyer, Davyton; Rev. A. Lindo, Whitefield; Rev. T. H. Clark, Four Paths and Brixton Hill; Rev. John Dalgleish, Chapelton; Rev. Alfred Joyce, Mount Zion; Rev. W. J. Gardner, Kingston.

Mr. Milne died at First Hill in 1873; Mr. Alloway died at Ridgemount in 1877; Mr. Hillyer died at Kingston, November 26, 1866; Mr. Lindo's church became self-supporting at this time; Mr. Clark, on the death of Mr. Alloway, took charge of Ridgemount, and from 1880 to 1883 was the sole agent in the island of the Society, and the medium of communication between it and the native pastors. Illness compelled his return to England in 1883. In 1867 Mr. Dalgleish returned to Demerara; Mr. Joyce retired in 1875; Mr. Gardner died at Kingston in 1874. In this way the connection of the Society with Jamaica, which had lasted within one year of half a century, came to an end.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHANGE OF POLICY IN 1867

THE close scrutiny and change of policy inaugurated by the Board in 1867 began with the West Indies. The requirements of that mission formed the subject of the first Budget Dispatch. The Dispatch points out that at the time British Guiana contained 100,000 and Jamaica 400,000 natives, 'a population just equal to that of Calcutta or Canton,' and that this population 'enjoys the services of 300 ministers of the Gospel, of whom 140 are supplied by missionary societies.' 'The bulk of the population is nominally Christian, and has been for some years as well instructed in Christianity as an equal number of persons in the country parts of England.' They record that in 1866 Jamaica had, so far as their own Society was concerned, five missionaries, two native pastors, nine stations, 2,038 members, 7,000 adherents, an income of £2,118, and that during the year 1866 the Directors expended on the mission an additional £1,237. British Guiana in the same year had eight missionaries, two native pastors, fifteen stations, 3,200 members, 16,cco adherents, an income of £3,156, and the additional expenditure of the Board amounted to £3,945.

Making all due allowances the Board felt that the time had come for a new departure.

'They have resolved, therefore, to adopt the following measures: First, they limit the staff of English missionaries to the number of men (thirteen) now left in the field. They desire that steady efforts shall be made to place all the

churches under the pastoral charge of suitable native ministers. They desire that all the local and incidental expenses of the mission shall henceforth be entirely defrayed by the native churches. Lastly, they will limit their grants from England to the support of the English missionaries, and a small amount of general aid in the training of students and the promotion of evangelistic work.'

The missionaries were formed into two distinct committees, one for Jamaica, and one for British Guiana, and such rearrangement of finances made as would, it was hoped, save the Society £2,500 a year. The other sections of the Dispatch deal with the efforts to raise up a strong native ministry, the formation of a Union for mutual counsel and help among the churches, and education, and it closes with these words:—

'We believe there is yet a great future for the races among whom you labour. The Society must always be glad and thankful that it has enjoyed the privilege of sharing in the effort to raise them, and has suffered in their cause. All that we now propose will, we trust, conduce directly to the same great end. A people to be truly great must grow into men, and prove their manliness in every element of their intellectual, social, and moral being. The resolve is deepening every year in the Old World that the oppressed nations shall be free; free from every bond that confines their growth, from every stigma that implies or marks their degradation. With increased opportunities to rise in mercantile, social, and public life, may they rise in Christian character, principle, and self-control; in Christian consecration and devotion to others' good. Thus will God fulfil His promise to "raise the poor out of the dust and the needy from the dunghill, to set him among princes, and make him inherit a throne of glory."'

This change of policy initiated that gradual relinquishment of work which has since taken place.

The steps taken are indicated by the following resolutions of the Board:—

'*July* 27, 1874.—That in accordance with a resolution

having reference to the Society's missions in the West Indies, adopted by the town and country Directors of the Society at their meeting in May, 1867, which was reaffirmed in principle at a special meeting of the Directors on April 3, 1871, on the revision of the Society's work, this Board is of opinion that the time has now come when steps should be taken towards the complete cessation of the Society's control and support of the mission churches in Jamaica and British Guiana; and that as our missionaries in those fields are removed by death or by retirement from work, their places should no longer be supplied by missionaries of this Society. They are strongly of opinion, however, that the presence of English ministers in certain churches would be of the highest importance to their prosperity and that of the Christian community; and consequently suggest that the Society should be ready to assist them in two ways, in supplying vacant pastorates as they may arise:—

'1. By counsel and inquiry, and by sanction of the English pastors who may be selected.

'2. By entering into a joint guarantee with these churches for the provision of the pastor's salary for a period not exceeding three years from the date of acceptance of the pastorate, treating each case, however, by itself, after full communication with the District Committee and with the churches themselves.

'They recommend the adoption of such measures in the case of Four Paths and Brixton Hill in Jamaica, brought before the Directors by the Rev. T. H. Clark, and also in the influential churches of George Town and New Amsterdam in British Guiana, as soon as our missionaries at those stations shall deem it desirable to withdraw from their pastoral work.'

'*July* 26, 1880.—That such churches as are capable of self-support, in respect to worship, the native ministry, and church buildings, be allowed the use of those buildings, rent free, for five years, these churches holding themselves responsible to keep them in good repair and recognizing the ownership of the Society in them. That the mission-

aries consult with such other churches, as have no satisfactory prospect of self-support, respecting their future course, whether it shall be that of dissolution, the members severally joining neighbouring churches, as they may think fit, or that of amalgamation, two or more churches having one native pastor, or that of uniting as churches with evangelical denominations working in the Colony.'

The Report for 1881 states:—

'The West Indian Mission has, during the last ten years, passed almost entirely out of the care of the Society, the responsibilities of Christian church life having been undertaken by the people for themselves. In 1871 nine missionaries were at work in stations connected with this mission in British Guiana and Jamaica. Their number has now been reduced to three, each of whom has a large district under his care. Ten churches which, at the beginning of the decade, were more or less dependent on the funds of the Society, are now entirely self-supporting, and a considerable amount of steady work is being done in schools and at the out-stations.

'Such results as these cannot but furnish ground for rejoicing. The contrast to the former days of degradation, ignorance, and immorality is marvellous indeed. The chief cause of anxiety for the future is in the generally low standard of Christian intelligence and feeble grasp of moral principles. By nature emotional, easily excited, and, when under the influence of excitement, promising great things, the African has not naturally much perseverance, is easily disheartened, is not generous, and requires to be often stimulated afresh to make exertion. The process of developing a strong, pure, self-reliant, and generous Christian life from a nature which lacks stability, and is not persevering, must necessarily be a slow one, and marked by many disappointments. But the grace which has wrought in the hearts of these people to bring them to the knowledge of Christ is sufficient to produce the new man in Christ Jesus. And we look forward hopefully to the future, expecting that these West Indian churches will

not only learn more perfectly the lessons of steady generosity and of true moral consistency, but will also take a leading share in providing for the instruction of the Coolies who now form so large a section of the population; and, as their ability to help the cause of God increases with their social progress, will be found to have so warm a sympathy for those of the same stock who are still inhabitants of the Dark Continent that they will provide liberally for missions to them.'

Under the statistical heading West Indies, in the same Report, only three stations and three missionaries appear: in Demerara, Ebenezer, the Rev. J. Foreman; in Berbice, New Amsterdam, Rev. John Dalgleish; in Jamaica, Whitefield, Rev. T. H. Clark.

In 1883 a deputation consisting of Alexander Hubbard, Esq., and the Rev. Philip Colborne visited the West Indies, and after full consideration of their Report the Board adopted the following resolutions:—

'1. That the Report of the Society's deputation has been read by the Directors with much interest, and, while regretting to learn that some of the churches founded by missionaries of the Society are at present in a depressed condition, and that influences which prevailed in former days of slavery and heathenism still affect in some degree the state of morality in the native Christian communities, they note with much satisfaction, and with devout thankfulness, that for the most part these churches have made sound advance, that the state of morality among them is decidedly improving, and that they give promise of healthy progress in coming years.

'2. That as, from the emphatic testimony of the deputation, supported by that of Mr. Colborne, and from evidence derived from other sources, there is ground for believing that the colonies of British Guiana and Jamaica can no longer be regarded as "heathen and unenlightened," and as evangelistic agencies of various kinds are in full operation in these old fields of the Society's effort, the Directors approve the recommendation of the deputation that no

more missionaries be sent by the Society to the West Indies.

'3. That, while, as already indicated, they consider that it is not the duty of the Society to send more missionaries to the West Indies, the Directors, concurring with the deputation, are of opinion that it is essential to the growth and sound progress of the native churches that, for some years at least, some of them, both in British Guiana and Jamaica, should be presided over by European pastors, whose presence and influence will, it is believed, be of great value in strengthening and guiding the native pastors and their churches, and who may be expected to render important service in the proceedings of the local Congregational Unions; and that the Congregational Unions of British Guiana and Jamaica be informed that the Directors, while not accepting any pecuniary or other responsibility in the matter, are prepared, at the request of those Unions, and through them, to render aid in the selection of such pastors where they are needed.

'4. That, as recommended by the London Missionary Society's West Indian Churches Committee and the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales at their conference on September 19, the Directors undertake to contribute to each of the two Unions—viz. of British Guiana and Jamaica—as follows: £300 a year for the next three years, £200 a year for the following three years, and £100 a year for the following three years—these grants to be expended, under the direction of each of these Unions respectively, in such a way as may be deemed best for the interests of the churches connected with each of these Unions which are worshipping in chapels which are the property of the Society, it being understood that in the expenditure of this money the repair of the chapels, school-houses, and ministers' houses which are the property of the Society be not overlooked. And also that each Union shall furnish to the Directors, annually, a satisfactory account of the mode in which the money thus granted has been expended.

'5. That the Directors will be prepared to entertain favourably any recommendation from the Congregational Unions of British Guiana and Jamaica for grants for the *special* repair, within the next twelve months, of any of the buildings above referred to which are the property of the Society.

'The position and action which the Directors are prepared to take in reference to the churches established by the Society are designed to be in full accord with the "fundamental principle" of the Society. They do not propose to deal with or help the churches in the West Indies or elsewhere as being Congregational in church polity, but as churches which were founded and have been fostered by the Society. The plan of the Board, affirmed in 1867, and steadily adhered to in practice in succeeding years, has been that, as early as is practicable and safe, the aid and control of the Society be withdrawn from Christian churches founded by its missionaries, and that they be left to self-management and self-support. It was with a view to this issue that the scheme indicated in the resolutions was framed.

'The Directors are thankful to learn that in several instances in the West Indies this position has been gained and is being satisfactorily held. But, from the report received from the deputation and from other sources, it is evident that some churches will still need help for a time. The Directors do not propose to render pecuniary aid to any church the members of which, if duly actuated by a spirit of independence and by a proper sense of Christian obligation, are capable of taking an independent position. Their object is to encourage churches which are right-minded and liberal, but which are, at present, unsuccessful in attaining that position of independence which they rightly desire to occupy; but, in doing this, the Directors design only to supplement that aid which the local Unions may be able to render from other funds at their disposal.

'Thus these churches in the West Indies are being encouraged and assisted by the Society to take an

important onward step in the direction of self-support and management, in doing which the Directors desire for them the guidance and restraining influence of the Head of the Church.'

The Report for 1885 narrates the close of seventy-six years of work, 1808 to 1884. It stated that the arrangements made in 1884 have been duly carried out. Save for the annual grant the churches are entirely independent of the Society. From that date the West Indies disappear from the Reports. But the churches there have never yet been able to reach a strong and absolutely self-supporting basis, and once and again the Society has had to come to their aid with special helpers and special grants.

CHINA

'And these from the land of Sinim.'—ISAIAH xlix. 12.

'What, then, do the Chinese require from Europe?—Not the arts of reading and printing; not merely general education; not what is so much harped on by some philanthropists—civilization: they require that only which St. Paul deemed supremely excellent, and which it is the sole object of the Missionary Society to communicate—they require *the knowledge of Christ*.'—ROBERT MORRISON.

'I am called to suffer affliction, as you know, in the absence of my family from me for so long a period. I am sometimes deeply grieved. The Society says I should go home; but I cannot in common prudence leave my station at this period. I should like much to visit Europe, and to run to the solace of my afflicted wife and infant children, but wishes, and the lesser duties, must give way to the greater.'—ROBERT MORRISON *in* 1818.

'Some centuries ago, Xavier, the greatest missionary of Rome to the East, attempted to enter China, but failed, and he could only exclaim with his dying breath, "Rock, rock, when wilt thou open?" About forty years ago, God, in His mysterious providence, smote that rock, and it trembled, and it shook, and it yawned; and a few missionaries rushed in. But they were not allowed to go far. About twenty years ago, God smote that rock again, and it sank and disappeared; and now we may go up into the land, every man straight before him, and possess it. "This is God's doing, and it is marvellous in our sight."' —GRIFFITH JOHN *at Manchester in* 1881.

'Lately, I am being more and more impressed with the idea that what is wanted in China is not new "lightning" methods so much as good, honest, quiet, earnest work, in old lines and way.'—JAMES GILMOUR *in* 1891, *when on the brink of eternity.*

CHAPTER XIX

ROBERT MORRISON: 1807–1834

EUROPEANS in 1795 knew even less of China than they did of India. The voyage thither was the most distant that could then be taken. The arrogance and exclusiveness of the Chinese Government, their hatred of and contempt for everything foreign, kept even the enterprising officials of the East India Company at arm's length. Robert Morrison, when about to return after his only visit to England, thus described the conditions of life in the country where for eighteen years he had been the solitary Protestant missionary:—

'Europeans are allowed to live only on the frontiers of China, at Canton and Macao. In these places are a vast number of Catholics[1] and pagans. Each have their processions almost continually passing through the streets; the one seeming, as it were, to mock the other. Amongst these is our residence. Europeans are not allowed to go any great distance from the suburbs of these places, and then they must be unaccompanied by their families. Canton is wholly given up to idolatry, to gain, to dissipation: Sunday and Saturday are alike. The sound of merchandise—packing and unpacking of goods—the chinking of dollars—the firing of maroons to salute vessels going out and coming in—the ringing of bells to awaken sleepy gods, are heard every day alike. There is no such thing as rest to a Chinaman; all is bustle and fatigue, except for a few days at the beginning of the year.

[1] This refers to Macao only.

when rich and poor, old and young, men, women, and children, all purchase some new garment, and repair to the temples of their idols for worship. And then eating and drinking, drunkenness and debauchery ensue, till the wants of the poor, and the fatigue of the rich, call them to engage again in their various pursuits. Malacca is twelve hundred miles from Canton, and of course a long journey must be taken if we wish to see our brethren there. If the monsoons set in, we are six months before we can get letters from them. And if our friends here do not write to us before they hear of our arrival in China, it will be about two years before we hear from them [1].'

On another occasion during that visit Morrison described the Chinese in relation to their need of the Gospel :—

'To that people, the God of heaven has given an extensive territory, containing large portions of fertile, salubrious, and delightful country; and they possess a knowledge of the useful arts, to a degree which supplies all the necessaries, and most of the luxuries, of life. In these respects, they require nothing from Europe. They possess also ancient and modern literature in great abundance; and an unlicensed press, and cheap books suited to their taste. With poetry, and music; and elegant compositions; and native ancient classics; and copious histories of their own part of the world; and antiquities, and topographical illustrations; and dramatic compositions; and delineations of men and manners, in works of fiction; and tales of battles and of murders; and the tortuous stratagems of protracted and bloody civil wars;—with all these and with mythological legends for the superstitious, the Chinese, and kindred nations, are, by the press, most abundantly supplied. Nor is their literature destitute of theories of nature, and descriptions of her various productions, and the processes of the pharmacopolist, and the history and practice of medicine.

'What, then, do the Chinese require from Europe?—Not the arts of reading and printing; not merely general edu-

[1] *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, vol. i. p. 339.

CHINA
Scale, 1:20000000 (316 m. 1 in.)
Statute Miles
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Sin Kiang
TIBET
Shing-king
Shan-si
Shan-tung
Ho-nan
Hupei
Kiang-si
Che-kiang
Fo-kien
Hu-nan
Kwei-chau
Kwang-si
Kwang-tung
Tong king
BURMA
Assam
Kham
Ala Shan
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
Taiwan
(Formosa)
Riu-kiu
Hai-nan
Peking
Tientsin
Shanghai
Canton
Hongkong
Mandalay
Nanking
Ning po
Nan-chang
Hanoi
Hue
Kirin
Seoul
Quelpart
Scale 1:5000000
Scale 1:1000000

cation; not what is so much harped on by some philanthropists—civilization: they require that only which St. Paul deemed supremely excellent, and which it is the sole object of the Missionary Society to communicate—they require *the knowledge of Christ.* For with all their antiquity, and their literature, and their arts and refinement, they are still infatuated idolators; and are given up to vile affections, working that which is unseemly. Not liking to retain God in their knowledge, they worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator; they are haters of the true God, are filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, and wickedness. With all their civilization, still envy and malice, deceit and falsehood, to a boundless extent—with a selfish, ungenerous prudence, and a cold metaphysical inhumanity—are the prevalent characteristics of the people of China.

'Their well-known backwardness to assist persons in imminent danger of losing their lives by drowning, or otherwise; the cruel treatment of domestic slaves and concubines in families; the torture both of men and women before conviction in public courts; and the murder of female infants, connived at, contrary to law; are the proofs I offer of the truth of the latter part of my accusation. Their principles are defective, and hence their vicious practice.

'The philosophy of their celebrated ancient sage, Confucius, acknowledges no future state of existence; and, concerning the duties of man to his Maker, presents a complete blank. It presents nothing beyond the grave, to the fears or hopes of the human mind, but the praise or censure of posterity. Present expediency is the chief motive of action. Of the great and glorious God who is infinitely above, and distinct from, the heavens and the earth, the teaching of Confucius makes no mention; it rises not superior to an obscure recognition of some principle of order in nature, which, when violated, induces present evil. It is true, that in some of the most ancient written documents in China, which Confucius collected and edited, there is a more distinct recognition of the supreme

God than is to be found in anything that he has thought as his own, or that the learned of China, in subsequent ages, have advanced; for I believe it is a fact that man, when left to himself, sinks into, never rises from, atheism or idolatry; and the written word of God is necessary to bring him back. Exclusive of the system of Confucius, there are in China two other systems, which make much more use of the gods than his, and which acknowledge a future state of rewards and punishments. These systems enjoin fastings, and prayers, and penances, and masses for the dead, and threaten the wicked with varied punishments, in different hells, in a separate state; or with poverty, or disease, or a brute nature, when they shall be born again into this world.

'The Budha sect, which was, at the close of the first century, brought from India to China, believe the transmigration of souls. They, like the Taouists, have priests and priestesses, who live as the monks and nuns of Europe, and who are licensed by the state; but none of them receive any emoluments from it. The sect of the Learned, who profess to be followers of Confucius, and who fill the offices of government, employs no priests. Fathers, and magistrates, and princes worship, and do sacrifice in their own proper persons, to the household gods, the district gods, the spirits of rivers and of hills, and the gods of the fire, and the winds, and the rain, and the thunder, and the earth, and the heavens, and the polar star. They worship, too, the image of Confucius, who never professed to be more than a man, and who even declined the title of Sage, and who never taught the separate existence of the human soul; which doctrine indeed his disciples deny. These philosophists often laugh at the religionists of their own country, but still observe the rites and superstitions, and worship the idols of the other sects, as well as their own. The governors of provinces, and local magistrates, often visit the Budh temples, and fall prostrate before the cross-legged image of woolly-headed Budha; and subscribe largely for the support of the priests, the repair of the temples, the

making of new gods, and the cleaning and ornamenting of old ones. And his Tartar Majesty of China frequently confers new titles and honours on the gods of the land. Man creates and dignifies the gods that he worships[1]!'

The first reference in the Society's records to the establishment of a mission in China is found in the Report for 1805. Mr. Hardcastle, the Treasurer, had suggested the occupation of this field. It was known that direct preaching of the Gospel would be difficult and dangerous, if not impossible. But it might be possible to acquire the language, with which at that time only one British subject. Sir G. T. Staunton, was believed to be acquainted; and, this done, the Bible might be translated into the language of over three hundred millions of heathen. The plan set forth in the Report for 1805 was to establish a mission at Prince of Wales' Island, better known as Penang, consisting of at least three or four able missionaries. The Report for 1806 tells us two had been accepted for this service who were aided in the study of Chinese by a native then resident in London, a man afterwards long associated with the Chinese Mission—Yung Sam-Tak. The Directors considered it 'very desirable that an elder Christian should accompany this mission,' and suggested Vanderkemp on the ground that, as so many new missionaries had recently been sent to Africa, the doctor himself could be spared.

With the occasion came the man, but not the men. In 1807 Robert Morrison sailed, but the intended colleague did not go. The Report for that year tells us:—'Mr. Morrison, after acquiring as much knowledge of the language as he could attain in this country, and having, with great steadiness and assiduity, improved himself in several useful sciences, has left England, with a view of proceeding to Canton; for the Directors, on the best information, thought it best to decline sending him, in the first instance, to Prince of Wales' Island, as they once intended. Mr. Morrison will make the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language the first and grand object of his atten-

[1] *Life of Morrison*, vol. ii, p. 272 et seq.

tion; and though the same laudable enterprise is attempting at the College of Fort William, in Bengal, yet the production of a good and satisfactory translation will perhaps be better effected by the labours of different scholars, and in different places, than by their joint efforts in the same situation.'

Robert Morrison, who was to do for China what Carey had done for India, was a great and good man, called and equipped by God to do a great work. Like most of the other pioneer missionaries, he was of lowly origin. He was born near Morpeth in 1782, and brought up in association with the Presbyterian Church. His attention was early drawn to the missionary enterprises of the Society, and he gave himself to a close and careful study of Scripture. In 1802 he applied for admission to Hoxton Academy with a view to fit himself for the ministry: he was accepted, and in January, 1803, he reached London. Early in 1804 he offered himself to the Society: he was accepted, and directed to proceed at once to Gosport. Thence on July 29, 1804, he wrote to his sister: 'It is in agitation to send me on a mission to China: however, it is all uncertain as yet. I have thought of going to Timbuctoo in Africa. I hope the Lord will carry me out to some situation where he will make me abundantly useful to the souls of men.' We are told in his biography [1] 'it was his own deliberate conviction that his destination to China was in answer to prayer; for his expressed desire was that God would station him in that part of the missionary field where the difficulties were the greatest, and, to all human appearance, the most insurmountable.'

Among his fellow-students at Gosport were Loveless, who went to Madras, and John Angell James. The latter has sketched for us his great fellow-student. 'He was a remarkable man while at college. Studious beyond most others; grave almost to gloom; abstracted; somewhat morose, but evidently absorbed in the contemplation of the great object which seemed to be ever swelling

[1] Vol. i. p. 65.

into more awful magnitude and grandeur the nearer he approached it. I remember his coming to me at one time when his mind seemed much depressed, and saying, "James, let us go and pray together": we retired to his chamber, where he poured out his burdened spirit to the Lord, and, to use a scriptural expression, "he looked unto the Lord, and his face was lightened [1]."'

Morrison left Gosport in August, 1805, and came to London to acquire some knowledge of medicine and astronomy, and above all to study Chinese. Through Dr. Moseley, of Clapham, he got to know Yung Sam-Tak. He also transcribed a Chinese manuscript which he found in the British Museum, a Harmony of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles (except Hebrews), and a manuscript Latin and Chinese Dictionary lent him by the Royal Society. He was ordained on January 8, 1807, at the same time as Gordon and Lee, who were appointed to South India, and as it was impossible to get passage in an East Indiaman, he sailed on January 31 for Canton, with them, *via* New York. He landed at Canton September 7, 1807, and was hospitably received by the American supercargoes, Messrs. Milnor and Bull, who allowed him to reside in the old French Factory which they themselves occupied. On February 1, 1808, in order to enjoy greater facilities for his work, he removed to a French Factory, kindly offered to him by Mr. Parry, and there prosecuted with great assiduity his twofold task of perfecting his knowledge of Chinese, and of translating the Bible into that difficult tongue. His diary shows how he threw himself into this task. 'I have considered,' he writes on January 10, 1808, 'that the acquisition of the language, for the purpose of aiding in the translation of the Scriptures, is my highest duty for the present; and to this object I have devoted, I will not say the most, but the whole of my time and strength.' How difficult evangelistic work was extracts like this for May 3 show:—'I had an opportunity of speaking on the way of salvation to a Chinese person who professes faith

[1] *Life of John Angell James*, by R. W. Dale, p. 47.

in Jesus. Of the scheme of the Gospel, though he named the name of Christ, he knew nothing. The Europeans with whom I converse on the final object of my mission profess to despair entirely of its success. But nothing is too hard for God.'

On June 1 he went to Macao, about 100 miles south of Canton, for the benefit of his health, which was suffering from his close application to study. He was the guest of Mr. Roberts, the chief of the English Factory there. He returned to Canton at the end of August. Early in November, owing to political difficulties between the British and Portuguese, he had to leave Canton suddenly and again visited Macao. During this second visit he renewed his acquaintance with Yung Sam-Tak, and became friendly with the family of a Mr. Morton, who had brought a letter of introduction from Mr. Loveless. By the close of 1808 he was able to write home: 'The Grammar is being prepared for the press, and the Dictionary is daily being filled up. The MS. of the New Testament is in part to be printed. All these, however, are deferred till I shall be more deeply versed in the language, that what shall be done may not be hasty and imperfect.' The difficulties of his position at this time are pointed out in Milne's *Ten Years' Retrospect*:—

'At this time he felt so unwilling to obtrude himself on the notice of the people at Macao, that he never walked out. He carried this precaution further than was necessary; but it seemed better to err on the safe side. His health began to suffer from it, so that latterly he could scarcely walk across the room with ease to himself. The first time he ventured out to the fields adjoining the town of Macao was on a moonlight night, under the escort of two Chinese. The very delicate circumstances in which he was placed at the time referred to, required the most rigorous caution. Indeed, since the commencement of the mission this has ever been requisite; to relax for a single day, or in a single instance, might be of fatal consequence to the cause.

'The patience that refuses to be conquered, the diligence

that never tires, the caution that always trembles, and the studious habit that spontaneously seeks retirement, were best adapted for the situation of the first missionary to China[1].'

On February 20, 1809, Morrison married the eldest daughter of Mr. Morton. So great had the difficulties of residence in Macao become that he had resolved to go to Penang. But God overruled his purpose, and upon the day of his wedding he was offered the post of Chinese Translator in the East India Company's Factory, at a salary of £500 a year. This appointment rendered his position as a resident in China secure, enabled him to support himself and yet get time enough to complete his great task. and may be said to constitute the turning-point in his career. Mr. Milne's description of this period is instructive:—

'The duties of his situation were at first extremely oppressive, through his still imperfect knowledge of the language. He felt it his duty to be faithful to those who had employed him. He had not confidence in his own knowledge of the language, nor could he trust in the natives. The many perplexing hours which he spent in the duties of his new situation will not soon be forgotten. He always, however, felt one satisfaction, viz. that all his duties were of such a kind as bore, at least indirectly, on his primary views; they were so many lessons in Chinese[2].'

Even with the advantage of an official post he had to endure much inconvenience from the haughty intolerance of the Chinese.

'We experience great difficulties from the Chinese officers of government. We have to learn in secret, and have often had to hide our books and papers. My assistants have again and again run from me through fear. Lately, for a few days, we had much difficulty to procure the necessaries of life. Our man was taken up when he went to market. Our Chinese woman servant we were obliged to send away. It is the custom of this place that the man

[1] *Life of Morrison*, p. 241.

[2] Ibid. p. 257.

who purchases your food takes out a kind of licence and becomes answerable for all that is done in your house. Learning their language the Chinese do not allow. Hence our difficulty [1].'

In every moment that could be snatched from his less congenial official duties—duties, however, which he never permitted himself to rob of one instant of necessary time—he prosecuted with intense energy his three great literary undertakings—the Chinese Dictionary, the Chinese Grammar, and, above all, his version of the Chinese New Testament. He had brought to China a translation of the Acts. By the autumn of 1810 he found himself sufficiently master of the language to revise and prepare this for the press. In September, 1810, it was printed. In a letter to the Directors, dated January 7, 1811, he states:—

'In September I sent the Acts of the Apostles, carefully revised with the Greek text, corrected and pointed, to a Chinese printer, and after having a specimen of his workmanship, engaged for 1000 copies. I am to have the blocks which, if cut on good wood, according to our agreement, will strike off 15,000 copies before they need to be repaired, and after that the plates may be used for a greater or less period of time; how many they will strike off before they are absolutely useless I cannot say. The terms are 521 dollars. It is not concealed from me that this charge is higher than for a Chinese book, being in proportion to the hazard incurred on account of my being a foreigner.'

Mr. Milne, writing of the same period, further illustrates the risk and difficulty of the work:—

'The charge for printing the Acts of the Apostles was exorbitantly high. It amounted to more than half a dollar per copy, the price at which the whole New Testament has since been printed. But it was considered a prohibited book, and some risk was supposed to be run by those who undertook to execute the printing. The insatiable avarice of the Chinese inclines them, on every occasion, to impose on foreigners; and the exclusive nature of their govern-

[1] *Life of Morrison*, p. 288.

ment furnishes them with every facility for cozening. They seem to consider all foreigners as their enemies, and to a certain extent treat them as such. It was not therefore expected, under such a state of things, that any part of the Christian Scriptures could be printed at the usual price of other Chinese books, published by natives themselves[1].'

Hard as the translation work was, and manifold the risks attending it, the spiritual work upon which his heart was set was still more difficult. Here is his own account of the year 1811 :—

'My chief work, this year, is a translation of the Gospel by St. Luke, which is now printing. I have also printed a thousand copies of a religious tract, which I composed in Chinese. I have also formed a Chinese Catechism, a copy of which I purpose to send to the Society this season. On the Lord's day, I have preached to the Chinese in my own house. They attend with decency and seriousness, and, I think, feel in some degree the influence of the truths which I state; but I have not yet to rejoice over them as converted to God. There has lately been an edict from the emperor, prohibiting the propagation of Christianity in the empire ; and four Roman Catholic missionaries have been sent from Peking[2].'

In 1812 the famous edict against Christianity was issued by the emperor. Morrison sent home a translation of it, and two passages from this will illustrate the spirit which prompted its promulgation :—

'The Europeans worship God, because in their own country they are used to do so ; and it is quite unnecessary to inquire into the motive : but then, why do they disturb the common people of the interior ?—appointing, unauthorizedly, priests and other functionaries, who spread this through all the provinces, in obvious infraction of the law : and the common people deceived by them, they succeed each other from generation to generation, unwilling to depart from their delusion. This may approach very near

[1] *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 296.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 298.

to bring a rebellion. Reflecting that the said religion neither holds spirits in veneration, nor ancestors in reverence, clearly this is to walk contrary to sound doctrine; and the common people, who follow and familiarize themselves with such delusions, in what respect do they differ from a rebel mob? If there is not decreed some punishment, how shall the evil be eradicated? And how shall the human heart be rectified?

'From this time forward, such European as shall privately print books and establish preachers, in order to pervert the multitude, and the Tartars and Chinese, who, deputed by Europeans, shall propagate their religion, bestowing names, and disquieting numbers, shall have this to look to:—the chief or principal one shall be executed;—whoever shall spread their religion, not making much disturbance, nor to many men, and without giving names, shall be imprisoned, waiting the time of execution; and those who shall content themselves with following such religion, without wishing to reform themselves, they shall be exiled[1].'

Morrison's comment was:—

'I now enclose you a translation of a Chinese edict, by which you will see that to print books on the Christian religion in Chinese is rendered a capital crime. I must, however, go forward, trusting in the Lord. We will scrupulously obey Governments as far as their decrees do not oppose what is required by the Almighty; I will be careful not to invite the notice of Government. I am, though sensible of my weakness, not discouraged, but thankful that my own most sanguine hopes have been more than realized. In the midst of discouragement, the practicability of acquiring the language in no very great length of time, of translating the Scriptures, and of having them printed in China, has been demonstrated. I am grateful to the Divine Being for having employed me in this good work, and, should I die soon, it will afford me pleasure in my last moments.'

In the course of 1812 the first mention occurs of what

[1] *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 335.

later became an accomplished fact, and of which a sketch will be given later, the establishment at Malacca of an institution for the training of missionaries, native and European, to fit them for service in China and the adjoining districts. This scheme took definite shape in Morrison's mind in 1813, when it had become evident that Milne's stay in Macao was practically impossible. Macao was exceptional in many respects, and the eye of faith sees a divine purpose in that combination of circumstances which brought about just at this epoch a divided government and responsibility in the one Chinese port in any degree open to foreigners:—

'The Chinese disallow any more Europeans to be landed at Macao to remain. This has been a standing law (but overlooked the last hundred years). The Portuguese are also ordered, from their court, to admit no persons but such as are connected with some of the European Factories. Macao is a kind of mixed government, partly Chinese, partly Portuguese. The Chinese are masters, and give orders to the Portuguese Governor and Senate. As the Chinese law forbids foreigners to be landed, the petty officers always demand money on the landing of any person.'

On July 4, 1813, to Morrison's great joy, his long-expected and greatly desired colleague arrived—William Milne. He was an Aberdeen man, a member of Dr. Philip's church, and had been trained under Bogue in Gosport. His aptness for study, especially of language, and his spiritual fervour, soon marked him out to Bogue's discriminating judgment as a true colleague for the lonely Chinese missionary. Morrison's diary for July 4, 1813, a Sunday, contains this entry:—

'About three o'clock, as Mrs. Morrison and I were about to sit down at the Lord's table to commemorate His death and passion, a note arrived from Mr. Milne, saying that he had landed. We of course felt much agitated. The mingled emotions of joy and hope and fear which were felt, cannot easily be described. A companion in labour, whose arrival for six long years I had been wishing for, having now

actually set his foot on shore in this land, remote from our native isle, made me very glad. My Mary, who had long wished and prayed for a pious companion to cheer our solitude, and join with us in the exercises of devotion, was overjoyed on the arrival of Mrs. Milne. But what would be their reception—whether they would be allowed to remain—or whether they would be driven away, were all equally uncertain, though not equally probable. That which was not wished for, was greatly to be feared[1].'

Morrison's fears received speedy fulfilment. In spite of all the influence he and his friends could bring to bear, Milne was ordered to leave Macao in eight days. Ultimately the difficulty was temporarily met by sending Milne on July 20 to Canton, while Mrs. Milne stayed with the Morrisons. There Morrison joined him a few weeks later; and on September 30 his diary contains an important entry. After stating that he found Milne well, and studying the language with characteristic ardour, Morrison records: 'A short time before I left Macao I finished the translation of the New Testament.' And on December 31, 1813, he records:—

'I bless the Lord that this year the New Testament has been completed in Chinese, and is now nearly all printed. O that it may be the means of great good! Lord, own it as Thine own word; let it not return unto Thee void.

'I bless God that an assistant to the work has come out; a man, I trust. fitted by the grace of God in a good degree. May the Lord spare him, and bless him, for His name's sake. May the heathen have reason to bless God on his behalf.

'I mourn that I have not yet seen the heathen turned from the error of their ways effectually. I fear that I have been deficient in declaring the whole counsel of God. Lord, forgive, and help me to preach faithfully the Gospel of Jesus. Amen and amen.'

Milne resided nearly four months in Canton, and a portion of this time Morrison was with him aiding him in the

[1] *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 364.

toilsome study of Chinese. The impossibility of securing permission for Milne to reside in Macao led them to resolve that Milne should, early in 1814, make a journey through the chief Chinese settlements in the Malay Archipelago to circulate the New Testament and religious tracts, to discover, if possible, the proper place for a permanent Chinese Mission, and to acquire as much useful information as possible for the future conduct of the mission. Mr. Milne left Macao February 14, 1814, visited Banca and Batavia, travelled 1,400 miles through Java, landed at Malacca on August 19, and returned to Macao September 5, 1814.

The Bible Society had taken a great interest in Morrison's translation work, and aided it by very generous donations. Under date of January 28, 1814, he wrote to Lord Teignmouth, the then President of the Society:—'Allow me this day, as if present from the land of China in the midst of your animating assembly, to lay before you a translation of the New Testament into Chinese, made and published at Canton.'

On January 11, 1814, he had written to the Secretary announcing the conclusion of this part of his great enterprise in terms which prove that he was not blind to the necessary limitations and imperfections of his work:—

'The second grant of the British and Foreign Bible Society of £500 to aid in translating, printing, and circulating the Holy Scriptures in China, was received with due feelings of respect and esteem for that benevolent institution. I beg to inform the Society that the translation of the New Testament, carrying on at this place, into the Chinese language, has been completed, and I hourly expect the last sheet from the press.

'Two thousand copies of the New Testament are now passing through the press, which will cost about 3,818 Spanish dollars. Allow me to notice, that I give this translation to the world not as a perfect translation. That some sentences are obscure, that some might be better rendered, I suppose to be matter of course in every trans-

lation made by a foreigner; and in particular, in a translation of the Sacred Scriptures, where paraphrase is not to be admitted. All who know me will believe the honesty of my intentions, and I have done my best. It only remains that I commit it, by prayer, to the divine blessing.

'The Gospel, the closing Epistles, and the book of Revelation, are entirely my own translating. The middle part of the volume is founded on the work of some unknown individual, whose pious labours were deposited in the British Museum. I took the liberty of altering and supplying what appeared to me to be requisite; and I feel great pleasure in recording the benefit which I first derived from the labours of my unknown predecessor[1].'

The same year, 1814, witnessed the baptism of the first convert, a man named Tsae A-ko. Seven years had passed before Morrison was permitted to enjoy this happiness. His sketch of the man shows by what slow stages a Chinaman comes to any apprehension of spiritual truth:—

'A-ko is the son of a second concubine. His father's wife died without children. His father died when he was sixteen years of age. When he was twenty-one he came to my house, and heard me talk of Jesus; but says he did not well understand what I meant. That was my first year in China. Three years after, when I could speak better, and could write, he understood better: and being employed by his brother in superintending the New Testament for the press, he says that he began to see the merits of Jesus were able to save all men in all ages and nations, and hence he listened to and believed in Him.

'His natural temper is not good. He often disagreed with his brother and other domestics: and I thought it better that he should retire from my service. He however continued, whenever he was within a few miles, to come to worship on the Sabbath-day. He prayed earnestly morning and evening, and read the Decalogue as contained in the Catechism. He says that from the Decalogue and instruction of friends he saw his great and manifold errors,

[1] *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 394.

that his nature was wrong, that he had been unjust, and that he had not fulfilled his duty to his friends or brothers or other men. His knowledge of course is very limited, and his views perhaps obscure, but I hope that his faith in Jesus is sincere[1].'

Early in 1815 Mrs. Morrison, with her children, visited England on account of her health. Even earlier in the year Milne had left for Penang to open a mission-station there. Once more Morrison was left alone, the solitary representative of Protestant missions among four hundred millions of Chinese. The year passed uneventfully. In his review he states:—

'As much work yet remains before me in respect of translation, I pursue the object of the mission in my closet. My services I continue on the Lord's day; but fear, on the part of those who hear me, prevents their making a public profession of what they have, I hope, some regard for. The difficulties and discouragements of the last year (1815) were numerous. The seizure of the type-cutters who were employed in cutting the types for the Dictionary occasioned much anxiety; and the suspense in which I was held for some time was embarrassing. God has mercifully spared me hitherto: blessed be His name.

'This season the first number of the Dictionary will be forwarded to your and Mr. Hardcastle's care. I hope the Missionary Society will consider it as a furthering the object of the mission. It is to me a great task. The length of time which it will require to finish it quite discourages me. But for it I believe I should have gone to England this season, to bring my family again to these countries.

'I learned yesterday that, during the difficulties in which the type-cutters were involved, the bookseller in whose possession were the duodecimo blocks of the New Testament, destroyed them to prevent discovery. I can do nothing at present respecting it; I must wait. Such things seem very much against us; yet who can tell how they

[1] *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 408.

may finally operate? Let us persevere, and look to Heaven for a blessing.'

In the course of 1816 Morrison accompanied, as interpreter, Lord Amherst on his abortive mission to Peking. Morrison's records of this journey are all full of information, and, in the light of China's later history, of deep interest. We have space but for one or two extracts. In the account of the journey which he sent home to Dr. Burder he thus describes the paganism of China:—

'The general principles of our religion give a tone of elevation and dignity to the human mind which is not felt here. Associating at stated periods for worship, and to receive religious instruction, when the infinite greatness of the Deity is continually held up to the view of princes, nobles, and people; and the idea often suggested that all earthly distinctions are comparatively nothing, and will soon terminate; this moderates the tendency to domination to which the human mind in prosperous circumstances, and elevated situations, is always prone; and at the same time, without interfering with the good order of society, raises to a manly feeling the hearts of the poorest and most abject. The people of this country never meet under similar circumstances. They do not associate under something approaching equality for the worship of their gods. The priests never preach nor teach orally. They occasionally inculcate piety to the gods, and the practice of morality, by means of the press. I am now writing to you from a temple in which are upwards of 100 priests, and as many idols. About fifty priests worship, with morning and evening prayers, which occupy nearly forty minutes, images of Buddah. There are three images placed on a line; before these the priests burn tapers, offer incense, and recite prayers, sometimes kneeling and repeating over and over again the same invocation; and sometimes putting the forehead to the ground, in token of adoration, submission, and supplication. Day after day, and year after year, this is gone through; but they never associate the people of every rank and age, to deliver

instructions to them. Indeed they are not qualified. They are generally illiterate and uninstructed themselves. They are the mere performers of ceremonies, and should never be denominated by the same name that is applied to ministers of the Christian religion. The multitudes of people in this country are truly, in a moral and religious view, as "sheep without a shepherd."

'Without referring to the peculiar and important doctrines of Christianity, but speaking merely of its general aspect in Protestant countries, with the qualifications and duties of its ministers, in the public assemblies of the people, how vastly superior to the system of Paganism which prevails here! The contrast struck me very forcibly during divine service in this very temple, as performed by the chaplain of the embassy. We have heard much here about sitting or not sitting, in the presence of great men. The Chinese carry their objections to a ridiculous length to persons sitting, who are, in rank, a certain degree inferior to themselves; and on no occasions, religious or ceremonial, do superiors dispense with this usage. Hence, when looking round the congregation during the sermon, and seeing English noblemen, gentlemen of inferior titles, officers in his Majesty's service, merchants, soldiers, and servants, all sitting in the same room, and listening to the same instruction, the idea I mentioned above, of the general administration of the Christian religion being so very far superior, occurred with the greater force.

'The labouring poor in every country who cannot read might at first sight be supposed to be nearly on a level. But our Sabbath, and public assemblies for social worship, and oral instruction in the duties of men to God and to each other, place our poor in much more favourable circumstances than in this country. When the poor do not avail themselves of the advantages within their reach, as is too often the case, the beneficial effects of course will not appear.

'The middle and higher classes also, who have money to spend, and whose time is not wholly occupied in pro-

viding the means of subsistence, are placed in much more favourable circumstances than people of the same description in this country. There is more intellectual occupation within their reach. The free discussion of questions connected with the welfare of the country, the affairs of benevolent, literary, and scientific societies, even the newspapers and monthly journals, all tend, less or more, to employ, to exercise, and to strengthen, the intellectual powers. Here, all discussion of the measures of government being entirely disallowed; all associations of the people for any purpose whatever being discouraged; and no interest taken in the acquirement of science, or of a knowledge of the general affairs of mankind; people possessing property or leisure want occupation, and become commonly (I would not say always) either idle smokers of opium, or slaves to sensual pleasure in its most debasing forms. Still, there are degrees of public indecency, which have existed and do exist in other countries, which are entirely unknown in China. Indelicacy has no place in their religion, as was the case in ancient Greece and Rome; nor are unhappy females suffered by the government to walk the streets of towns, as is the case in our country.'

The embassy failed to achieve even so much as an interview with the emperor, on the one hand, because Lord Amherst refused to appear, as summoned, the moment he arrived, and because on a later occasion he refused to make certain salutations which he considered derogatory to an ambassador of the King of England. The Chinese, on the other hand, very imperfectly apprehended either the power behind the ambassador, or the motives which had led to his visit. The 'Letter from the Emperor of China to the King of England,' written after Lord Amherst's return, is an amusing document [1], important now only as a forcible illustration of the ignorant haughtiness towards foreigners which led speedily to the destruction of those barriers which for centuries had walled China in from the influences of the Western world. The document

[1] See *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. pp. 458–462.

opens, 'The supreme potentate, who has received from heaven and revolving nature, the government of the world, issues an imperial mandate to the King of England, with which let him be thoroughly acquainted.'

One letter goes on to state that the ambassador 'would not be obedient to the prescribed ceremonies,' and in the next sentence calls him 'a petty officer from a remote country.' It gives a truly Chinese account of what happened. states that the Chinese do not look upon the choicest Western productions 'as rare pearls,' and closes in the following remarkable manner:—

'That you, O King, should preserve your people in peace, and be attentive to strengthen the limits of your territory, that no separation of that which is distant, from that which is near, should take place, is what I the Emperor in reality, highly commend. Hereafter there is no occasion for you to send an Ambassador so far, to be at the trouble of passing over mountains and crossing seas. If you can but pour out the heart in dutiful obedience, it is not necessary to come at stated times to court, ere it be pronounced that you turn towards the transforming influences which emanate from this land. This Imperial mandate is given that you may for ever obey it.'

On September 4, 1817, Morrison drew up a Ten Years' Review of the China Mission in the form of a letter addressed to Dr. Burder:—

'Ten years have this day elapsed since I first landed on these shores. To carry into effect the objects of the Missionary Society (which were at the same time objects dear to my own heart) I left my native land. God has been gracious to us; He has borne with our infirmities; He has granted us in part the wish of our hearts; and blessed be His holy name.

'You can remember the deep interest which the excellent Mr. Hardcastle took in the objects of the mission. I believe that to him it owed its origin. I remember also the devoted zeal of Mr. Reyner[1]. You know that at that period our

[1] Treasurer of the Religious Tract Society.

difficulties were many, and our prospects very limited. I am afraid that many of our friends think but little has been done; and it must be acknowledged that our progress has been but small. But we should remember what were the obstacles which stood in our way; and what was the amount of our immediate hopes; that we may be duly grateful to God, who has granted us even more than we then anticipated. Our knowledge of China was very limited —our hopes of a residence small—our interest nothing. To learn the language, and by degrees render the Sacred Scriptures into Chinese, was the object which we immediately contemplated. Your mission to China now possesses considerable knowledge of the country, the character of the people, and the language. It is furnished with instruments with which to begin the more spiritual part of its labours. The New Testament is rendered into Chinese, has been in part put into circulation, and will, we trust, produce salutary effects—for the "word of the Lord shall not return to Him void."

'My colleague, Mr. Milne, has been here, with his whole family, for some time. His health, as well as that of Mrs. Milne, has been improved in some degree. They purpose leaving this place in January next. Mr. Milne came to Canton, not only on account of his health, but also to attend some affairs of the mission, and to look over with me his translation of Deuteronomy and the Book of Joshua. These, together with the Psalms, will be put to press at Malacca, in the course of 1818, should God in mercy grant to my brother life and health. Our lives are in His hand, and my days may be shorter than those of my esteemed fellow-labourer; but appearances are against him—his lungs are weak, and he is greatly emaciated. We have divided the remaining parts of the Old Testament between us, and purpose, if possible, to finish the whole in 1818. Mr. Medhurst has sent up a specimen of small metal types, intended for the magazine and tracts, which is very promising.'

Morrison's literary toil was unabated. In the course of 1817 he published his *Horae Sinicae*, a Chinese Primer,

and a parallel between his own and Dr. Montucci's Dictionary, and all this in addition to his Bible translation work:—

'The £1,000 now drawn is in reserve for the current expenses of the ensuing year, 1818, during which Mr. Milne and I hope to finish a translation of the whole Bible. He has completed Deuteronomy and Joshua. The Book of Genesis has been printed some time. I have made a first draught of the Book of Exodus, and the Book of Ruth. The Psalms I have finished, and they are now in the press. The Book of Isaiah is now about one-half translated. Several type-cutters are engaged to go down to Malacca, for the purpose of printing Deuteronomy, Joshua, and an edition of the Psalms in duodecimo; that which I am perfecting here, is smaller than our duodecimo New Testament. Mr. Milne embraces every opportunity to distribute these parts of the Scriptures, which we have already published. It is not easy for us to trace their effects—but there is an eye, from which no secret is hid.'

By this time European scholars had begun to realize Morrison's achievements in Chinese, and to correspond with him on points of special difficulty and importance. In 1817 the University of Glasgow recognized Morrison's extraordinary services to theological literature and Biblical philology by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Milne's health led him to revisit Macao, and for some time the friends were together again. During this period of fellowship they drew up the regulations for the Ultra-Ganges Mission, which were afterwards the guiding principles of the station at Malacca[1]. So deeply interested was Morrison in this scheme that he gave £1,000 towards the building, and £100 a year for five years towards the carrying on of the work there. The General Plan was from his pen[2].

[1] For these, see *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*, vol. i. pp. 503–509.

[2] For the interesting details of this Plan, see *Life*, vol. i. pp. 512–515; also p. 539.

His life at this period was one of incessant labour, and of great loneliness for the Master's sake :—

'I have become much of a recluse. I very rarely go to the Company's, or anywhere else, to dine. I have the same dish week after week—*Irish stew and dried roots*—which I eat with Chinese chop-sticks. I am well as usual, and writing from seven in the morning till nine or ten at night.

'I am called to suffer affliction, as you know, in the absence of my family from me for so long a period. I am sometimes deeply grieved. The Society says I should go home; but I cannot in common prudence leave my station at this period. I should like much to visit Europe, and to run to the solace of my afflicted wife and infant children, but wishes, and the lesser duties, must give way to the greater.'

On November 25, 1819, Morrison was able to send the Directors the joyous tidings that his great translation was, after twelve years' labour, completed. Milne had translated Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and 1 Samuel to Job, inclusive. All the rest of the Old Testament was Morrison's work. The four Gospels, and Hebrews to Revelation, inclusive, were also his work :—

'The other books of the New Testament I edited, with such alterations as, in my conscience, and with the degree of knowledge of the Chinese language which I then possessed, I thought necessary. I added the verses according to the English Testament, in a form which had not been devised in Chinese before, and which, without breaking the text into parts, answers well the purpose of reference. I always stated explicitly to you that the Chinese MS. in the British Museum, a copy of which under the Missionary Society's care I procured, was the foundation of the New Testament in Chinese, which I completed and edited.

'The first volume, viz. the Acts of the Apostles, which I printed as an essay of what could be done, from the above-named MS., written by some pious missionary of the Romish Church, was burnt by a native Roman Catholic

of some education in this country, because he thought the translation mine, and heretical. Another person from England, who was acquainted in a degree with Chinese. and who supposed that the Testament was wholly mine, said it would have been desirable that the translation should have been done by a Roman Catholic missionary; and a third person, in a different part of the world, has condemned me, because so much of the MS. remains. Had it been my wish to make the whole translation appear as originally my own, I could have altered much more, with as little trouble as I took to decide on retaining what I did ; but that was not my object, nor is it the object of your Society to enter into the question by whom the Bible is rendered into the languages of mankind, but in what manner, and to aid in publishing the best versions that can be procured.

'When traduced, either by those who undervalue divine Revelation, and, "not daring to avow their principles, complain of the inaccuracy of translations," or "on the other side," by opinionated men who "give liking to nothing but what is framed by themselves," I can "rest secure—supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having in this work walked in the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord [1]."

'If Morrison and Milne's Bible shall, in China, at some subsequent period, hold such a place in reference to a better translation, as Wickliff's or Tyndale's now hold in reference to our present English version, many will for ever bless God for the attempt; and neither the Missionary Society, nor the Bible Society, will ever regret the funds they have, or shall yet expend, in aid of the object.'

In August, 1820, Dr. Morrison welcomed back his wife and children after an absence of nearly six years. He spent only a few weeks with them, and then had to take up his Canton duties. During 1821 and 1822 Morrison was much occupied, in correspondence with Dr. Milne, with the affairs of the Anglo-Chinese College. But in June, 1821,

[1] *Life*, vol. ii. p. 3.

Mrs. Morrison died after a very brief illness, and Dr. Morrison was left desolate indeed. Early in 1822 his son and daughter were sent to England. In June, 1822, another great grief fell upon him in the death of his colleague Milne. In consequence of this event, in January, 1823, Morrison visited Malacca, and on his return decided to visit England. Prior to leaving Macao he dedicated Leang A-fă, who had been a Christian for eight years to the work of an evangelist, and entrusted to his care the affairs of the mission. Dr. Morrison reached England in March, 1824, after an absence of nearly seventeen years. His return aroused very deep interest in all missionary circles, and the two years he spent at home were very busy in travels, speeches, interviews, and efforts of various kinds for the development of Christian work in China. Among other efforts he established a Language Institution, in which intending missionaries might study oriental languages, but though started under good patronage, and affording evidence of much usefulness, it continued in existence only a few years.

Morrison sailed for China May 1, 1826, and during the voyage was instrumental in avoiding a mutiny by his reasonings with, and influence over, the crew. He landed at Macao, September 19. Morrison's position in China had always been difficult, but the closing years of his life were troubled by the fact that the new officials of the East India Company which the lapse of years necessarily brought were less kindly to him personally, and less favourably disposed to missionary work than some of their predecessors. It was the epoch, too, when fear lest trade relations might be disturbed led naval officials, East India officials, and merchants to submit, in a way which at times aroused Morrison's indignation, to restrictions and insults of a kind which at length led to war between Great Britain and China. Even the highest British officials were thus treated by the Cantonese. Dr. Morrison noted at this time:—

'It is astonishing to me how the bearer of dispatches

from the highest authority in India can pass over in the careless manner which is done such inhospitality and rudeness. There is an utter want of public spirit and feeling for national honour, as it appears to me. I resolve often to hold my peace concerning the question in dispute, between the English and Chinese; but the *anti*-British, and low sentiments—as I think them—which I sometimes hear, provoke me to speak: His Majesty's navy neither feel nor care about British subjects in China; and these ships of war are not respected, nor better treated, by the Chinese than the Lintin smugglers.'

At the same time none better than he could judge the vast progress which had been made in the way of preparation for future missionary work.

'There is now in Canton a state of society, in respect of Chinese, totally different from what I found it in 1807. Chinese scholars, Missionary students, English presses, and Chinese Scriptures, with public worship of God, have all grown up since that period. I have served my generation, and must—the Lord knows when—fall asleep.'

In 1832 Dr. Morrison drew up the following sketch of the first twenty-five years of the mission:—

'Twenty-five years have this day elapsed, since the first Protestant Missionary arrived in China, alone, and in the midst of perfect strangers,—with but few friends, and with many foes. Divine Providence, however, prepared a quiet residence for him; and, by the help of God, he has continued to the present time, and can now rejoice in what God has wrought. The Chinese language was at first thought an almost insurmountable difficulty. That difficulty has been overcome. The language has been acquired, and various facilities provided for its further acquisition. Dictionaries, grammars, vocabularies, and translations have been penned and printed. Chinese scholars have increased, both at home and abroad, both for secular and religious purposes. It is not likely that Chinese will ever again be abandoned. The holy Scriptures in China, by Morrison and Milne, together with Religious Tracts, Prayer-books, &c.,

have been published; and now, thanks be to God, Missionaries from other nations have come to aid in their distribution and explanation. The London Missionary Society's Chinese press, at the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca, and Mr. Medhurst's at Java, have sent forth millions of pages, containing the truths of the everlasting Gospel; and that Institution has given a Christian education to scores of native youths. There are also native Chinese, who preach Christ's Gospel, and teach from house to house.

'The establishment of English presses in China, both for the diffusion of general knowledge, and for religious purposes, arose out of the Protestant Mission. The Hon. East India Company's press, to print Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, was the first; and now, both English and Americans endeavour, by the press, to draw attention to China, and give information concerning it and the surrounding nations. The *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, at Malacca—the Canton newspapers—and the Chinese Repository—have all risen up since our Mission commenced. Missionary voyages have been performed, and the Chinese sought out at various places, under European control, in the Archipelago, as well as in Siam, at the Loochoo Islands, at Corea, and along the coast of China itself, up to the very walls of Peking. Some tracts, written by Protestant Missionaries have reached, and been read by, the emperor himself.

'The persons at present connected with the London Missionary Society's Chinese Mission are:—

'Robert Morrison, D.D.; Walter Henry Medhurst, on Java; Samuel Kidd, Java, sick, in England; Jacob Tomlin, at the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca; and Samuel Dyer, at Penang; Leang-Afa, native teacher; Kew-Agang, assistant to Leang-Afa, and lithographic printer; and Le-Asin, assistant to Leang-Afa.

'Only ten persons have been baptized, of whom the three above named are part. The two first owed their religious impressions to the late Dr. Milne, at the Anglo-

Chinese College, where they were printers. Another was a student, and is still retained in the College.'

At the close of 1833 Mrs. Morrison and her children were compelled by ill health to return to England. The East India Company's charter had lapsed, and Dr. Morrison's post was abolished. But he was appointed Government translator under Lord Napier, and thus anxieties on pecuniary grounds were removed. During 1833 trouble had also arisen through Roman Catholic influence, and the press work was suppressed for a time. Morrison had, however, been greatly cheered and sustained by E. C. Bridgman, a missionary of the American Board, who had been sent out to carry on the work in Macao. On July 15, 1834, Lord Napier landed at Macao. On the 16th a meeting of all the Factory officials was held, and at this the various appointments were announced. Morrison wrote :—

'I am to be styled "Chinese Secretary and Interpreter," and to have £1,300 a year, without any allowances whatever —for domine, or house-rent, or anything else. I am to wear a vice-consul's coat, with king's buttons, when I can get one! Government will pay one hundred dollars per month to the College, instead of the Company. His Lordship asked whether I accepted of the appointment or not. I told him at once, that I did. Pray for me, that I may be faithful to my blessed Saviour in the new place I have to occupy. It is rather an anomalous one for a missionary. A vice-consul's uniform instead of the preaching gown! People congratulate me. They view it, I believe, as a provision for my family, and in that sense congratulate me. But man, at his best estate, is altogether vanity.'

Lord Napier removed almost immediately to Canton. Dr. Morrison accompanied him, but was seized with serious illness, and died there on August 1, 1834. Thus closed the arduous useful life of China's pioneer missionary. He had laboured for twenty-seven years in the face of almost every discouragement short of violent expulsion from the country. He had accomplished, almost single-handed, three great tasks—the Chinese Dictionary, the establishment of the

Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, and the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the book-language of China. A stormy seven years followed his death, and then the ever-increasing number of the workers and ever-widening stream of Christian influence began to flow into that vast land, populated by over three hundred millions of heathen.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Journals, and Official Reports; *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*, by his Widow, 2 vols. London. 1839.]

CHAPTER XX

THE ULTRA-GANGES MISSION

DURING the years 1808 to 1842 it was impossible for missionaries to gain a footing in China itself, and to enjoy there any liberty for preaching and for Christian work. As we have seen, the refusal of the Chinese authorities to permit Milne to reside in either Macao or Canton led Morrison to originate what came to be known as the Ultra-Ganges Mission. The plan was to choose places frequented by Chinese, as near to China as possible, and make the work there carried on a base for successful work in China when the time should come, as Morrison firmly believed it would, for China to be thrown open to the Gospel. Malacca was chosen, and Milne settled there in 1815, as the head quarters of the mission, and the other stations were Amboyna for a time, Batavia, Penang, and Singapore.

1. MALACCA. William Milne, to whom there has necessarily been frequent reference in the previous chapter, was a colleague after Morrison's heart, and the friendship which developed between them was very loving and helpful in its influence upon both of these ardent and able missionaries, Milne was an Aberdeen man, and was born in 1785. He became a member of the church at Huntly in 1804. After he had offered himself to the Society, he, like Morrison, was sent to Dr. Bogue at Gosport, and in 1812 he was

appointed to China. He reached Macao July 4, 1813, and we have narrated the events which led Morrison to suggest, and Milne to acquiesce in, removal to Malacca.

Milne was a man of unusual gifts, of great force of character, and of an intense spirituality. During the voyage out he pondered long and deeply the question, 'What ought I to know of the Chinese to teach them Christ and His salvation?' He drew up a list of twenty-one questions relative to their religion and manners[1], and over these he constantly prayed and meditated. He also drew up three rules for the guidance of his studies:—

'1. Never to spend time in seeking to know that which cannot be known by the utmost labour in this life; and which, in half an hour, may be fully known in eternity.

'2. Never to spend time in seeking for that which, when attained, cannot serve the interests of rational beings and the glory of God.

'3. Whatever knowledge or talent is attained, let it be devoted to the service of God and the interest of the Gospel[2].'

To the acquisition of Chinese he gave the whole strength of his mind, and he thus describes the phenomenal progress which he was enabled to make in this difficult duty:—

'I resolved that, in as far as it should please God to give me bodily health, I would labour to the utmost of my strength, and not be discouraged if my progress should be very slow. I had the aid of Dr. Morrison's writings on the Chinese language, of his experience acquired through a period of six years, and hoped to enjoy his personal instructions for a considerable time. But, on the second or third day after I began, a verbal order was sent from the (then) Portuguese Governor of Macao, commanding me to leave the settlement in eight days; which was shortly after followed by another message, ordering me to go on board a vessel that was then going out of port.

'I accordingly left Macao on the 20th July (Mrs. Milne

[1] *Life and Opinions of Rev. William Milne, D.D.*, by Robert Philip, p. 99.
[2] *Life of Milne*, p. 103.

being allowed to remain with our friends), and went in a small boat to Canton, where I remained the ensuing season; enjoying that hospitality among the heathen, which had been denied in a Christian colony!

'For some time I continued labouring at the language in Canton, with but little assistance, till Dr. Morrison came up with the factory, when I enjoyed the benefits of his tuition for about three months. Not considering myself a competent judge of the methods proper for acquiring the singular and difficult language of China, I resigned myself entirely to his direction; a measure which I have ever had the highest cause to be satisfied with. He suggested the importance of laying aside for a time almost every other study, and spending the whole strength of body and mind in one pursuit, viz. that of the language. The whole day, from morning till late at night, was accordingly employed in Chinese studies.'

By these methods Milne made rapid progress, even though in 1814 he wrote:—

'To acquire the Chinese is a work for men with bodies of brass, lungs of steel, heads of oak, hands of spring-steel, eyes of eagles, hearts of apostles, memories of angels, and lives of Methuselah! Still, I make a little progress. I hope, if not to be master, yet to gain as much as will suit the purposes of a missionary.'

It had long been plain to Morrison that little or no direct evangelistic work could be done in China while the conditions under which he and other foreigners were tolerated there remained unaltered. Consequently the conviction grew in his mind that a station frequented by Chinese and as near as possible to China should be found, and a strong mission established there. Milne's voyage of discovery is described on p. 413. Upon his return Milne and Morrison were together for some time at Canton, and there, in 1815, greatly aided by Morrison, Milne printed a Life of Christ in Chinese. Soon after this was completed the resolution to begin the new mission was acted upon. T. S. Raffles, the Governor, and other influential residents in Java were

so friendly to the enterprise that at first Batavia was contemplated as the permanent centre: but finally Malacca was chosen [1], because it was in readier communication with other parts, and was a healthier site. When Milne reached Malacca he found the Dutch church there without a pastor. He declined their urgent invitation to accept the pastorate, but he agreed, until their new minister came, to preach to them once a week. For this service the Government granted a small salary, and in this way, as Milne considered it a duty to save the Directors every possible expense, he for two whole years maintained himself at Malacca without drawing upon the Society's funds at all. A school for Chinese children was opened August 5, 1815, and upon the same day the first number of a periodical in Chinese, called *The Chinese Monthly Magazine*, was issued. The general work of the mission followed these lines:—

'In the first year of the mission, regular services were begun on the week days, and on the Sabbaths. Every morning the Chinese domestics, workmen, and scholars met for Christian worship. A portion of the New Testament, or of such other books as had then been printed, was read, and short practical remarks made on it; after which prayer was offered up. On Sabbaths, this morning exercise was postponed till midday, in consequence of having to preach in the Dutch church at ten o'clock. At one o'clock, the Chinese Scriptures were read, and something in form of an exhortation, longer than that usual on week days, was delivered. At half-past three, the scholars were examined and heard repeat their catechism. About five, Mr. Milne frequently spent an hour in town distributing tracts, or conversing with the heathen. At eight o'clock, the Scriptures were again read, remarks made on them, and a short prayer concluded the service. The number of hearers was always small—sometimes one, two, four, &c., from the neighbouring streets, joined the regular attendants, and twenty grown persons was the largest number that attended. Three, five, or eight were the

[1] For regulations, twelve in number, see *Life of Milne*, p. 175 et seq.

ordinary number of adult hearers. The others came occasionally; some from curiosity, some perhaps from a wish to be employed. When the curiosity of the former was satisfied, and the latter perceived that there was no worldly gain proposed to their view, they came but seldom. But from whatever motive they came, the preacher was always glad to see them, knowing that the heathen never attend to the Gospel at first from sincere attachment to the truth.

'In dispensing oral instruction to the few heathen that attended, Mr. Milne found the catechism and tracts, composed by his colleague, of great assistance. Written in a plain style, and free from the stiffness which generally adheres to translations, these tracts were easily understood by the heathen: and a page or two often furnished the ground of the exhortations addressed to them. He placed a copy before each individual, and went over the portion selected for the occasion, amplifying and enlarging where either his own small stock of Chinese words would admit, or where the subject required most illustration.

'The variety of dialect that was found to prevail among the Chinese, constituted a great difficulty in the communication of knowledge. The Fokïen dialect was spoken by the greater part; that of Canton, by a considerable number; and the Mandarin or Court dialect, though understood by a few, was not generally spoken. The first, Mr. Milne had had no opportunity of learning; the second, he could speak but imperfectly; to the third, he had paid most attention. Thus, when going among the people, in one house the chief part of what was said was understood; in the next, perhaps a half; and in a third, not more than a few sentences. In addressing a small company of fifteen or twenty persons, a knowledge of two dialects is in many instances necessary in order to impart instruction with effect to all[1].'

It was only natural that, whilst so much was being attempted on behalf of the Chinese, the claims of the Malay natives should not be overlooked, and in September, 1815,

[1] *Life of Milne*, pp. 200–206.

Mr. C. H. Thomsen, who had been appointed specially for this work, reached Malacca. In 1816, aided by the Government, suitable premises for the mission were obtained near the western gate of Malacca.

On November 3, 1816, Milne baptized Leang A-fă, the Chinese printer. This convert deserves more than a passing notice, not only because he was the first baptized, but also because of his long and devoted service to the mission.

'He belongs to the province of Canton, is a single man, about thirty-three years of age, and has no relatives living, except a father and brother. He can read a plain book with ease, but has had only a common education; is of a steady character, and frugal habits. He came with me from Canton, in April, 1815, to Malacca. He told me the other day that he was employed in printing my *Treatise on the Life of Christ*. Whether he had been seriously impressed with the contents of that book, I am not able to say.

'After continuing in Malacca four years, A-Fa returned to China to visit his family and friends, and when he saw them wholly given to idolatry his heart was moved to pity. He earnestly desired their conversion and their salvation; and with a view to effect this purpose, he prepared a little tract, in which he embodied a few of the clearest and most important portions of Scripture respecting idolatry and the need of repentance and faith in Christ; and having submitted the manuscript to Dr. Morrison, he engraved the blocks and printed two hundred copies, intending to circulate them among his acquaintance. But, unexpectedly, the policemen, having been informed of what he was doing, seized him and his books and blocks, and carried them all away to the public courts; the books and blocks they destroyed, and A-Fa they shut up in prison. In that situation he began to review his past conduct, and the course he was attempting to pursue, in order to promulgate the doctrine of Christ among his countrymen. Though he was conscious of having done right in preparing his "little book," yet, at the same time, he was thoroughly

convinced that it was on account of his sins that he was called to suffer persecution, and he viewed his imprisonment as a just chastisement inflicted by his heavenly Father, to whom he earnestly prayed for the pardon of his sins.

'He had been only a few days in prison, when Dr. Morrison heard of it, and immediately interceded with influential native merchants, that they would endeavour to arrange with the officers of Government and procure his release. This, however, was not done until, by the order of the magistrate, he had received thirty blows with the large bamboo. This instrument of punishment is five and a half feet long, about two inches broad, and one inch and a quarter thick; and so severely applied in the case of A-Fa, as to cause the blood to flow down from both of his legs. After they had thus beaten him and received a considerable sum of money, about seventy dollars, they set him at liberty.

'The effect of this imprisonment and beating, which took place in Canton, was to make him more humble and more devoted to the cause of Christ. Soon after he was released from prison, he went to visit his family in the country, where he spent forty days. He then returned to Malacca, continued there for a year, and then came again to China to visit his family. He was especially interested in the spiritual welfare of his wife, and was exceedingly anxious for her conversion; he read to her the Scriptures; prayed with and for her; and at length, by his instrumentality, she was brought to believe in Jesus, and was baptized by her husband. "From that time," says A-Fa, "we have been of one heart and one mind in worshipping and serving the one only living and true God, the Ruler and Governor of the universe, and in endeavouring to turn those around us from the service of dumb idols."

'He became anxious also for the conversion of his countrymen, and desired to make them acquainted with that Gospel which he had found so precious to his own soul. To prepare himself in some measure to effect that object, he went again, with the consent of his wife, to

Malacca, where he was received and cherished as a brother by Dr. Milne. He resolved now to apply himself with new assiduity to his work, and especially to the study of the Bible.

'Dr. Milne died in 1822, and having no one at Malacca on whom he could depend, A-Fa returned once more to his family, all the members of which he found in health.

'Still further to qualify himself to preach the Gospel, A-Fa continued his studies with Dr. Morrison for about two or three years, who then, having sufficient evidence of his qualification for an evangelist, "laid hands on me, and ordained me," he says, "to publish to men everywhere the true Gospel."'

In 1819 Mr. Medhurst arrived as Milne's colleague, and on March 20 of that year Mrs. Milne died. She was a woman of deep earnest piety, of an enthusiastic and devoted missionary spirit, and her loss was irreparable to her husband, and also a great blow to the mission. Dr. Milne, although his own health was fast failing, continued his manifold missionary labours with great energy and devotion. This spirit seemed to strengthen daily as his bodily strength decayed, and on June 2, 1822, he passed away. He had been spared for only nine years' unremitting toil and hard experience. But in that period, brief as it was, he linked his name imperishably with the history of Christian influence in China.

Prior to Milne's death several missionaries had been sent out to strengthen the Ultra-Ganges Mission. W. H. Medhurst began his forty years' service in 1816, and reached Malacca in June, 1817. Sent out originally as a printer, he was ordained at Malacca in April, 1819. In January of that year he had visited Penang, to arrange for the opening of a station there. Early in 1822 he removed to Batavia. From the death of Milne in 1822 to the arrival of Legge in 1840 mission-work at Malacca was carried on by a succession of workers, none of whom achieved results of a striking nature. The various departments of work were steadily maintained. These embraced first and foremost

a vast amount of press work—the production in Chinese and Malay of Scriptures and portions, books, leaflets and periodicals, and the circulation of these throughout the Straits Settlements and, as far as possible, in China. Then much time was given to preaching in English, Chinese, and Malay, and visitation, and personal intercourse with the heathen. Much elementary educational work was also accomplished. In Malacca itself the succession of workers was: G. H. Huttman, printer, 1820–1824; James Humphreys, 1821–1829; D. Collie, 1822–1828; S. Kidd, 1824–1832; J. Tomlin, 1826–1832; S. Dyer, 1835–1843; J. Hughes, 1830–1836; John Evans, 1833–1840; and H. C. Werth, 1839–1841. Humphreys, Collie, Kidd, and Evans all took an active share in the work of the Anglo-Chinese College. In 1843 the opening of the Chinese ports led to the establishment in Hong Kong of an Anglo-Chinese Theological Seminary, of which James Legge became Principal. This brought the college and the mission at Malacca to an end. The long-looked-for entrance into the great heathen empire had been opened, and the preparatory mission came to a close.

2. Java and Amboyna. In 1814 the Directors decided to begin a mission in Java, which from 1811 to 1818 was under British control. They did this under 'a strong desire to become the instruments of communicating to the inhabitants the blessings of the Gospel, especially as there are multitudes of Chinese resident there among whom, it is hoped, the Scriptures translated by Mr. Morrison may be freely circulated.' Joseph Kane, a native of Holland, and two Germans, Gottlob Bruckner and J. C. Supper, who had been educated by the Netherlands Society at Berlin and Rotterdam for service in India, were prevented from proceeding thither. They were sent over to London, were accepted by the Directors, sent for a time to Gosport, 'greatly to their advantage,' and appointed in 1813 to begin a mission at Batavia. They reached Batavia, March 26, 1814. Bruckner became assistant to an aged minister

at Samarang, and in 1816 became a Baptist and entered their service. Supper died in 1816. Kane became minister of a Dutch church at Amboyna, and also did missionary work, especially in the circulation of the Scriptures and of Christian literature. In 1828 his name drops out of the records, and for some years prior to this he had received no financial aid from the Society. Mr. Slater was appointed to this mission in 1819, and settled at Batavia. In 1823 his health was so impaired that he had to leave the work in the hands of Mr. Medhurst, who had removed thither from Penang in 1821. Medhurst reached Batavia in January, 1822, and he left it to open the Shanghai Mission in 1843. During those twenty-one years he carried on a quiet, undemonstrative work among the Chinese and Malays in the great city of Batavia, at the same time perfecting those Chinese studies which in later years enabled him to render such good service in Bible translation. From 1828 to 1843 he was assisted by Mr. W. Young. In 1843 the Batavia Mission came to an end.

3. PENANG. Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales' Island, had been early considered by Morrison and Milne a suitable site for missionary labours. Two stations were opened in 1820: one at James Town, under the care of Mr. Medhurst; the other at George Town, under the care of Mr. Beighton and Mr. Ince. At the latter station a printing-office was established for the preparation of leaflets, tracts, and books in Malay and in English. Towards the end of 1821 Mr. Medhurst removed to Batavia in order to assist Mr. Slater in the work there. A chapel was opened in George Town in June, 1824, and in the same year Mr. Ince died. Mr. Beighton superintended the Penang Mission until his death in 1844, thus giving more than a quarter of a century's labour to work among the Malays. He made great use of the press, and translated the *Pilgrim's Progress* into the vernacular. He was assisted chiefly by S. Dyer, 1827–1835; Evan Davies, 1835–1839; and by Alexander Stronach, 1839–1844, in which year

Mr. Beighton died and the Penang Mission came to an end.

4. SINGAPORE. This station was occupied in 1819 by Mr. Milton, who was much aided in the work of beginning the mission by Sir Stamford Raffles, Colonel Farquhar, and other residents. He was joined in 1822 by Mr. Thomsen, who came to supervise the work among the Malays. Mr. Tomlin reached Singapore in 1827, and in 1828 with Gutzlaff visited Bangkok with the view of establishing a mission in Siam. Ill health compelled his return in 1829. In 1831 the Directors appointed two missionaries, O. T. Dobbin and J. Paterson, to begin a regular mission in Siam, and in 1830 Mr. and Mrs. Gutzlaff had returned to Bangkok. But deaths in the Calcutta Mission so weakened the staff there that Messrs. Dobbin and Paterson had to relinquish the plan of going to Siam and go to North India instead. The project of a Siam Mission was never accomplished. Singapore was under the care of John Stronach from 1838 to 1844. The Directors in 1840 appointed Mr. B. P. Keasberry Malay missionary at Singapore, but in 1847 the mission was closed.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Journals, and Official Reports; *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China, now in connection with the Ultra-Ganges Mission*, by William Milne, Malacca, 1820; *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne, D.D.*, by Robert Philip, London, 1840.]

CHAPTER XXI

CHINA OPENED TO THE GOSPEL

We have already indicated the hatred manifested by the Chinese Government to all Western influences. A conflict between the power behind the East India Company and the Chinese State was only a matter of time. We have no space to trace fully the events that led to war between Great Britain and China, but some reference must be made to them. After Dr. Morrison's death in 1834, for some years the Directors found it impossible to establish a successor to him in Macao. Christian work was carried on by Leang A-fă, and by two other Chinese converts, Kew-A-gang or Kew A-gong, as he is usually named, and one other. Mr. J. R. Morrison, who held a civil appointment, did what he could to aid these men ; but a fierce persecution broke out, the circulation of Christian books was prohibited, the native agents were imprisoned, and for some years Leang A-fă had to reside at Malacca.

During these years China and Great Britain were drifting into relations that could end only in warfare. There was arrogant ignorance on the one side, with a sublime contempt for everything 'barbarian' ; on the other, an eye to self-interest through trade which for years brought about the patient endurance of restriction, insult, and intolerance, but at the same time prepared the way for the inevitable assault upon those barriers of ignorance and exclusiveness within which China was entrenched. In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was abolished, trade was thrown open to all British subjects, and a special officer was

appointed to defend their rights and to try all cases affecting them by the laws of Britain. This involved an assertion intolerable to the Chinaman, that his emperor and the Queen of England were equal sovereigns. It was with this issue that Lord Napier's mission was entrusted. He at once came into collision with the Viceroy of Canton, Lu, who ordered the merchants to cease trading with the British. This led to the Bogue forts firing upon two British frigates. Lord Napier died in Macao in October, 1834.

The new conditions of trade led to much conflict with Chinese officials, and also to an increase of opium smuggling. Early in 1839 the Chinese Government, after a good deal of internal conflict, not on moral but on purely fiscal grounds, finally decided to suppress the opium trade. To carry out this decree, Admiral Lin was sent to Canton. He was an able man, and strong-willed, but haughty, supremely disdainful of all foreigners, and sure of his ability to settle matters along the line of Chinese wishes. The action of Lin, which appears to have been due to an honest desire to put an end to the detestable opium traffic, led the English community at length to leave Canton, and retire to Macao; but, finding their presence was not acceptable to the Portuguese, they retired to Hong Kong. Lin ordered all British ships to leave China in three days or he would destroy them with fire ships. This led two English frigates to attack, and to utterly rout, a fleet of twenty-nine junks.

The British Government in 1840 sent seventeen men-of-war and 4,000 soldiers to China. These reached Hong Kong in June. Canton was blockaded, and Ting-hai, on the island of Chusan, occupied. A letter from Lord Palmerston was also sent to the Emperor of China. But negotiations dragged on, and finally on January 6, 1841, Captain Elliott sent an ultimatum to Ki-shen, the imperial commissioner, that unless matters were settled the next day he should fire upon the Bogue forts. This was done, and the forts seized. The Chinese at once proposed an armistice, and on January 20, 1841, the treaty of Chuen-pi

was concluded, by which it was agreed that the large quantity of opium which had been seized by Lin should be paid for, that official intercourse between the English and Chinese should be conducted on equal terms, and that Canton should be opened for trade in February. But the emperor repudiated the treaty, war was resumed, and the British fleet forced its way to Canton. Warfare and negotiation alternated, and during 1841 Amoy and Ningpo were captured; and in 1842 Wusung and Shanghai were taken. Nanking also was besieged, and finally in August. 1842, the Chinese came to terms. A treaty was signed, of which the chief conditions, so far as they affected missionary work, were the opening of Canton, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to Englishmen for trade and residence, they to be under British consular officers; and the cession of Hong Kong. In 1844 the emperor issued a decree that Christianity should be tolerated throughout the empire, and that no person professing it should be molested in the exercise of his religion. These events could not fail to lead to an enormous development of missionary work in China, and to the consideration of that we now turn.

In 1838 Mr. William Lockhart, F.R.C.S., was appointed as medical missionary to Canton. He found it impossible to establish himself there, so in March, 1839, he removed to Macao and opened a hospital there. But his stay was brief, for in August the Chinese authorities compelled all British residents to leave Macao. Dr. Lockhart went first to Batavia, and in June, 1840, returned to Macao. In December, 1839. Mr. W. C. Milne, M.A., son of Dr. Milne, and Dr. Benjamin Hobson, medical missionary, reached Macao. They took up residence, with Mr. Bridgman, the missionary of the American Board, at the hospital. When Dr. Lockhart returned to Macao, he and Dr. Hobson carried on the hospital work, and Mr. Milne removed to the Morrison Education Society's house, this being one of the institutions which Dr. Morrison had founded. A joint letter from the missionaries, dated August 31, 1840, gives a hopeful picture of missionary pros-

pects at that time. It also gives the views of a capable body of men, who were at the centre of political disturbance, and who had gained some knowledge of the Chinese and of their language. These men judged the burning questions of the hour, not from the standpoint of personal gain, political passion, or commercial greed, but from their influence upon the great question how best the Gospel of salvation and love and peace could be made known to the millions of China. This gives their letter exceptional value:—

'We entertain no doubt that the present aspect of affairs in this country is everywhere a subject of deep interest and concern. The events that have occurred, and are expected to occur, will necessarily affect a vast body of merchants and capitalists, the British revenue, the East India Company, and all directly or indirectly engaged in the trade of teas and other Eastern commodities. But the prosperity and welfare of China, its teeming population, and its extensive territory, are alike involved in the present movements and changes. To be insensible or indifferent to what is passing around at such a crisis, would display a most reprehensible apathy.

'But so far from possessing this state of mind, we, as your representatives and agents, and especially as servants of the Most High God, have all our energies awake, and our minds intently occupied in watching, reflecting upon, and comparing, the varied and important changes that are taking place. And although we are labouring under many restrictions and inconveniences in our missionary pursuits, from the troubled scenes around us, we still feel thankful that we are on the spot, and in the field, to avail ourselves of any opportunities of usefulness that may be presented to us. We cannot but believe that God will, in His infinite mercy, overrule all these hostilities to the advancement of His kingdom and glory in this benighted land. We hail the commencement of better days, the appearing of the Sun of Righteousness with healing in His wings; we glory in the anticipation that God is about to reveal

His blessed purposes, and to fulfil His promises concerning this empire. We cherish the soul-inspiring hope, that the prejudices, restrictions, and obstacles which have proved for ages such mighty barriers to missionary efforts, are about to be removed; that its bondage is about to be exchanged for freedom, and its heathenism for a pure, enlightened Christianity.

'We fervently hope and expect that the home Government is so convinced of the illegality and injustice of the opium trade, especially as conducted the last two or three years, as to be prepared and determined to discountenance and suppress it to the utmost of its power. We think that if this forms a part of their official communications with the Chinese, the many existing differences will be more quickly adjusted than is anticipated. But if, instead of this, hard demands are made upon the Chinese for the entire indemnity of losses entailed on the foreign merchants, and if no guarantee is offered to co-operate with them in abolishing the odious traffic, no one can say when peace and amity will be again restored; or what will be the consequence of such a line of proceeding. It is dreadful to think what might happen; for of all scourges and calamities that can befall any nation, none can exceed those which would follow a long course of determined warfare between Great Britain and China.

'Our views of the opium trade we have already expressed to you so frequently, that we feel it unnecessary to repeat them now. We need only observe, that the more we see and hear of its operation and effects, the more convinced we are of its exceeding injury both to the best interests of this people and nation, as well as to the whole foreign community. We deeply regret to state that, in spite of all that has been said against the opium trade, it is still carried on with as much vigour as at any previous time, according to the testimony of accredited persons.

'From the comparatively short time we have been in this country, our experience in missionary work is neces-

sarily limited, and our data circumscribed. Our employment at present is chiefly preparatory—all active missionary exertion being precluded by the disturbances that have arisen. Foreign relations here present a gloomy appearance, and probably will do so for some time; yet the prospects and condition of the Chinese Protestant Mission are by no means disheartening, but upon the whole rather encouraging. We think so on the following grounds:—

'1st. From the number of Christian missionaries in the field; five from the American Board; three from the American Baptists; four from the London Missionary Society; two of the Morrison Education Society; with Mr. and Mrs. Gutzlaff, and Mr. Stanton, who are not connected with any Society, making in all seventeen. Few and insignificant indeed, compared with the hosts they are seeking to operate upon, yet more than at any previous time.

'2ndly. From the experience and knowledge of the Chinese language which several of the missionary body have acquired, fitting them to commence full operations as soon as opportunity offers.

'3rdly. From the variety of means which tend to give efficiency and benefit to the mission. For example, the existence of a good printing establishment; the preparation of elementary books for students in Chinese; the possession of many boxes of tracts and Bibles, ready to be distributed; the education of Chinese youths according to the design of the Morrison Education Society, of which there are ten now under regular instruction, exclusive of some who receive instruction from members of the mission; lastly, the operations of the Medical Missionary Society; all of which, with the blessing of God, will greatly contribute to the firm and successful establishment of this mission.

'4thly. From the unanimity and brotherly feeling which subsists between the different members of the mission —a union which, we trust, will be strengthened and

matured until we constantly feel and act as members of the same body, as one in Christ Jesus.

'5thly. From the prospect which is now opened of commencing a new mission in the Chusan Archipelago.

'6thly. From the improvements and increased facilities of doing good, which we naturally expect will result from British interference, in this as well as other parts of the empire.

'7thly. From the growing interest and spirit of prayer, which we feel assured is experienced by all true Christians on behalf of China.'

By an arrangement between the American and English missionaries in September, 1840, Dr. Lockhart visited the island of Chusan off the coast of China, a little south of Shanghai, then in possession of British troops, with the intention of establishing a medical mission there. On February 15, 1841, he wrote home:—

'I have been endeavouring to carry on my work, as medical missionary, as extensively as possible, by attending to the relief of the numerous patients afflicted with various diseases, who have resorted to my house from every district of this island; from Pooto, and the neighbouring islands; from Chin-hae, Ningpo, and the other portions of the coast near this place; to the amount, as by my register, of more than three thousand different persons; thus affording me an opportunity, by the distribution of books and other means, of spreading over a wide extent the knowledge of the truth and I trust that the Lord will answer my prayers by granting that, through the instrumentality thus brought into exercise, some may be led to know and feel the blessedness of the Gospel, and that true happiness which only is found in the salvation wrought out for us by Christ.

'Besides my daily attendance on those who come to my house, I have traversed on foot nearly the whole of this island, affording relief as far as I could to the sick I met with in the various villages, and distributing far and wide portions of the Scriptures, books, and tracts, to all who

could read, and urging them to attend to the instructions contained therein. Almost daily I have gone alone, or with Mr. Gutzlaff, to the villages and hamlets within a circuit of some miles round the city, speaking to the people, and giving them books. Through these various channels several religious books of different sizes have been placed in the hands of the people, and in all instances they have been well received.'

In consequence of the evacuation of Chusan by the British, on February 24 Dr. Lockhart returned to Macao. The political events referred to above, especially the opening of the ports and the edict of toleration, aroused the most profound attention among Christian people in Great Britain. The *occasion* of the conflict, the forcing of the opium traffic upon a nation apparently unwilling to receive it, with the knowledge of the deadly and debasing influence of the drug, rendered this aspect of affairs abhorrent to them. To this day (1899), Great Britain has to bear the reproach that as a Great Power she compelled China to continue the opium traffic when the Chinese Government were willing to suppress it; and she has never, in her official capacity, since lifted a finger to check the monstrous evils which this trade brings in its train. But on looking at the other side — China at last open to missionary effort, Christianity to be tolerated all over the empire, more openings for Christian labour than there were workers to occupy—these things filled them with devout thankfulness. In the course of 1842 a Special Appeal on behalf of China was issued by the Directors, great meetings were held in many parts of the country, and large funds were raised for this great development of work. In view of these marvellous events the Board passed the following resolutions:—

'1. That with feelings of ardent thankfulness to the God of all grace, the Directors of the London Missionary Society review the measures commenced by their honoured fathers, nearly forty years since, and prosecuted with undeviating constancy by their successors in office, for the introduction

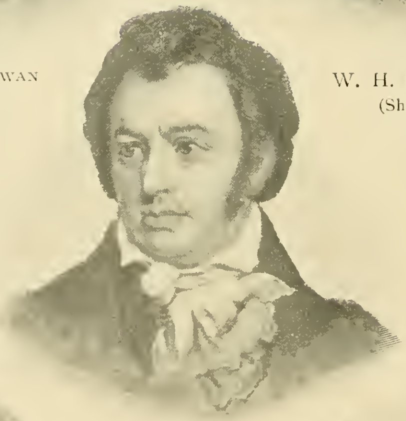
of the blessings of Christianity into the empire of China;—with recollections of hallowed pleasure they record the names and labours of Drs. Morrison and Milne, and their faithful coadjutors, who, amidst gigantic difficulties and discouragements, persevered to the end of their course in their work of faith and labour of love for the salvation of China;—with devout satisfaction they contemplate the accomplishment of that mighty enterprise, devised and principally accomplished by the disinterested and indefatigable Morrison,—the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the language of the many millions of that idolatrous empire;—nor can they fail justly to appreciate that invaluable production of his persevering literary toil, the Chinese Dictionary, by which the future acquisition of that difficult language has been so greatly facilitated;—and, finally, with peculiar pleasure the Directors reflect, that in the later years of the Society's operations (guided and stimulated by the example of their predecessors) the gratifying duty has been assigned to themselves of sending forth a goodly band of faithful missionaries, who, by laborious and persevering application, are now qualified to make known to the Chinese, *in their own tongue*, the wonderful works of God.

'2. That reviewing these protracted preparatory labours, sustained by humble hope and persevering prayer, the Directors cannot but invite the Church of Christ throughout the world, and the friends of the London Missionary Society in particular, to unite in grateful adoration to the God of Missions for the termination of war with China, and for the greatly enlarged facilities, secured by the Treaty of Peace, for the introduction of the multiplied advantages and spiritual blessings of Christianity into vast and populous regions, sealed for past ages against the servants of the only true God, and for the bright prospects presented to our confidence, of the ultimate conversion of China to the faith of Christ.

'3. That, impelled by a sense of the additional obligations thus imposed by the providence of God, the Directors

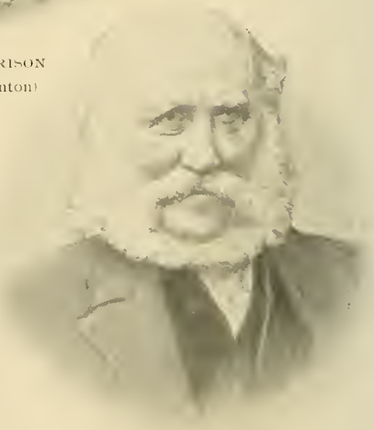
William Swan
(Siberia)

W. H. Medhurst
(Shanghai)



Robert Morrison
(Macao and Canton)

Dr. Legge
(Hong Kong)



Dr. Lockhart
(Shanghai)

solemnly pledge themselves to employ all practicable means for increasing the strength and efficiency of their Chinese Missions, and for adding to the number of the labourers already in the field; fully assured that such enlarged efforts will be sanctioned by the unanimous concurrence of the Society's friends, and generously sustained by their zeal, liberality, and prayers.'

In the furtherance of this policy the Directors decided to remove the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca to Hong Kong, to transfer the missionaries in the Straits Settlements' stations to China, and also largely to increase the staff of their China Mission. All the missionaries connected with the Ultra-Ganges Mission were requested, in December, 1842, to meet in Hong Kong and consult together with reference to the college, and the establishment of mission stations in Hong Kong and in the free ports. In August, 1843, the following missionaries assembled at Hong Kong: Medhurst, Legge, Milne, Hobson, J. Stronach, A. Stronach, and S. Dyer. The Hon. J. R. Morrison was also present. It was decided that the Anglo-Chinese College should, in future, have as one of its departments a Theological Seminary for the training of native evangelists, and that Dr. Legge should remove to Hong Kong to superintend its work. Dr. Legge brought with him three Chinese assistants, A-Gong, Tsun-Sheen, and A-Sun. Leang A-fă also came to Hong Kong. Premises were obtained for a mission proper, and in addition to services in Chinese, an English service for the benefit of residents was established. A special building was erected for these services. Dr. Hobson had previously, in the month of May, established a medical mission. Mr. Milne in May, 1842, went to Chusan, and thence to Ningpo, where he spent several months. The conference further decided that Dr. Medhurst and Dr. Lockhart, with possibly Mr. Milne, should open a mission in Shanghai. The question of a thorough revision, or rather a new translation of the Chinese New Testament, and a translation of the Old Testament, in accordance with the New was considered, and

it was resolved to approach the Bible Society with a view to their carrying the great undertaking through. The printing-press from Singapore was removed to Hong Kong. By 1850 the Chinese Mission was fairly established on its new lines, and stations at Hong Kong, Amoy, and Shanghai were all occupied, and in full work.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Journals, and Official Reports; *A History of China*, by John Macgowan, London, 1897.]

CHAPTER XXII

SOUTHERN CHINA: HONG KONG, CANTON AND AMOY: 1845–1895

THE work done in the vast empire of China, in connection with the London Missionary Society, falls naturally under three great geographical divisions: Southern, Central, and Northern China. So enormous is the area covered by each of these divisions, so diverse are the provincial characteristics, and even languages, that there can be little co-operation and inter-communication between the workers in these three divisions. To present that bird's-eye view of what has been accomplished, and is being carried on at the end of the century, which is all that is possible here, it may be well to consider them in the order of their missionary occupation. And from this point of view, Southern China first claims our attention.

'South China, as defined by the Chinese, comprises four of the eighteen provinces into which the empire is divided. These are Kwong Tung, Broad East; Kwong Sai, Broad West; Wan Nam, Cloudy South, i.e. south of the Cloud Mountains; and Kwai Chau, Noble Region. The extent of territory known by this name may for purposes of comparison be stated thus: Kwong Tung and Kwong Sai together are about twice the size of England, Wan Nam is twice the size of England, and Kwai Chau twice the size of Scotland [1].

'If the native census on which European authorities have based estimates of population be accepted, South

[1] These names are given in Cantonese.

China is inhabited by some thirty-six million people, or, in round numbers, one-tenth of the inhabitants of the empire belong to these four provinces. Of this number, more than one-half are found within the Kwong Tung border line. The magnificent water-way of the great West river is destined ere long to become a "highway of the nations." It connects Kwong Tung with Kwong Sai, and Kwong Sai with Wan Nam, being navigable for large native house-boats as far as Pak Shek, on the Wan Nam border, 800 miles from Canton. In addition to the advantages offered by the West river, excellent facilities for travelling inland in an easterly direction for more than 200 miles from Canton are afforded by the East river, and northward by the two branches of the North river, to the limits of the province, 300 miles from the capital. Kwong Tung and Kwong Sai are further intersected in many directions by navigable streams, and in what is known as the rice delta of Kwong Tung there is little short of a network of such channels. This is a circumstance favourable to the purpose which the Christian preacher or teacher has in view, seeing that it gives him ready and convenient access to the largest centres of population. To the whole of South China the point of entrance for missions is Canton. At this point the main rivers converge, and the commanding position of this great emporium of commerce, as respects not Kwong Tung only, but also the neighbouring provinces, makes it a chief centre for most of the Protestant missionary societies having agencies in this part of the empire.

'The Southern, as distinguished from the Northern Chinese, exhibit superior energy, enterprise, and business capacity. These qualities account for the presence in large numbers at the coast ports of Cantonese traders, and for the tide of emigration which has hitherto flowed steadily from the country round about Canton, in spite of restrictive legislation in Australia and America. The Southern Chinese have long been notorious for hatred to foreigners and opposition to Christianity. This last remark is not,

however, true of the Hakkas, who inhabit Poklo and the districts bordering on the upper reaches of the East river. These latter people exhibit marked peculiarities which distinguish them from the Puntis or Cantonese.

'The Kwong Tung and Kwong Sai provinces have been for missionary purposes well explored. On the banks of the river population is concentrated; there are comparatively few places of importance not accessible by water. Missionaries and their associates avail themselves of the unrivalled facilities offered by the river boats. These craft are something more than the mere "houseboats," they are made to serve as travelling book depositories, as reception rooms for visitors, and as inquiry rooms for converts and adherents. Foreigners and their native assistants have lived in these boats for weeks, and even months, preaching regularly in the chief towns, and circulating widely portions of the Bible and Christian books. As a consequence the missionary and colporteur are now well known, and not unfrequently well received; multitudes have been made acquainted with the leading facts of Christianity. An urgent need of this field is to maintain and further develop this admirable system of itinerancy. When visits are oft repeated friendly relations are established; when Christian books and tracts are disposed of judiciously real interest in the Gospel is awakened[1].'

We will now glance at the history of the three great mission centres of Southern China occupied by the Society.

1. Hong Kong. Hong Kong is unlike every other place in which the Society is carrying on missionary operations in China. The other stations are situated in the midst of vast districts of indefinite size and with dense populations around them on every hand. They are under Chinese rule, and are affected by all the influences for good or for

[1] From a paper by W. T. Pearce, of Hong Kong, on 'The Work in South China,' *Founders' Week Convention Report*, p. 261.

evil which are operating in the Chinese Empire. Hong Kong has the advantage of being a British colony, and the population feels the presence of a large European element. The life of the natives under these circumstances is more free, and, owing to European influence, their ideas are liberalized; and British rule affords a security for life and work which is of very great value. The settlement is on an island not a mile from the Chinese coast. The native population amounts to about 250,000, but the number seems to be constantly increasing. The sphere of mission operations is practically limited by the size of the island, although the Basel Missionary Society is extending its work to a district on the mainland. The importance of the mission at Hong Kong is, however, not by any means to be estimated by the circumscribed area of its operations, nor by the comparatively limited number of people amongst whom the work is being carried on. Hong Kong is probably the most important centre of Western life in the Eastern seas. It is the first port of call, and the place through which all passengers from the West to all parts of China and Japan usually pass. It is also a centre from which Chinamen start on their emigration to foreign ports. The opportunities of usefulness, therefore, among a liberalized and constantly active native community are exceptionally great and valuable.

The mission here was firmly established in working order by 1850. The staff in that year consisted of Dr. Legge, B. Kay, T. Gilfillan, and Mr. H. J. Hirschberg as medical missionary. Mr. W. Gillespie reached Hong Kong in 1844. With Dr. Hobson in 1845 he made the unsuccessful attempt to establish a station at Canton. He visited England in 1847, and returned to Hong Kong in 1849, but ceased to be connected with the Society in 1850. Mr. J. F. Cleland also reached Hong Kong in 1846, and there superintended the press, and preached in the English chapel; but he also in 1850 left the mission. Dr. Hobson had charge of the hospital work at Hong Kong in 1843; but in 1848 removed to Canton, the station for which from the first he had been

destined. There in the western suburbs he carried on medical missionary work, but no European was at that time allowed to enter the native city. He was succeeded in Hong Kong by Mr. H. J. Hirschberg, who took charge of the hospital from 1847 to 1853. Neither Mr. Kay nor Mr. Gilfillan was enabled to render any lengthy service; the former retired to Sydney in 1849, and the latter returned to England in 1851. John Chalmers reached Hong Kong in 1852, and laboured there until 1859, superintending the press, and in Dr. Legge's absence carrying on the mission. In 1859 he removed to Canton.

Mission work at each of the important stations in China presents similar features. Preaching to and evangelistic work among the Chinese, a chapel for English services, a hospital, educational work, and printing—these have been sustained at all. To set forth minutely the buildings opened, the sometimes rapid changes of staff, the manifold incidents of the fifty years' labour at these stations, would only weary the reader, even if it were practicable. So here, as elsewhere, we concentrate our attention upon main features of the work, and the leading personalities, whether generally known or unknown.

It must be borne in mind that work in the British Colony of Hong Kong has been carried on under more favourable conditions in some respects than in Canton and Amoy. But as the mission has always devoted its energies to the highest interests of the Chinese, what is true of it, is in the main, true of all.

The Chinese School for Boys, and the Seminary connected with it, were in the early years of the mission a main part of Dr. Legge's work. He continued the senior missionary in charge of Hong Kong until 1873. In 1861 he issued the first volume of his great work—the Chinese Classics, ultimately issued in seven volumes by Messrs. Trübner and Co. In 1870 the University of Aberdeen conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. From 1870 to 1873 he was pastor of Union Chapel, and he finally returned to England in 1873. He had ceased to

be supported from the Society's funds since 1867. Soon after his return to England he was appointed Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, an appointment which he held until his death in 1898. For many years Tsun-Sheen, the native pastor, was his right-hand man.

Mr. Macgowan, at the time of Dr. Legge's death, thus referred to his work as a great Chinese scholar:—

'His scholarly instincts, as well as his training at Aberdeen, had led him, in the course of his classical studies, to conceive the idea of mastering the Chinese classics. He was not content with being able simply to acquire the spoken language of the Chinese that crowded into the new colony; he would study the written characters in which the books are printed, and thus he would be able to read for himself the writings of the ancient sages of China. Dr. Legge was a hard student. Specially favoured by nature with a splendid constitution, he could work longer hours and do with less sleep than most men. To the majority of students the study of Chinese has a fascination that only those who have engaged in it can understand. Soon it became to him an absorbing passion; for as he pored over the words and thoughts of men that lived more than twenty centuries ago, he became dimly conscious that his life-work would, in some way or other, be intimately associated with them.

'As his knowledge of the language grew, and his acquaintance with the writings of Confucius and Mencius became more thorough, the purpose to translate these into English gradually fixed itself in his mind. There are two things that are absolutely essential to those who would understand the Chinese people, and these are, that they should study the sacred writings of China, and that they should read the standard history of the country as it has been written by native historians.

'Dr. Legge determined that the first of these should be made possible by translating them into his own language, and thus bringing them within the reach of every English reader that cared to know about them. This was a splendid conception of his. The Chinese classics reveal the mind

of China more than any other books that have ever been written in that great empire. They stand, in fact, in very much the same relation to the people of China as the Bible does to the English. They have had to do with the moulding and development of the Chinese character. From early times down to the present they have been the only school-books that could be tolerated in any school throughout the eighteen provinces. Every man that professes to be a scholar knows them off by heart, and even those whose education is most imperfect will assume an appearance of culture by quoting sentences that they have learned from them on all possible occasions. They are the royal road to distinction and honours in the State, for only the men that have got their degrees by passing examinations in them can hope for high official appointments. The thoughts and teachings of these books have so permeated society, that every man in China is a Confucianist first, no matter what else he may be after. Dr. Legge felt that, in translating them from the difficult and mysterious characters in which they were written into the language of the West, he would be benefiting the Chinese by letting the world know what kind of a people they were. This mighty task that he calmly set before himself he accomplished with signal success. Only those who know Chinese can appreciate how thoroughly he has done his work. The writings of the men who have influenced more people than any other that we know of have been revealed by the industry and genius of this great scholar to the readers of all countries; and though many passages in them lose their force and power by being put into a Western garb, we can never complain that the translator has failed to give an honest rendering of them from Chinese into English.'

The staff in 1870, in addition to Dr. Legge and Tsun-Sheen, comprised F. S. Turner, B.A., who, after long service at Canton, laboured in Hong Kong from 1867 to 1872. When he came to Hong Kong, Mr. Anderson of that mission took his place in Canton. Mr. E. J. Eitel, who left the Basel Mission and joined the London Mis-

sionary Society in 1865, taking charge of Pok-lo, afterwards, in 1872, relieved Mr. Turner in Hong Kong, and continued in charge there till 1879, when he became Government Inspector of Schools.

In 1880 there were, in addition to Dr. Chalmers, J. C. Edge, Miss Rowe, and Miss Jackson. Mr. Edge reached Hong Kong in 1874, and laboured there until his death in 1886. Miss Rowe, who went out originally under the Wesleyan Missionary Society, to Canton, was accepted by the London Missionary Society and appointed to Hong Kong. There for the last twenty years, except for two health visits to England, and a little over a year at Chuk Yuen near Pok-lo, she has continued ever since. Miss Jackson worked at Hong Kong from 1879 to 1882 when she became the wife of Mr. Arnold Foster, of Hankow.

As a general description of Hong Kong work, we may quote the words of Mr. T. W. Pearce in 1895:—

'In this colony we have preaching-hall and hospital, church and school, Bible depôt and industrial workshop. No agency exists on the mainland which has not its counterpart in Hong Kong. Facilities for education are granted by the Colonial Government; the philanthropy of the foreign and native communities provides for mission hospitals; whilst the resources of the native church support industrial mission effort. China cannot fail to learn from Hong Kong. The "transforming influences" wrought by British enterprise constitute an instructive and impressive object lesson. To say that this lesson is lost is to deny to the people of South China certain of their most noteworthy and distinguishing characteristics. Let it be granted that the time has not come to apply this lesson of the past fifty years, the old-time bondage of fifty centuries being not yet at an end, Hong Kong is in the meantime doing silently and effectually its part in preparation for the new era. Each preaching-hall and hospital, church and school, Bible depôt and industrial workshop, hastens the day of God's Kingdom on earth.'

From the first medical missionary work has been one of

the most highly developed fields of Chinese work. This has fallen for the most part under four heads:—

'At Hong Kong the Society has two well-equipped hospitals, maintained entirely at local cost, where the medical missionary has, in addition to the assistance of Mrs. Stevens as missionary matron, the co-operation of a large staff composed of the local practitioners for purposes of the professional work and in the training of students. Mrs. Stevens has several native nurses in training, too, and hopes to develop this work. In 1894 things were much disturbed by the plague, but in 1893 the figures were 727 in-patients and 10,010 out-patients.

'1. *Itineration.*—Itinerant missionary effort, through force of circumstances, usually precedes other methods until a suitable location for a dispensary or hospital has been acquired. As an adjunct to these latter it has an undoubted value, but is never regarded as either an exclusive or a principal method of medical evangelization. Only a small proportion of the cases reap much benefit from treatment based on a single examination, and nothing really serious, either surgical or medical, can be undertaken; but it is a means whereby wide sowing of the seed of the Kingdom may be accomplished.

'2. *The Dispensary.*—In the dispensary, or the out-patient department of a hospital, the fixed location allows more solid work to be done, since patients may come again and again as often as may be necessary for treatment of their varying conditions, affording correspondingly repeated opportunities of pressing home to hearts the Gospel message. A wide door and effectual here stands open to God's Word. There is, indeed, much sowing, little reaping; but not a few of the cases that come under notice and seem interested in the new teaching can be followed up by workers to their own homes, and in after days often comes the harvest.

'3. *The Hospital.*—But by common consent the most important and permanent results of medical missions are attained among in-patients in the hospital wards. That

this should be so on the lower plane, when the patients are under continuous observation, and details of treatment can be personally attended to by the missionary or his assistants, is self-evident; and not less so is it on the higher level. The life being lived before the patients by the mission workers, the whole atmosphere of the mission hospital, and the abundant opportunity of instilling a knowledge of Jesus Christ that is afforded, all combine to render the work in the hospital one of the most fruitful of all missionary methods.

'4. *Training of Native Workers.*—It is a distinctive feature of the London Missionary Society's work in all its departments that as soon as possible responsibility is passed on to the native converts; and assistance, trained assistance, is not only an advantage but an absolute necessity in surgery. Medical missions have, therefore, from the first directed a considerable amount of attention to the preparation of trained helpers, and now in many regions a new race of medical missionaries is arising from the native churches themselves, equally well qualified to treat disease in its physical aspects, and better fitted, in some ways at least, to press forward the evangelization of those regions, since they can get into closer relations with their countrymen than is ever possible to a foreigner, no matter how complete his devotion to his work [1].'

In 1883 Mr. R. Wardlaw Thompson visited all the chief China stations of the Society, and his report enables the reader to judge how the work stood there after between thirty and forty years' experience.

'Our mission at Hong Kong has connected with it a large and important native Christian church, strong in numbers, strong also in the number of educated and influential men who are associated with it. I was very much surprised to find that this church had not long ago found a pastor and become entirely self-supporting; and on inquiry I learned that the real difficulty was to secure a man of such education and position as to command the

[1] *Founders' Week Convention Report*, p. 274.

respect of all classes. The native Christian community has laboured for a long time under the great disadvantage of having no place of worship it could call its own. The Queen's Road Mission Chapel was wholly inadequate to the wants of the congregation. In consequence of the limited accommodation, the church meetings had to be divided, the men meeting at one time, and the women at another time. The Sunday afternoon services (in which the whole church unite) were conducted, by the kindness of the trustees of the Union Chapel, in that place of worship. This could not be a healthy state of things; and the Directors have granted assistance in providing a suitable house of prayer. Evangelistic work is being actively prosecuted, by the aid of members of the church, in several places on the island. At Taipingshan, in the west, and Wantsai, in the east end of the city, there are very neat and suitable chapels, and small congregations are assembled in two or three other places.

'Special efforts are being made to reach the women of the congregation, and to work in the homes of the heathen Chinese. Miss Rowe superintends this part of the work with great earnestness and energy. There are two Bible-women, both very plain women without much education, whose duty it is to visit the heathen houses and to persuade the women to come out to a women's meeting which is held at Miss Rowe's house every Wednesday. There is also a female teacher, a woman of superior character and ability, who instructs the Bible-women and the teachers of the girls' school; the Scriptures being studied daily. Miss Rowe seems also usually to have one or two native women from the mainland residing in her house, for Christian instruction and training in work.

'Educational work occupies a very prominent place in connection with the Hong Kong Mission. In fact, there are more schools connected with this mission than any other mission of the Society in China. Yet, on visiting these schools, I could not but be struck by one or two points of marked contrast with similar work in India; and

it may not be out of place to express here the feeling which impressed itself upon my mind as I prosecuted my journey throughout the Chinese Missions. I found in Hong Kong that education was given without charge. This appears to be due to the fact that the Government of the colony have established a system of free schools, so that it would be hopeless to expect to obtain scholars for mission schools if fees were demanded. As a grant-in-aid of a liberal amount is given to all schools conducted by the mission and satisfactorily meeting Government requirements, the cost of tuition does not fall upon the Society; and, so far, no complaint can be made. It is, however, open to question whether such a system of universal free education is wholesome for the people. I found in other mission stations that boys' schools in direct connection with the Society had been almost entirely given up, the reason assigned being that in most cases the native Christians were more ready to pay fees to a schoolmaster in a native school than to send their children to a school conducted or superintended by foreigners, unless the education was given for nothing; and the missionaries had wisely concluded that it was not desirable to encourage among converts the expectation that the Foreign Missionary Society would make provision of this kind.

'The point which impressed me most favourably in relation to educational effort in China was the character of the education bestowed. The schools, even in Hong Kong, are conducted on native models, with only those books and subjects required by Chinese opinion. Western knowledge has scarcely found any entrance to them. In fact, the only thing which makes them differ from the ordinary native schools is that Christianity is a subject of instruction, side by side with the Chinese classics. It is alleged, as a reason for maintaining this kind of teaching, that success in life in China demands a thorough acquaintance with the written literary language, and that this can be obtained only by careful study and mastery of the great books known as the Chinese classics; and that consequently

it is almost vain to hope that scholars will be induced to attend schools in which any other course of instruction than the traditional one is adopted. Possibly this may be the case. It seems to me, however, if correct, to be a very serious weakness in our Christian work in China. The overweening belief in the superiority of their own literature and teaching, which is so characteristic of the Chinese, and which is so serious a hindrance to the adoption of opinions and faiths other than those they have been trained in, can only be encouraged when the natives find that Christian schools adopt their class-books and their methods of teaching; and until Western knowledge of the simplest kind can be introduced into the Chinese mind, that proud exclusiveness so strangely and closely associated with a blind ignorance will not be broken down. Were it possible to instruct the youth of China in geography and history and arithmetic, and to bring them, by means of elementary lessons in physical science, to know the leading truths about the nature of the world in which they live, a very great change would undoubtedly be wrought in their opinions about themselves and the rest of the world, and a preparation would be made for lessons in those higher truths which the teacher has to impart. I found at Shanghai that this subject had already been under consideration at the conference of missionaries of various societies which met in that city some time since, and that under the direction of a committee appointed by that conference, a series of text-books have been produced by means of which, while the Chinese language shall still be the medium of communication, the mind of the Chinese youth shall receive the lessons of Western knowledge.'

The Directors have in recent years devoted much time and attention to Chinese affairs, and Hong Kong with the rest has shared in the outcome of these deliberations. In 1890 the staff consisted, in addition to Dr. Chalmers and Miss Rowe, of G. H. Bondfield, who joined the mission in 1887, on the death of Mr. Edge; J. C. Thomson, M.A., M.B.; Miss Field, and Miss Davies. The Report for that

year presents a hopeful picture of progress at this great port.

'The Colonial Government for the progress of the native population has provided for Free Education under a liberal system of grants, and this has been used by the mission to great advantage. In 1881 the mission had under its care three boys' schools, containing 188 scholars, and obtaining a Government grant of 1228·11 dols.; and four girls' schools, containing 117 scholars, and obtaining a Government grant of 890·91 dols. In 1890, without any additional expense to the Society, the numbers had increased to nine boys' schools, containing 563 scholars, and obtaining a Government grant of 2972·94 dols.; and eleven girls' schools, containing 423 scholars, and obtaining a Government grant of 2695·40 dols.

'Generous provision has also been made for medical mission work. The Nethersole Dispensary was erected and endowed by a warm friend of the mission in 1889, and a large hospital, containing ninety beds, was erected by Dr. Ho Kai, the son of an early convert, in 1886. This was well furnished and liberally endowed by the mercantile community; its working expenses are fully provided for from the same source, and the four leading physicians of the community generously give a considerable amount of time to the care of the patients. As the result of this generous provision the Mission Hospital has become already the centre of a most extensive and beneficent work. Dr. Thomson, the medical missionary in charge, reports:—

'"In the out-patient department the number of attendances has been 17,515, an advance of 2,913 on the numbers for 1889 (14,602); while in the in-patient department the difference is proportionately twice as great, the return showing 728 admissions, as against 530 during the previous year. 215 operations, performed under the influence of an anaesthetic, and 167 vaccinations compare favourably with 143 operations and 113 vaccinations during 1889; and the number of dental operations and of urgent cases of accident brought to the hospital for treatment have

each been more than doubled. One list only is a shorter list, and it is satisfactory to report it so: in 1889 we had to record thirty deaths as having occurred in the wards; in 1890, we thus lost but twenty-two patients, and that with the vastly increased hospital practice just described."

'During 1889 a deeply interesting new movement was started on the mainland, known as Kwong Tung Inland Medical Mission. This "is a scheme for the medical evangelization of parts of the adjoining province by native agency, that had its origin in, and has been exclusively carried on by, a committee of Chinese, who have their head quarters in the To Tsai Chapel of the London Missionary Society, and who find the necessary funds, drawing a large proportion of them from California. The native doctor and the evangelist—the former trained at Canton by Dr. Kerr—have set to work by itineration in the neighbourhood of Sun-Ning and San-Ui, and have rendered a good account of themselves. In June the committee, recognizing the advisability of having a hospital as a background for their work, applied for, and were granted, the privileges of affiliation with the Alice Memorial Hospital, the superintendent of the hospital being at the same time invited to superintend and direct the new work.

'"The method of work is by itineration. The party, consisting of the doctor, an untrained assistant, and the evangelist, go only where they have been specially invited to go and open work, and in this way, during the ten months ending with December, 1890, had visited some sixteen different places of more or less importance, remaining for periods varying from a few days to a month or more, and during that time had seen 14,017 cases. They carry on their healing work in idol temples, ancestral halls, schools, even in military guard stations, as may be arranged by those who invite them, on whom they lay the responsibility of thus providing for their accommodation, and as a general rule reserve the day for consultation, and in the evening carry on preaching and teaching.

'"The work is very interesting and hopeful, and especially

in that here we have the Chinese themselves in their own name, on their own responsibility, with their own funds, and through their own agents, taking up and carrying forward the cause of medical missions; taking, too, as the model for their work the example of those first medical missionaries who, St. Luke puts on record, 'went through the towns, preaching the Gospel, and healing everywhere.'"

'The directly evangelistic side of the hospital work is progressing with the professional side, and cannot fail to prove, as in other places, the means by which many will be brought to know in joyful experience the power of the Great Physician. All through the year daily services have been held with the out-patients, while daily work has been carried on in the male wards by the hospital evangelist (Kong Hoi Kei), the native pastor (Rev. Wong Yuk Ch'o), and other helpers; and in the female ward by Miss Field, Mrs. Kwan (the matron), and a Bible-woman. A plentiful supply of Gospel literature is at the disposal of the patients, much of it illustrated for the purpose of exciting the interest of such as cannot read for themselves, and so, by provoking questions, aiding in their work our faithful old evangelist and the other workers by the bedside. The results have been most cheering. Throughout the whole year there have been those earnestly inquiring the way of life, a number have been hopefully converted, and several have been baptized.'

2. CANTON. 'Canton is of comparatively moderate extent, the whole circuit of walls probably not exceeding six miles. A wall, running from east to west, divides what is called the Old City, in which the Tartar population and garrison reside, from the New City, which is not more than a third of the size of the former, and lies on the south. The suburbs are very extensive, and exceed in extent the city itself.

'The recently arrived stranger naturally manifests surprise and incredulity on being told that the estimated population of Canton exceeds a million. As soon, however, as he visits

the close streets, with their dense population and busy wayfarers, huddled together into lanes from five to nine feet wide, where Europeans could scarcely inhale the breath of life, the number no longer appears incredible. After leaving the open space before the factories, or, as the Chinese call them, the thirteen hongs, and passing through Old China Street, New China Street, Curiosity Street, and similar localities, the names of which indicate their proximity to the residence of foreigners, we behold an endless succession of narrow avenues, scarcely deserving the name of streets. As the visitor pursues his course, narrow lanes still continue to succeed each other ; and the conviction becomes gradually impressed on the mind that such is the general character of the streets of the city. Along these, busy traders, mechanics, barbers, vendors, and porters make their way ; while, occasionally, the noisy, abrupt tones of vociferating coolies remind the traveller that some materials of bulky dimensions are on their transit, and suggest the expediency of keeping at a distance to avoid collision. Now and then the monotony of the scene is relieved by some portly mandarin, or merchant of the higher class, borne in a sedan-chair on the shoulders of two, or sometimes four, men. Yet, with all this hurry and din, there seldom occurs any accident or interruption of good humour. On the river the same order and regularity prevail. Though there are probably no fewer than 200,000 whose hereditary domains consist of small boats upon the Canton river, yet harmony and good feeling are conspicuous in the accommodating manner with which they make way for each other. These aquatic tribes of the human family show a most philosophic equanimity, and contrive, in this way, to strip daily life of many of its little troubles ; while the fortitude and patience with which the occasional injury or destruction of the boat is borne, are remarkable[1].'

Canton was the most arrogant and exclusive of Chinese cities ; and even after it had, by the treaty of 1842, been declared a free port, it was very difficult for the missionaries

[1] *Chronicle*, 1850, p. 215.

to secure a foothold there. It was not until 1859 that a permanent mission was established there; and only in 1848 Dr. Hobson was able for a time to establish a hospital there. He was assisted in his efforts by the veteran Leang A-fă. A report which Dr. Hobson wrote in 1851 illustrates the character of Canton and the Cantonese, and the excessive difficulty of carrying on Christian work there:

'Probably every missionary thinks that his position is more unfavourable than one removed at a distance; and often, very often, I imagine that this place is the hardest and most trying of all. I had myself no conception of the difficulties of the missionary work till I had resided here some time, and been taught by bitter experience how deceitful, proud, and self-satisfied the Chinese are. In their native villages and towns you see them in their natural element. In Hong Kong, and places where a higher and foreign power reigns, the Chinese prove accommodating, and even servile; but in their own cities, and surrounded by their own people, they are bold to speak out what is in their heart. I observe, however, a considerable difference even in this between the natives of Shanghae and those of Canton. Fear and less rooted prejudice control the tongue of the northern Chinese, and outwardly they are obliging, civil, and even respectful; but here, to a foreigner, they are the most rude and uncivil of all people. This, united to an unsufferable self-conceit, and extreme contempt for and dislike to strangers from all nations, makes the position and labours of a Christian missionary so peculiarly distressing and difficult.

'I have now been a resident in the western districts of Canton for more than three years, and I suppose that not less than *seventy thousand*, including those who do and those who do not return, have been here during that period. In the hospital alone at least sixty thousand tracts, large and small, have been distributed, and one thousand sermons or prepared addresses have been delivered to the assembled audiences; but the only apparent fruit is the conversion of heart and life to the Christian faith of six

persons, two each year. The Gospel is heard, but no one believes it; it excites no remark, and produces, so far as we know, neither impression nor inquiry. It is often a common observation by us that we meet with no such questions as—What is faith? Are these things so? What must I do? And we still wait to hear that any tract has been of use to lead a poor, guilty sinner to Christ. In the hospital the books are received, and of course politely, and perhaps in some cases carefully read; but we have evidence that, in the public streets and shops, they are frequently torn to pieces and used for waste paper. Very frequently they will not be received.'

Dr. Hobson maintained his position at Canton until 1856, when the outbreak of the second British war compelled him to retire with his family to Hong Kong. He had married as his second wife a daughter of Dr. Morrison. Just prior to the outbreak two events of special significance happened. One was the death of Leang A-fă, the other was that the mission had begun to exhibit signs of decided progress.

Leang A-fă, to whom frequent reference has necessarily been made in preceding pages, died in 1855. Dr. Hobson, who knew him intimately during the closing years of his life, in a letter written the day after his death, thus refers to the event:—

'The event was not an unprepared one to himself, for the good old man felt conscious that he was gradually failing, and was frequently admonishing his family to heed his words, to believe the Gospel, and be ready to follow him; for, said he, "I am soon going home." He told his son, the day previous to his death, that he did not wish to get well; he would rather, if his heavenly Father so pleased, go to the heavenly house above, which was far better. I also was not taken by surprise at the intelligence, for I had observed a gradual diminution of vital power, and had observed to others, I expected he would not see the close of this year.

'He has now been intimately associated with me for

seven years (though I have known him for more than fifteen years), and I rejoice to state that, throughout the whole of that time, I have never known him absent from his post, except very occasionally from temporary indisposition; nor flinching to declare, so far as he knew it, the whole counsel of God to his apathetic and godless countrymen. He has been a faithful, but not a very successful preacher. He has converted few, very few; and several whom he baptized many years ago, he has seen lapse again into idolatry and sin. He has bitterly complained, both in public and private, of the exceeding hardness of the hearts and insensibility of conscience of his countrymen. He used often to say he had been a Christian forty years, and had preached the Gospel thirty years; and, though they did not believe what he taught them, he still knew it was Divine and saving truth, and afterwards they would know it too, but perhaps *too late* to be of use to them.

'His Christian course has not been without admixture of human infirmity and imperfection; but he has kept steadfastly to the truth as he has learned it in the Bible, and, to the day of his death, never turned his back upon it, nor was ashamed of it in the presence of enemies or friends. He has been about the first convert to Protestant Christianity, and he has been the longest and one of the most faithful that we have had. His place will not be soon filled, and it may be long before we see his like again. He kept up, while alive, an interesting link with our noble predecessors—the one who baptized him, and the one who set him apart to the work of an evangelist. Now he is gone; and we have no one left in this wide field of that generation.'

Dr. Legge describes the happy event in the following terms, under date February 13, 1855:—'Dr. Hobson has written to me repeatedly concerning the application made to him by Chinese for baptism, and when I went up to Canton soon after the new year, I found a state of things in the Hospital different from what I had ever seen before. Interest in the Gospel had in many taken the place of indifference. A genial warmth of feeling had dispossessed

the cold-heartedness which had so long prevailed. We gave together the greater portion of three days to a searching examination of fifteen candidates. There was little reason to distrust the sincerity of any of them. The knowledge and experience of some were wonderful, and finely illustrated the truth that the entrance of God's word gives light. Ten we welcomed to the ordinance of baptism, and most of the others will be found, I think, presevering in their study of the truth and obedience to it. The movement give promise of permanence and progress. Prayers and pains have at last been crowned with the Divine blessing. Next to the joy which I felt on the occasion, because of the increase of the Church of Christ, was the delight of sympathy with Dr. Hobson, who has held to his post under many and great discouragements.'

Dr. Hobson's eight years' labour in Canton had been a decided and, indeed, a brilliant success. A growing church of thirty or forty members was under the pastorate of Leang A-fă, the doctor regretting much latterly that he himself was not ordained. He had trained two efficient evangelists and a Chinese medical assistant. He had printed excellent works on anatony, medicine, and science, a commentary on John's Gospel, and sundry tracts. But now his venerable helper was taken away, and, before another year had gone, the breaking out of hostilities brought his peaceful labours to a sudden end. He removed with his family to Shanghai, where he took Dr. Lockhart's place for two years, after which ill health compelled him to return to England in 1859.

The war of Great Britain allied with France against China led to the capture and occupation of Canton city early in 1858, and for several years that city was governed by the allied commissioners, under the guidance of Consul Parkes, better than it ever was before or since. Meantime Lord Elgin, having made a treaty at Tientsin and gone home, was obliged, owing to the treachery of the Chinese at Ta-ku, to return in 1860 and advance on Peking to compel the ratification of it.

The foreign occupation of Canton lasted from January, 1858, to October, 1861. Missionaries of other Societies returned to the city at once in 1858, but Dr. Hobson was at Shanghai, Dr. Legge had gone home on furlough, and Mr. Chalmers, having by the friendly help of the Rev. J. Cox, of the Wesleyan Mission, made arrangements for the reopening of the Kumlifan Hospital, had to wait the arrival of Dr. Legge and Mr. Turner before moving from Hong Kong.

Consequently, in 1859 Mr. Chalmers was transferred from Hong Kong to recommence work in Canton. He was accompanied by Mr. F. S. Turner, B.A., and for many years the two were fellow labourers in the great Chinese city. Prior to his arrival Dr. Wong Fun of Hong Kong had reopened the hospital. At first this experiment seemed successful, but in the winter of 1860 it became necessary to dissolve his connection with the Society. Dr. Carmichael reached Canton in 1862, but after eighteen months' service left the mission to take up medical practice in Chefoo.

In 1861 an interesting development of work took place at Pok-lo, a town of 15,000 people. In 1856 a Chinaman named Ch'eä from this place visited Dr. Legge at Hong Kong, and was admitted by him to the Church. In 1857 he returned to Hong Kong, bringing with him a convert; in 1858 he brought two more; in 1859, two more; and in 1860, nine more, making in all fourteen. Mr. Chalmers and the Hong Kong native evangelist Tsun-Sheen visited Pok-lo and baptized forty converts; and in January, 1861, Dr. Legge at Hong Kong admitted sixteen more, making a total of *eighty-five* converts from this one district. In May, 1861, Dr. Legge and Mr. Chalmers visited Pok-lo, admitted *forty* additional converts into the Church, and arranged for the opening of a native church. But this action aroused deadly hostility on the part of some of the high officials. They seized the mission property, and Dr. Legge invoked the authority of the Governor of Canton through Mr. Harry Parkes. When he visited Pok-lo the officials received him courteously and promised compliance with the orders from

Canton. The moment Dr. Legge left the city this was how they acted:—

'When I left, Ch'ëa remained in temporary charge of the house. He was full of joy, as I was, and unsuspicious of danger. On the evening of the 13th he was forcibly carried off by a body of ruffians, led by Soo Hoy-ü and a confederate like himself. They took him to a village not far off, and hung him up all night by the arms and feet to a beam. During the two following days he suffered much torture and insult, and on the 16th he was taken to the river side, and, on refusing to renounce Christianity, was put to death, and his body thrown into the stream.

'The whole proceeding is in defiance of the authorities, and the Governor-General said to Mr. Parkes that he himself was the man who was in most danger from it. The leaders, I conceive, are stirring up the hatred of the people to foreigners, and their dislike to Christianity, as a cloak to their own ambitious ends. Of course they are acting in flagrant violation of the stipulations of the Treaty; but what is to be done? The native Government has not power to enforce the Treaty. Mr. Chalmers has put the affair into the hands of our Consul at Canton, and it remains to be seen what steps the Governor-General will take. Should he not be able to do anything, there remains to us a reference to our Ambassador at Peking; and, should that be ineffectual, it still remains for us to appeal, as we are now doing, to God. We are meeting here every morning this week, for an hour, continuing in prayer and supplication. Nearly fifty Chinese Christians, including five of the refugees, assemble. It is, in fact, their meeting. Painful and discouraging as the thing is for the present, no one seems to doubt but that it will ultimately turn out to the furtherance of the Gospel.'

Notwithstanding this inauspicious beginning, the mission in Pok-lo for the last forty years has been steadily progressive, and is one of the most fruitful fields in Southern China.

In the course of 1862 premises suitable for a chapel were secured by Mr. Turner, and public preaching services

began. In 1863 the premises formerly used as a hospital were adopted as a chapel. Regular services were carried on in both. The church members at this time numbered twenty-six.

The Bishop of Victoria, in 1868, visited Canton, and drew a striking picture of that busy centre of Chinese life in its relation to Christian missions:—'Three chairs, with four bearers, waited upon us. After carrying us some little way beyond the boundaries of Sha-meen, the residence of Europeans in Canton, we made our way partly on foot, and partly in our chairs, first to Kam-lee-fow, in Canton West, where the London Society's missionaries have their hospital, preaching hall, chapel, and also in their charge the Dépôt of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Two or three little incidents by the way may be noted. We passed a crowd of men and boys apparently in deep speculation at an orange-stall. Friends were buying and eating oranges, and the crowd around were gambling on the number of pips each orange contained! A little further on, and a man was chopping wood, and another crowd of gamblers were betting as to the effect of each stroke of the hatchet! The spirit of gambling seems, notwithstanding the efforts of the authorities, to have taken too firm a hold on the Chinese mind to be easily repressed, and it is manifested in the smallest everyday transactions. With gambling, superstitious observances abound. I noticed the irregular appearance of the buildings. No two houses were built together, or in a straight line; it would have been unlucky so to do. At every turning, in some places at every door, the god of wealth, with ingots of gold in his hand, was to be seen with incense-sticks burning before him on the family altar in propitiation of the idol. The streets are full of idols, at the doors or stationed over an altar erected in the shop. As of Athens, so of Canton, in all things they were too superstitious, nor could I add "Him whom they ignorantly worshipped declare I unto you": for the Chinese cannot be said in any sense to worship the true God at all.

'At length we reached the residence of the missionaries of the London Society, and Mr. and Mrs. Anderson, and Mr. and Mrs. Eitel, gave me a very kind and cordial welcome. The missionaries seemed in good health and full of work. Their residence is just such as is consistent with their vocation. No one could accuse them of luxury; and at the same time I was glad to see the convenience and comfort of their abodes; for, if in foreign lands our missionaries are to keep their health and do their work, a healthy, comfortable home would be a necessity. At the London Mission Hospital many poor sick Chinese had already assembled, and the native medical officers were in full employ ministering to their necessities. Each patient, on arriving and departing, visited a large hall adjoining the dispensary, where the Holy Scriptures were being read by a native Christian. He was addressing his hearers, from twenty-five to fifty in number, on the "leaves of the tree" which are "for the healing of the nations." By this most legitimate means, a large dissemination of Gospel truth must take place in the course of the year, and I was assured that the hospital has given the missionaries an effectual entrance among the people, and has on some occasions been the cause of their deliverance from impending danger, when the popular feeling against Europeans might have led to serious results. The chapel, where the native Church assembled, which, with a convenient gallery, might hold 150 persons, and which the native population entirely filled occasionally, appeared suited for its purpose, especially on account of its situation; for whilst on one side there is an entrance from the hospital, on the other the entrance was from the crowded street, up and down which the Chinese swarmed, so that when the doors were open for preaching to the heathen, there can be no difficulty in filling the chapel with listeners in a very short space of time.'

The districts worked from Canton, as a centre, are Pok-lo (already referred to, which was superintended by Dr. Eitel from Canton, 1865 to 1870, and from Hong Kong, 1870 to 1879. He was succeeded in 1880 by Mr. Eichler, who

laboured there until 1889), Fatshan, and Tsung Fa. Mr. Thompson's report upon these districts was satisfactory:—

'In addition to the city work, the Canton mission has charge of two extensive districts, and also of the church at Fatshan, which has hitherto been maintained largely by the contributions of Christians in Hong Kong. The district which Mr. Eichler has under his especial care is situated on the east river, and work is carried on among the Hakka population of an extensive region 100 to 150 miles from Canton by water. It was my privilege to visit the city of Pok-lo, and other stations connected with this mission, during a rapid but deeply interesting trip, in company with Mr. Eichler and Mr. Pearce. The labours of Dr. Eitel, who was Mr. Eichler's predecessor in this mission, have resulted in the provision of places of worship eminently suited for the requirements of the people who have to use them. Attached to each is accommodation of a simple but sufficient kind for the missionary on his periodical visits, and native workers carry on the stated services. The interest exhibited by the simple country people in some of the villages is remarkably great and encouraging. This work has prospered under the faithful, earnest labours of Mr. Eichler, and the mission among the Hakkas bids fair to yield in due time large results of good. The one great difficulty in working the mission is its distance from Canton, and the necessity, under present circumstances, for the missionary to reside in that city. Mr. Eichler has been in the habit of visiting his district once in three months, spending three or four weeks amongst the people on each visit, and devoting the rest of his time to work in Canton, especially among the Hakka population. At present Mr. Eichler makes his way to Pok-lo by native passenger boat—a mode of conveyance as unsuitable as can well be imagined, not only for the comfort and privacy, but even for the decent accommodation of the European missionary. The other rural mission, situated in the Tsung Fa district, is under the charge of Mr. Pearce, who also superintends the general work of the mission in Canton itself. This

district is not quite so far from the city as that in which Mr. Eichler works. Here also the work among the rural population is of such a kind as to encourage hope of large success.'

The growth of these deeply interesting native Christian communities in Southern China is steady, if slow. Mr. Pearce, in 1895, placed on record his experience on this point:—

'When the first small communities of native converts were organised the antagonistic attitude of the old religions was not fully understood, the close relationship that exists between the national religions and the national life was not realized. It seemed that if converts "held forth the Word of Life," if they "knew and published the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," the triumph of the Gospel would be easy and rapid. The history of our churches has shown that Christians may be faithful, zealous, and patient, "adorning the doctrine of God their Saviour," with little visible and immediate result in winning over the heathen. The cause is to be found in the severe demand which Christianity makes on its followers. To become a convert is not merely to abandon one religion for another. Ancestral worship and the reverencing of certain deities according to the prescribed ceremonies are practices which have grown up with the life of the people that they influence, and in a large measure control all its forms. Let it be once admitted that native Christianity is seeking to build up native life on new foundations, and an explanation of much that appears discouraging will become apparent.

'In the stronger missions there has been a steady increase from year to year in the number of native Christian communities. These spring up in distant cities, market towns, and remote villages and hamlets; each Christian out-station helps to create a new atmosphere, extending in some places far beyond the immediate vicinity of the church or school buildings where the missionaries preach and teach. It would be possible to adduce many single instances and illustrations to show that the multiplying of

small churches under village leaders is doing much to free Christianity from the reproach of being a foreign religion unsuited to the people of China. The "Gospel of the Life" has begun to take on forms native and natural. There is urgent need for teachers, foreign and native, to care for and build up these churches, still weak and few in number compared with the non-Christian masses—mere points of light in a world of darkness.

'Taking our own churches in Canton, Fatshan, Tsung Fa, and Poklo as representative, I would venture to urge that means be adopted to improve their position and outlook:—

'(*a*) A comprehensive, though not necessarily costly, scheme of education should be made an integral part of our South China mission.

'(*b*) Toward the adult converts of both sexes the duty of the missionary and his native helpers is summed up in the Divine injunction, "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded." Not until more stress is laid on the words which precede and follow the command to baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, are we justified in looking for a strong and vigorous church life. Many imperfections which are a grief of mind to pastors and elders, and a source of weakness to the churches, have their root in ignorance of God's law and its requirements. Varied as are the needs of our churches, their one particular need is Christian instruction and edification [1].'

The last Decennial Report, 1890, thus sums up the work accomplished in Canton:—

'Canton is the oldest station of the Society in China, and it is in many respects the most backward. This is not due to any lack of zeal or ability on the part of the Missionaries who have been connected with the station. The field in Canton city is an exceptionally hard one. The country work is spread over a very widely extended area, consequently exceptional effort is needed to produce any impression. Canton needs more men, and more labour, and more

[1] *Founders' Week Convention Report*, p. 264.

faith than most mission-fields, if any result is to be attained. Yet the pressing demands of other fields upon the Society's limited resources have prevented adequate provision being made for this difficult centre.

'In 1880 the Rev. T. W. Pearce was associated with the Rev. J. C. Edge, but Mr. Edge was removed to Hong Kong in 1881. In the same year the Rev. E. R. Eichler was appointed with special reference to the Hakka people of the Pok-lo district. After some years of the most devoted labour Mr. Eichler's health failed, and he returned to Europe early in 1889, leaving Mr. Pearce alone. Under such conditions it has not been possible to attempt any new form of effort, or any forward movement of aggressive work.

'In Canton city the efforts of the Mission have been entirely confined to evangelistic preaching, it being impossible to maintain schools, and medical mission-work not having been attempted, as the American Presbyterian Church maintains a large hospital there. Two preaching halls have been maintained by the Mission—one at Sha-Ki, the other (until 1885) in the Eighth Ward of the city. The further use of the premises being denied to the Mission by the owner after that time, another place was found, after much trouble, at Ho-nam, on the opposite bank of the river. The introduction of Christian teaching at this place was at first violently opposed by the neighbours, but the initial opposition having been overcome, it is now well frequented, and is the scene of much interesting work.

'There is a large and important opening for female mission-work in Canton city. Hitherto it has been exceedingly difficult to obtain suitable Bible-women; and the lack of any place in which women can assemble with the privacy recognized as becoming by Cantonese social habits is a serious practical drawback to any ministry among them, women attending a public service in which men take part being exposed to the risk of serious insult. In consequence of the strong anti-foreign feeling, and the bitter prejudices of the people, progress has been very slow. The present

membership of the church is only forty, and the baptisms have not averaged three a year during the past decade.

'The out-stations of the Canton Mission, which are large and important, have had a very checkered history, mainly from the impossibility of maintaining adequate and regular work, in consequence of the smallness of the Mission staff. The district of Poklo has been, in many respects, the most disappointing, though here Mr. Eichler has laboured with exceptional zeal and single-heartedness to overcome the difficulties of the situation. During the greater part of the time that the Mission was under his care it was not possible for him to reside in the district for more than two or three weeks at a time, because there was no accommodation of any kind for the Missionary, the villages being so small and poor that even the ordinary native inn was not available. Consequently, supervision of the work had to be carried on by periodical journeys from Canton in the ordinary passage-boat. There seems to be so much of the influence of clanship among these Chinese villagers, and so many disputes are rife among them in consequence of it, that, without the constant presence of an earnest and wise worker, who has no direct connection with their local affairs, church life speedily becomes very unsatisfactory.

'The Fatshan Mission, situated in a large and enterprising mercantile and manufacturing community a few miles from Canton, has also passed through marked and trying changes, but the Church is emerging from its trials with increased strength and hopefulness. Ten years ago the pastor was maintained by the contributions of native Christians in Hong Kong. He was a man of strong will and unsatisfactory character, having influential family connections in the place. Under his guidance the church was being converted into a guild, "the members of which worshipped on Sundays and observed the ceremonial, whilst retaining practices partly heathen, and a spirit almost entirely so." The Hong Kong Church, learning of these abuses, withdrew its support and recalled the pastor. The church then became an out-station of the Canton Mission. In 1884,

CHINA
AMOY DISTRICT,
NORTH RIVER &
CHIANG CHIU
Scale 1:1,000,000.
Statute Miles
Eng chhun
Heng-hou
Chiang peng
Leng-na
Gan-chioh
An-koe
Portage River impassable on account of rapids
Te-hang
Sin-hi
So-a-tau
Pung-iu
North River
Lim tun
Giam-koe
Tio-thoa
Pho-lam
Lam-cheng
Chiang-chiu
Soa-sia
Hai-teng
Chioh-be
Amoy
Que moy
Little Que moy
Kolongsu
Tong-an
Choan-chiu
(Chin-Chow)
Lam oa
Hui-an
Soa-chiu
Chong bu
Go-leng
Siong-si
An-hai
Khoe-tang
Sio-ke
Lam sin
Tung-kio
Ko-a-jim
Tin-hai
Chiu-po
To Swatow
Kwang-tung
Hui-an
Soa-koe
Tang-khi
E-tai
Oa-bin
Kio-a-tau
Chioh-boe
Tong-su
Eng-hoh
Chhiah-chui
Eng-tang-ui
Siau-iu
Road to Foo chow
George Philip & Son. London & Liverpool.

during the excitement of the populace in consequence of the French war, the chapel was, for a second time, partially destroyed, having been previously wrecked by a mob in 1870. It was two years before the Government gave compensation to the Christians, but in 1887 the place was reopened. Judged by the statistics of membership, it might appear that there had been no progress during the ten years. As a matter of fact, however, the progress has been very real. The church, formerly rent by faction, and containing a large number of persons who were only nominally Christians, is now united, earnest and active in Christian service, and the old leaven of mischief seems to be cast out. "Ten years ago," writes Mr. Pearce, "the people in Fatshan were notoriously hostile to foreigners. On our first visit to the place in 1880, Mr. Edge and I were stoned in one of the best and busiest streets. To-day, the constant presence of foreigners, the hospital work of the Wesleyans, and the preaching of the Gospel in their chapels and our own have done much to enlighten the people and allay opposition." The town of Fatshan is one of such size and importance, and there is so large a field of work in and around it, that, did funds permit, it ought to be made the seat of an independent European mission.

'The Tsung-Fa Mission has been the most encouraging part of the Canton work during the past ten years. In 1880 there were two small, badly situated, mud-built chapels at Tai-ping-Cheung and at Kai-Hau, fifteen miles further up the river. In 1885 a new and commodious place of worship was built at Kai-Hau; and in 1886 the Christians at Tsoh-Tsün, twelve miles from Kai-Hau, built themselves a place, which is by far the finest house in the village with the exception of the residence of the landowner. "There is now at Tsoh-Tsün a little self-supporting church, managing its own affairs under an unpaid leader, who receives counsel from the missionary." In 1888 a third meeting-house was opened at Wang-Kong-Ling, which is a most promising centre in the midst of a broad plain crowded with villages and hamlets. "Forty-five converts

were baptized in Tsung-Fa during the ten years. There are now thirty receiving the Sacrament in the district. If non-resident church members, who return from time to time, be reckoned, the number on the church-roll is nearly fifty. As with all poor districts in this part of China, the more intelligent and enterprising people tend to gravitate towards the towns and to Hong Kong and Singapore."'

In 1894 the Canton Mission was greatly strengthened, the staff consisting of H. R. Wells, W. J. Morris, H. J. Stevens, Miss Wells, and Miss Rowe, who had removed from Hong Kong to Poklo to superintend work there among the women.

3. AMOY. The island of Amoy is on the southern coast of China, about three hundred miles to the north-east of Hong-Kong. It is about thirty miles in circumference, and is beautifully situated in the midst of a very extensive bay. Seaward, it is protected by a chain of islands, the largest and most important of which is about the size of Amoy, and is called Quemoy, or 'The Golden Gate.' This acts as a natural breakwater, and prevents the heavy seas that are raised by storms and typhoons from rolling into the bay and injuring the shipping that lies anchored there. On the south the bay is bounded by a low range of mountains, from the midst of which rises abruptly Lam-tai-bu, the 'Great Southern Warrior.' This is the most beautiful sight in the whole of the landscape, for there is a never-ending charm in its moods, as seen in storm or sunshine [1].

The city of Amoy is a walled town of the third degree in rank. As compared with the great cities of the empire, such as Canton, Suchow, or Hangchow, it is a very small and insignificant place. It is a dull, semi-respectable town, and all the business and life and energy that the Chinese are capable of are concentrated in the immense suburbs that have absorbed nearly all the wealth and trade of the port. These are very finely and picturesquely situated.

[1] The author is largely indebted in this section to Mr. Macgowan's *Christ or Confucius*.

They stretch along the shore of the beautiful bay, which is lighted up daily with almost perpetual sunlight.

The men of Amoy and of the region around are a bold, independent race, very vigorous both mentally and physically. They have a reputation which extends far beyond their own country, for their poverty has compelled large numbers to emigrate to other countries, to endeavour to find a subsistence that they cannot get in their own land. They are *brusque* and rough in their manners, very often to rudeness. They speak out their minds with great freedom, and, to one who is not accustomed to their manners, offensively. They are without that polish and suavity that their countrymen in other parts of China have to perfection. This of course refers to the common people. The educated classes are more refined, and therefore more careful as to their manner of expressing themselves. The island and town belong to the province of Fukien, and the dialect spoken is peculiar, widely differing both from Cantonese and from Mandarin.

The London Missionary Society first occupied Amoy in the year 1844. Mr. John Stronach, accompanied by an assistant, Mr. William Young, removed from Singapore, where he had been labouring for some years, and took up his residence in Amoy. In 1846 he was joined by his brother, Mr. Alexander Stronach, and for many years these brothers were most successful preachers of the Gospel in Amoy and the region around.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Stronach succeeded in renting a large building for religious services in one of the busiest and most crowded thoroughfares of the town. It was situated in Sack Street, so named because it was famous for the manufacture and sale of sacks. This street was narrow and dirty, and in wet weather very unsavoury, and yet it was most admirably suited in those early days for the preaching of the Gospel. It was a most important thoroughfare. From early dawn till late at night a continuous stream of people passed with never-ending tread in it, for, though a short street, it was a main artery, which

connected some very large ones in different directions around it, and to get directly to them, this had to be used.

No sooner were the doors of the building opened than it was thronged with hearers, that crowded round the preacher, and listened as long as he had strength to go on. The congregation never failed with such an incessant stream outside upon which to draw. The wonderful fact that an Englishman was addressing the people in their own language proved irresistibly attractive to all classes. After more than forty years this charm is still powerful in China, for the missionary can always command an audience whenever he stands up to preach the Gospel. But it was not simply curiosity that drew the crowds around the first preachers. The people were mightily stirred by the new method they adopted to make their Gospel known. It was one they had never seen before. The religious sects in China do not preach their doctrines promiscuously to the masses. They have no regular services which their adherents attend, and no class of men set apart to preach the peculiar tenets of their faith. Neither the Confucian scholars nor the heathen priests ever dream of addressing popular assemblies for the purpose of inducing men to become believers in their systems. The only class of people to whom the missionaries could be likened were the public story-tellers, that are found in every town throughout the empire. At first, and indeed for many years afterwards, the popular name for the missionaries was 'story-tellers,' or more literally, 'tellers of ancient things.' These story-tellers gain their living by reading romances and historical novels in public.

The brothers in 1844 reported the successful beginning of the enterprise. The congregation in the chapel often numbered 150, and their visitors were always willing to converse on religious themes, and to receive gladly the tracts which were given to them. But four years passed away, and still no impression seemed to have been made upon the large numbers that had listened to the preaching of

the Gospel during that time. Crowds had come and crowds had gone, but all appeared utterly untouched. The year 1848 was notable in the history of the Amoy Mission, for in it the missionaries had the unspeakable pleasure of baptizing two men, a father and his son, the former being over sixty years of age. They were artificial flower-makers by trade, a branch of industry for which Amoy is famous. Mr. Stronach sent home joyfully the story of this hopeful beginning:—

'Go-t'o, having cast off idolatry, given up worldly business on the Lord's day, and proved himself a serious inquirer after the way of holiness and peace, has since become confirmed in the faith of Christ, and come forward to devote himself to the Saviour as His gratefully adoring disciple. His son, too, has also given satisfactory evidence of conversion, and is, I trust, a humble, yet ardent, follower of the Lord Jesus. They cast their idols as useless lumber on the roof of their dwelling-house, and afterwards, on my asking for them, they cheerfully gave them up to me. These two ill-looking, worthless images were once held in great veneration by Go-t'o and his family, who used to present offerings and prayers to them, and whose wrath they greatly feared. But now every member of the family has entirely ceased from idol-worship. Both the father and the son give us entire and uniform satisfaction, by the evident sincerity of their endeavours to serve and to glorify our Lord and Saviour: both in their speech and by their lives, they aim to commend His "great salvation" to their fellow countrymen in Amoy.'

In a subsequent communication Mr. Stronach records an additional triumph of redeeming grace:—

'In the month of March last, a soldier in the Chinese army, named Sok-tai, offered himself as a candidate for the rite of baptism, stating his full conviction that the Gospel which we preached was, indeed, divine; and expressing the hope that, when he should become more enlightened and confirmed in the faith, we might baptize him. He continued to attend earnestly to our preaching, and was very often

with us at our houses for private religious conversation. He became more and more fervent in his desire to be admitted to the church by baptism, and to "walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord." After advising together, and also consulting the Chinese members of the church—all who know him testifying to his irreproachable moral conduct—we felt satisfied that he was truly devoted in heart to the Redeemer, and that he ought to be received into our Christian fellowship.

'Sok-tai, on account of his having, fully a year ago, distinguished himself by his brave conduct during a contest with pirates, in which he lost the use of his left eye, is now ranked among the men who, for merit, are entitled to future promotion as commissioned officers, and who are honoured to wear caps surmounted by a gold button. He is about twenty-six years of age, tall, and strongly built, yet he is distinguished by much simplicity and mildness of demeanour, and is a diligent student of the Word of God.

'Since his baptism, the new convert has become the subject of persecution and reproach before his whole regiment. One of his relations is a mandarin, now acting as secretary to the colonel of his regiment, who is exceedingly angry with him for professing himself a Christian; and who, after seeing all his "strong reasons" proved futile, became so enraged that he publicly reviled him in the fiercest manner. This caused many others to mock and shun him, as an apostate from the religion of his country, and a follower of the religion of foreigners. Sok-tai sustains the trial nobly, and assures us that he is more and more deeply resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to continue faithful unto death. Some of his companions have told him that he may now give up all hope of being made a commissioned officer. To them he replied, that "promotion cometh from the Lord"; but that he was not much concerned though he should not be promoted at all. To those who revile and abuse him, he "answers not a word."'

As the years went by, they were not marked by any very great success. Preaching was carried on very regularly. Mr. Stronach made it a daily practice to preach in the streets, and in front of the great temples, and in prominent places of the town. As he was a thorough Chinese scholar, and had an intimate acquaintance with the books of Confucius, the scholars who came to discuss with him were constantly foiled by weapons supplied from their great sage's writings, whilst at the same time they were told of truths that he had never revealed to them. Christian ideas thus became more familiar to the people, who were gradually getting accustomed to the thought that a greater Name than any of their most famous sages was being taught them by these foreign teachers. At last the year 1855 arrived, a famous one in the history of the mission, for in it no fewer than seventy-seven persons were received into the Church by baptism, whilst a considerable number in addition came under religious instruction, and professed themselves desirous of becoming Christians. A second chapel was opened in Amoy that year, and the total number of church members was 120.

From this year may be dated the commencement of that marvellous work that has not only made its influence felt in Amoy, but which has also spread far away into the interior, and demonstrated its divine power in the formation of churches, many of which are to-day self-supporting. The Christian Church consolidated rapidly, and soon began to devote its attention and effort to the regions beyond.

The year 1861 was an important one in the history of the Amoy Mission, for during it a house was obtained in the large city of Chiang-Chiu, from which missionary work could be carried on, and where a church might be formed of such as believed. The Rev. W. K. Lea joined the mission in 1856, and devoted a great deal of time to itinerating in the country districts. In addition he carried on the work of a training institution. Mr. Lea selected Chiang-Chiu because it was an admirable centre from which to carry on new work. The town is about twenty-

five miles from Amoy, and at that time was estimated to contain at least one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. It is delightfully situated in the midst of a very extensive plain, which is bounded on nearly every side by hills and mountains. Two rivers flow through the opposite sides of it, and it is on the banks of one of these that the city has been built. The plain, for miles around, is dotted with innumerable villages, which have a thriving, well-to-do appearance.

The people of Chiang-Chiu were proud and haughty. They were prosperous and well-to-do. The great plains around them produced enough food for the city, and still they could afford to export large quantities of rice to Amoy. They were proud. too, because of the exquisite silks and satin stuffs they could produce. Their looms were famous, and their designs were rare, and beautifully executed. They had the most supreme contempt for foreigners, and showed it in a very unpleasant manner. It was always unpleasant, and sometimes even risky, to travel about the streets in the day time. In certain parts of the town, such as the city gates, or the open spaces in front of the temples, where crowds of idlers were wont to assemble, the missionary was always surrounded by a mob, delighted at the idea of getting some fun out of the foreigner. In consequence of this haughty, overbearing spirit, mission-work was carried on with extreme difficulty. Crowds of people would come into the church, which was opened daily for preaching. simply to have a look at the foreigner, just as men might gather to see a menagerie, or some strange grotesque sight.

In 1863 Mr. Macgowan joined the Amoy Mission, and has laboured there ever since, being now (1899) the senior missionary. As years went by the church at Chiang-Chiu grew in numbers, till in 1865 the city was captured by the famous Tai-ping rebels, and utterly destroyed. The people were murdered by thousands, the trees were cut down, and large portions of the town were left desolate and tenantless. Fortunately nearly all the

Christians managed to escape to Amoy. After the city was recaptured by the imperial troops, the inhabitants who had escaped flocked to their ruined homes. With the indomitable pluck and determination of the Chinese, they at once began to rebuild their city, and ere long streets sprang up, as if by magic, on the place where only heaps of broken bricks and rubbish lay before. The quarter where the mission church had been was a wilderness, so that it was difficult to find even the site. But the situation was not central, and after a good deal of patient waiting, the missionaries were fortunate in being able to secure a house in the large thoroughfare just outside the east gate of the city. The people had been so thoroughly humbled by the awful disasters that had come upon them, that they were allowed to take possession without any molestation from any one.

When work began afresh, the tone and temper of the people were entirely different from what they had been before. The men were not so arrogant, and were less unruly in the public gatherings. Their enthusiasm for their idols, too, was greatly diminished. In the time of their peril, these either would not or could not deliver them, and so, from either point of view, they had good cause for feeling somewhat coldly towards them. For several years the mission had marked success. The numbers grew so large that the building became too small for the Sunday services. A piece of ground was purchased in a very prominent part of the same street, and there a spacious church was built that has ever since been a conspicuous feature in the city. In the meantime, work had so far prospered that operations were extended into the country around. A house was rented in a busy market town some three miles away from the city, named "Bridge Head Market." The chief attraction of this place was that it was a large centre for business. On the fair days, which were frequent, the farmers from the villages far and near, and buyers from distant districts, assembled there for purposes of trade. The mission church was situated close to the busiest part

of the fair. Crowds flocked to hear the Gospel who had never heard it before. Farmers and farm labourers, with open mouths, listened to the truths that came to them, with as veritable a revelation as did any that was ever revealed in ancient times to the greatest of God's prophets.

The changes that have taken place during the forty years of missionary work in this region are perfectly marvellous. On June 30, 1859, Mr. Lea wrote: 'I have paid repeated visits to Chiang-Chiu. Several attempts have been made at various times to introduce the Gospel there, but owing to the opposition both of mandarins and people, with no apparent result. At the time of the (local) rebellion two native converts were preaching in the city. One was beheaded, and the other made his escape with difficulty. Ever since that time the visits of foreigners, and indeed of native Christians too, have been regarded with suspicion, and identified with insurrectionary movements. I cannot say that there is as yet more than a readiness to hear on the part of the people generally; but this, as contrasted with the unfriendliness and open opposition of former years, gives much room for encouragement. I only regret that all efforts, both on my own part and on that of the friendly disposed residents, to obtain a house for regular preaching have as yet entirely failed. A short time ago a young man, who had been a student with a brother missionary at Amoy, returned to his home at Chiang-Chiu, and commenced meetings in his own house. In a few days he was arrested by an officer, reproved, and ultimately beaten by the mandarin.'

To-day these words read like a passage taken out of some ancient history. Christianity is now an important factor in the place, and is recognized both by the people and the mandarins. To-day there is the widest liberty to preach the Gospel in the city and its large and influential suburbs, and men are free to become Christians, without the serious penalties of early days. Chiang-Chiu is now the seat of a separate mission. A large hospital has been opened, and thousands yearly are being treated. As the

people who have been treated in it return to their homes, they go with new thoughts of Him who commanded His disciples not only to preach, but also to heal the sick ; and they tell the story of Him, that they have learned in the hospital, to friends, whose hearts will be touched when they think of Him through the lives of dear ones who have been restored to them in health and strength.

The year 1861 was also eventful in the annals of mission work in the Amoy region. In the town of Amoy itself, the successes had been great beyond all expectation, and by 1862 the native church there had surpassed all others in China, the converts in Amoy in that year numbering 262, and in the whole district upwards of 600. The little church had grown so rapidly, that it was necessary to build a second church in a different part of the town. This not only suited the convenience of the Christians in that neighbourhood, but also formed another centre from which Christian work could be carried on. This church was opened in 1862. In addition two mission stations had been opened in villages near the town, and, as we have seen, the populous city of Chiang-Chiu was occupied, and regular services were being held there.

And now another step forward was taken, and a house was secured in the large market town of Koan-Khau, which lies some eight or nine miles to the west of Amoy. The position of this place made it a most admirable centre for missionary work. It was situated in the midst of a large farming population, that had constant communication with it, and could thus be easily reached by the missionary.

Mr. Macgowan thus describes this new departure :—

'With some little difficulty a house was rented, which was soon transformed into a church. Though it was a miserable place, we were very glad to get it. The main room faced the street, and was about twelve feet square. Here we had our pulpit, and the benches on which our future hearers were to sit ; immediately above this was a room about half its size. This was reached by narrow stairs, so

steep that there was a risk to one's neck every time one came down them; for having no banisters, the only thing one had to hold on to was a rope that hung dangling from a beam in the roof. This was our sleeping-room, dining-room, and reception-room. Immediately behind the main room was a little dark den where any women that might be interested in the Gospel could sit; for it was entirely opposed to Chinese custom to have the men and women sit together during a service. This room was lighted by a passage that led to a small courtyard where the kitchen was. It was a dismal place, and in the hot weather perfectly stifling, as not a breath of air could by any possibility get to it. The congregation of some of our elegantly appointed churches in England would be astonished could they see the miserable houses in which their brethren and sisters sometimes have to worship God in China. Indeed, it would be a wonderful and romantic story that could be told of the wretched places in which the Church that is destined in the future to cover the land with beautiful buildings had its birthplace.

'No sooner was the building opened for daily preaching than the people began to crowd in to listen to us. Men wanted to hear for themselves what we had to say. People had been to Amoy, and they had brought back rumours that the foreigners were preaching strange doctrines, such as their fathers had never listened to. They were greatly divided in their opinion about them. Some said they were good; others declared that they were abominable, and would upset the whole of the beliefs in which they had been trained. Now they could hear for themselves, and so men of all classes thronged around the door, and filled the place till it was quite packed, eager to hear what was said, but especially to see the foreigner, and to verify for themselves whether he was human or not. Young country bumpkins with mouths wide open would stand and gaze, thunderstruck as they looked for the first time upon the barbarian. His dress was so different from their own, and his skin so fair; his head, too, was covered with

a confused mass of hair, so unlike their own shaven heads and queues neatly plaited. And then, wonder of wonders! this strange-looking being could really speak in Chinese, and not only so, but actually in the very patois that was spoken by themselves.

'This region proved a most difficult one to influence. There were two reasons for this. The people generally were comfortably off, and consequently were not disposed to deny themselves the luxuries and the vices that men indulge in who have the means in China. A rich village is always more difficult of access to the preacher than a poor one. The good gifts of God, instead of disposing men to worship Him, have too often the very opposite effect. Another great impediment to the spread of the Gospel was the social condition of this region. The villages were numerous, and some of them contained several thousands of people. As a general rule, the members of each belonged to the same clan, and consequently were more or less related to each other. Ages ago the founder of the clan came and settled there. His descendants have prospered and multiplied, and they have ramified into various family branches, which in their turn have become numerous and powerful. Questions that affected particular individuals or families only were decided by themselves; but those that touched the whole clan could not thus be settled. Not only the heads of the tribes, but also every individual member of them, with true democratic freedom, felt themselves free to express their opinion either in praise or in condemnation of them. Now there was one particular phase of their religious life in which the whole clan was deeply affected, and that was their ancestral worship. A large building was erected in some prominent place in the village, where the tablets that were supposed to contain the spirits of their forefathers were placed. Annually, with great pomp and ceremony, the clan assembled, and the leading men offered sacrifices to these, and implored the dead from whom they were descended to protect them, and to send them happiness

and prosperity. When a man became a Christian he could, of course, take no part in such worship. This was considered monstrous by his fellow clansmen. What! not worship the dead that had given them birth, and had watched over them for generations, and had guided them through the perils of ages, and had made them a strong people to-day. There was no wrong that seemed to them so heinous as this. One of the bitterest terms of reproach that is still constantly hurled against the Christians is that they have renounced their forefathers. This, to a heathen Chinaman, implies the very depth of wickedness, and shows a depravity of heart that even the vilest in the community would indignantly repudiate.

'The knowledge of Christianity has now spread so widely in that region, and has made such a favourable impression upon the people generally, that men do not suffer as they used to do, when they avow their determination to worship God. In those early days it required a great deal of courage, and a good deal of the spirit that led our martyrs to the stake, to dare to declare in the face of their clan that henceforward they would no more take a part in the services that were deemed essential to the well-being of the tribes.

'The Gospel had not been long preached in Koan-Khau before several persons professed their faith in Christ. One of these was a young man that kept a cake shop in one of the principal streets of the town. He was naturally a thoughtful and earnest man, and the exalted truths of Christianity had a special attraction for him. The question of religion was to him a most serious one, and now that he had obtained what he believed to be the true one, he was prepared to make any sacrifices that might be demanded of him for it. The time very speedily came when he was to be tested. For refusing to contribute to the annual idol festival, he was so harassed by those in authority, and deserted by his customers, that he had to shut up his shop and remove to Amoy. Another was a man who was destined to hold a prominent place

in the church afterwards, and to be the means of the conversion of a large number of his countrymen. Humanly speaking, he was about the very last man that one would have dreamt of accepting the truth, as he had long been a gambler, a thief, and an idol medium. Passing the church one day, he was so influenced by the truth, that in process of time he gave up his position as a medium, and became an honest and virtuous member of the community. He at once gave up his gambling and his midnight adventures, as well as the company of his loose companions, and began to cultivate the few small fields that his father had left him. After a time, being conspicuous for his earnestness, and the zeal with which he preached the Gospel to his countrymen, he was taken into the training institution, and for many years he was an energetic and successful preacher of the Gospel.

'As the church began to grow in numbers, work was commenced in some of the large villages and market towns in the district. These had been for years visited by all kinds of mission agencies. Missionaries had itinerated from village to village; native preachers had expounded Christianity, and shown from their own experience the blessings it brings to men; and Bible colporteurs had sold the word of God in every village and hamlet, and had explained the wonderful revelation it contained of God's love for the world. Besides all these, the Christians in their own homes, and amongst their neighbours, had by a purer life, and by the explanation of the cause of the marvellous transformation that had often taken place in themselves, been doing a work that was in some respects even more effective than that of any of the above. The places selected for the new work, like Koan-Khau, were either market towns or large villages, and in a similar degree centres that attracted to them the surrounding population. By occupying such places the missionaries could reach large numbers without the necessity of visiting every village and hamlet in the district. In this way their influence was far-reaching, and in course of time men and women, who

recognized in the Gospel a Divine message to themselves, gathered round them, and small churches were founded that have grown in prosperity, and that are to-day self-supporting. Besides the original church in Koan-Khau, there were in 1895 five others scattered throughout this district, that for many years had paid their own pastors and preachers, and that carried on their own church work as intelligently as any of the old established churches in England. The missionaries believe that the Chinese should support the Christian religion. They always make it a special point that every mission church shall become self-supporting at the earliest period possible. The Chinese are to be the evangelizers of China. In educating these native churches to become independent of foreign aid, missionaries are really training them for the mighty work that lies before them in the future.

'The market town is still as crowded as ever, and farmers throng in from the region around, and the great mountains look down upon it; but a change has come over the place since the first missionaries preached in its streets. A thriving church now meets there in a large commodious building, whilst scattered over the plain four others stand out as prominent objects from the idol temples, as places where Christian congregations meet on the Sabbath to worship God.

'In addition to these, across the plain and over an arm of the sea, but still in the same county of Tong-an, or Eastern Peace, is the church of Tung-a-be, with its ten mission stations. Serious work began here in 1866. At first there seemed insuperable difficulties in the way of the spread of the Gospel. The people were fierce and turbulent. Great clans, that were constantly fighting with each other, held this region, and defied all law. Travellers had to go in companies, and even then had to pay blackmail to avoid being robbed. Pirate boats swarmed from the numerous bays and inlets, and went far afield to plunder, for the fame of these men of Eastern Peace had gone before them, and few cared to fight with them. To-day Tung-a-be is the

largest and most active of all the churches in our mission. Most enthusiastic and laborious are the members in preaching the Gospel to the heathen, as its numerous branch churches can attest. The Gospel has indeed proved to be "the power of God unto salvation" to many a soul in this region, and faith looks forward to a time in the near distance when the churches shall be largely increased.

In the year 1866 another extension of work began in an out-of-the-way village, in the county of Hui-an, or Gracious Peace, there lived a farmer and his wife, with their four sons. Their house was a large, capacious one, and evidently had been built in the days when the farmer's ancestors were in a prosperous condition. Times had changed, however, and gaunt poverty stalked about the home. The father had become an opium smoker and gambler. He went to Amoy in search of work, and while there was converted. For this man,' Mr. Macgowan tells us, 'the Gospel seemed to possess special attraction, and he listened to it with perfect delight. Never before had he heard truths that touched his heart as those that Mr. Stronach expounded. He became a true convert to Christianity, and as a proof of this, he began the painful process of curing himself of opium. After severe suffering he found himself free, and then, for the first time in his life, he was a real man. The Gospel had given him the nerve to do what the entreaties of his wife, and the wan and haggard faces of his children, and the dread of ruin had been unable to effect. In the course of time he was baptized, and then there came to him that profound spiritual experience that every truly converted man or woman invariably passes through. He had a great longing to preach this Gospel, that had saved him, to his fellow men. He came to Mr. Stronach, and told him of his anxiety to return home to let his wife and children see the change that had been wrought in him. His chief desire, however, was to tell them of Christ, the Saviour of the world, and to let the people of his own village, and the men of Gracious Peace, hear the good news that had gladdened his own heart. Mr. Stronach listened with

delight, and at once gave him authority to arrange for renting a house in his village, where Christian services could be held, and promised to come and preach himself as soon as it would be wise for him to do so.

'The preaching of the Gospel in the little village, under the shadow of the great mountain, produced great excitement far and wide throughout the county. Men came from every direction to find out what these new doctrines that were being preached meant; the result being that the Sunday services were attended by some that were destined in the future to become preachers themselves, and founders of Christian work in their own villages. The congregation increased in size. and in the course of a year Mr. Stronach visited the place, and, after a careful examination of the candidates for baptism, selected twenty, whom he baptized, and who thus constituted the first Christian Church in the county of Gracious Peace. This took place on March 17, 1867, a memorable day in the history of the church. The success thus far was remarkable. A year before the very name of Christianity was unknown; and after Mr. Stronach's visit about forty persons regularly met for the worship of God, twenty of whom were members of the new church.

'This was not accomplished without opposition. In proportion as Christianity took hold upon the people, was the active hatred of the more bigoted of the heathen aroused. But the preaching of the Gospel was vigorously carried on in the surrounding villages, and excursions were made to the more distant ones, where some of the Christians resided. In this way the truth spread, and converts were gradually added to the church. In course of time the church was moved from the village to a small market town on the great road, about a mile away, named Iah-poa. The population was larger, and the numbers that daily passed by the doors of the new building were very great. For a long time after the removal, the church was in a very unsatisfactory condition. It seemed to make no impression on the place, for the members became listless, and

wanting in that enthusiasm without which Christianity fails to be a power over the heathen. But in recent years a remarkable change for the better has come over the church.

'In the year 1870 it was determined to take another step in advance, and to begin work in an entirely new district, in a market town of great importance some thirty miles from Amoy, up the North River, named Pho-lam. Behind Pho-lam, and away on the opposite bank of the river, stretches the great plain of Chiang-Chiu. It is dotted with countless villages and fields of rice; and endless clumps of sugar-cane indicate that the people of this highly favoured region are prosperous and well-to-do. Pho-lam was a great trade centre. The teas that were then sent from Amoy to America all came down the river, and had to be transhipped here. Great rafts of timber, too, were shot down the rapids. Boats packed to overflowing with packages of paper made from the bamboos that grew in rich luxuriance on the mountain sides and in the valleys, came in daily to be sent down to Amoy, from whence they were dispatched in steamers along the coast, and away to Singapore and Manilla.'

Mr. Macgowan thus describes the beginning of the mission :—

'It was fair day when we arrived at Pho-lam. When we got opposite the town, the approaches were so blocked up by the crowds of boats that anchored off it, that we experienced great difficulty in landing. When we at last got on shore, we found ourselves amidst a great surging mass of people that were pressing eagerly to see the foreigner. Probably not any of them had ever seen one before. Vague rumours had come up the river about the existence of men from the West, who were residing in Amoy, but here to-day was one of them in their very midst, and with whom they could converse, for he knew their own language. When we got into the church, it was instantly filled to overflowing by a motley crowd, all anxious to have a good look at the foreigner that had come to preach his strange doctrines in

the town. The scene before us was an impressive one, and in some respects a weird one. If there could have been a Hogarth amongst us to have portrayed the various faces there, he could have produced a picture that would have immortalized him. There were farmers and shopkeepers, and opium smokers with pale and haggard faces. dyed with the unfading hue that opium stamps upon it; and conspicuous, too, were the gamblers, with the hungry look in their eyes and restless movement of their fingers, that seemed perpetually to be manipulating invisible cards, or grasping the dice ready for a throw. Not one of the mass before us knew anything of God.

'The babel of voices soon became hushed, and the exclamations of wonder and surprise gradually died away, as we proceeded to tell them of the great Father and His eternal love. We spoke to them of Christ, of His great sacrifice, and how He came to redeem men from their sins and their vices. As we dwelt on this topic, the crowd became rapt in their attention. Every eye was fixed on us. The great sun flashed and blazed in the street outside, and his beams played about the doors, and fell upon the faces of the gamblers and opium smokers, and made them look ghastly; but they thought not of this, for the Divine story was touching their hearts, and proving that its ancient power was as potent as ever.

'After we had been speaking some time, a man came quickly from the crowd where he had been standing, and kneeling down before me, began knocking his head upon the ground. I at once took him by the arm and told him to get up at once. With some little difficulty I got him on his feet, the crowd the meanwhile looking on with amazement. I then asked him what he wanted. He told me that he had been deeply moved by what he had just heard. "I have been an opium smoker," he said, "for many years. I am a complete slave to the habit, and I feel that I have no power to help myself, and no one around me can. You spoke of the power of God to save me. Can you do anything to deliver me?" And as he said these words, he was

about to precipitate himself again before me. I looked at him steadily whilst he was talking. His face had a terribly dissipated look about it. Vice had left its impress upon it, and so it had a coarse, sensual look, as though it had been dragged through the very slough of wickedness all his life. His clothes were shabby in the extreme. They were greasy and torn. He was about the very last man in all that fair that day I should have selected to become the first stone in the spiritual temple that God was going to build in that town of Pho-lam. As I looked at him, my faith in the man waned. These opium smokers are such liars, and so exceedingly difficult to cure, that I considered his case absolutely hopeless. I said to him: "If you are in earnest, of course you can be saved. Christ can save worse men than you are. Are you really in earnest, though? Remember, the first thing you will have to do is to give up your opium. Are you prepared for that?" "I am," he said; "try me." I at once assured him that if he really had made up his mind to consent to this, I would help him to the very utmost of my ability, and that I would stand by him to the very last. I told him he must come every day and study the life of Christ, and be instructed in truths that would strengthen him for the struggle that he was now going to have with opium and his old vices. He readily assented to this, and ere long a marvellous change was seen in him. The old opium smoker has been for years one of the pillars of the church, and has exercised a very powerful influence over the young men of it. The tragedies of his own life, and the terrible scenes through which he has passed, enable him to speak with a pathos and a power to them that help them to resist the temptations that still abound in that market town. One would never dream, as he sat reading his large print Bible, that he was once the low dissipated character such as we can see in the opium dens to-day. His face was pleasant to look at. The Gospel had long ago taken the fierce, bad look out of his eyes, and had made his manners gentle and loving. There was no power in China, or in all the world,

that could have changed him into the man he became, excepting the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

'The early growth of the Pho-lam church was rapid, and it soon acquired a reputation for earnestness and godliness that has clung to it to the present day. It was very fortunate in the character of its first converts. They were men who had profound faith in the Gospel, and their lives were generally so consistent that they made a deep impression on those that were subsequently baptized.

'The changes that have taken place since I first visited this market town have been marvellous. When we first reached it, there was not a single person that, as far as we knew, had ever heard the Gospel. The moral darkness of the town was dense; heathenism was universal, and vice was running riot in it. The Divine story of the Gospel was told in the midst of this impure life, and hearts were soon touched by its beauty and pathos. Men of heroic faith, who had to suffer much for their confession of Christ, came within His influence, and became the spiritual stones in the new temple. Some who were built in less heroic mould faltered and failed under the tremendous strain to which their faith was put; and others, with nothing specially conspicuous about their life, have patiently carried out the Christian virtues in the midst of their heathen surroundings. Many other workers since then have preached with power in this place and the region around, and have helped to build up the church that has been established here. The mountains still look down, as of old, upon the town with its gamblers and opium smokers; but they also look upon a Christian community that assemble here for worship, whilst on the river bank, and away across the plain, and at the foot of the distant hills, four other churches have been formed where men may learn the way of life.'

Mr. Macgowan has been in the midst of active work in Amoy since 1863. In the thirty-six years which he has spent there he has had the reday co-operation of a long

series of fellow workers. James Sadler joined the mission in 1867, and is in active service there still (1899). E. J. Dukes was connected with the mission from 1874 to 1878. R. M. Ross was appointed to Chiang Chiu in 1885 ; and Mr. F. P. Joseland to Amoy in 1887. In 1891 he exchanged stations with Mr. Ross. A marked development has taken place in recent years.

Since 1885 great attention has been paid to women's work. Mrs. Stronach, Mrs. Macgowan, and Mrs. Sadler, in succession, carried on much useful work among Christian women in Amoy. In 1885 Miss Miller and Miss Ashburner were sent out to devote themselves entirely to this branch of service. In 1889 Miss Ashburner removed to Chiang Chiu, and Miss Benham was sent to Amoy. A girls' school, hospital visitation, classes for Scripture instruction, Bible-women's work, and home visitation have all been vigorously prosecuted, and the Report for 1890 notes: 'As the result of these efforts, women attend the services more regularly, and there is marked evidence of growth in intelligence and Christian character.' In 1895 Miss Horne and Miss Sadler were co-operating with Miss Miller in women's work.

In 1888 Chiang Chiu was constituted a chief station, first under Mr. Ross, and then under Mr. Joseland. Under the care of Mr. Ahmed Fahmy, in 1887, medical mission-work on an enlarged scale was begun. The Report for 1890 noted :—

'Dr. Fahmy opened his Mission Hospital in January, 1888. During that year there was an epidemic of cholera, which brought out the anti-foreign prejudices of the people very prominently, while it furnished special opportunity to those who overcame their prejudice sufficiently to take the relief which was offered to them. Notwithstanding these prejudices, however, a large amount of work has already been done during the three years the hospital has been opened.' The following figures show how important this branch of the work is :—

	1888.	1889.	1890.
Individual cases	3,371	3,096	3,484
Total number of consultations by out-patients	10,847	8,338	8,237
In-patients (included in above) .	441	284	360
Female patients (included in above)	643	516	530
Surgical operations . . .	409	353	354

Miss Ashburner left Chiang Chiu in 1892, and was succeeded by Miss Carling and Miss Parslow. A new hospital was opened there in 1894.

The Amoy district deserves much more attention and study in detail than can be bestowed upon it here. Without entering into any invidious comparisons, it may be indicated that the region is one where Christianity has won many most impressive victories, and where a large number of vigorous, self-supporting, and self-governing native churches have been developed. In a careful statement prepared by Mr. R. M. Ross for the centenary of the London Missionary Society, this is how he sums up the results of fifty years of devoted, energetic Christian work[1]:—

'Some thousands have renounced idolatry, received Christian instruction, made public confession of Christ, formed themselves into Christian churches, and by their own money for the most part supported their own ministers. In every part of China the spirit of the persecutor is to be found, so that it is not the Amoy Christians alone that are called to suffer dire persecution, and it is not they only who have shown heroic patience, endurance, and faithfulness in loss, suffering, and death; but the liberality and aggressiveness of the Amoy Christians do stand out with great prominence as a wonderful testimony to the power of the Gospel and the love of God. In the Report for 1894 it is stated that the contributions of Amoy in one year—including the prosperous centre of Chiang Chiu, about forty miles away—amount to £1,178 11*s.* 9*d.* Nearly £1,000 of that is for the support of a native ministry and educational

[1] *Founders' Week Convention Report.*

work; the remainder for the hospital, where unspeakably good work has been and is being done. This is a truly magnificent sum for those poor Christians at Amoy and Chiang Chiu to raise.

'Had it not been for this aggressive tendency and this robust life, we could not to-day write of sixty churches and out-stations, and of many more pastors, preachers, and other Christian teachers, including Bible-women not a few. It is not foreign money that has led to the wonderful development of this mission; it is the generosity of a community that not long ago was steeped in the mire of heathenism; it is by the principle that needed almost superhuman strength and determination to introduce and establish—the principle that every man that names the name of Christ should not only depart from iniquity, but contribute of his means, however small, to the support and spread of the Gospel. And to-day the atmosphere of our churches, and those of our sister missions of the American, Dutch Reformed, and English Presbyterian churches which work side by side with us, is laden with the spirit of self-support—a pride is taken that by their own money they propagate Christianity, and so stop the clamours of the heathen who are ever too glad and ready to say: "You become Christians to get the foreigners' rice and protection." The strongest and grandest argument in China and England in favour of Christian missions, and in proof that the Gospel is what Paul said it was, "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," is the quality of the men and women that compose the Christian Church, as seen in the self-sacrifice they make and in their liberality to maintain a native ministry.

'Denominationalism is never preached or insisted on by us: we have a little of Episcopacy, of Presbyterianism, and a big bit of Congregationalism. These churches have formed themselves into a union called the United or Harmonious Gathering; it meets every spring. A chairman is elected by this assembly, which is composed of pastors, preachers, and delegates—that chairman may be native

ordained pastor or missionary. He delivers an address from the chair, and presides over the gatherings, which last four or five days. The proceedings are varied; the roll of the churches is read, reports of individual churches are given by pastors, missionaries, and delegates. Questions like the following are asked: Have pastors, preachers, and deacons done their duty? How does the spiritual character of the church show itself? How are its finances? Has the minister been paid up to the amount agreed upon? Then there is free public discussion of vital subjects, such as the duty of the Church to extend her borders, to work against infanticide, slavery, polygamy, early marriages, opium and morphia selling and eating. In short, an opportunity is afforded every person to air any grievance of a public nature; and we conclude our meetings with the Communion, always having had a warm but enjoyable and profitable time. The constitution of this union is not legislative, but deliberative; the Presbyterian churches amalgamate into one presbytery, and the legislative tendency preponderates. We aim at self-support of ordained and unordained preachers; they support their preachers with foreign money, and pastors by groups of churches.

'The sort of men who become ministers of these free churches is a matter of great importance. There is a theological college at Amoy. This is not on the scale of University College or Hackney, New, Cheshunt, or Western. Our building, from which some seventy men have been sent out, cost £25. Thirteen students and native teachers could live in it. Lecture-room, class-rooms, reception and dining-room, and dormitories were thrown into one—a kitchen for that matter; but those seventy men were educated in the Scriptures there. Many of them are men of intellect, ability, and devotion, able to meet the literary classes of China in discussion and make known the essential truths of the Gospel. After a visit of three weeks Mr. Stephen Massey saw our churches, college, schools for boys, women, girls, and opportunities. He was ashamed of and astonished

at our institution; especially when across the way he could see a capital building erected by the English Presbyterians at a cost of £400, that could accommodate sixty students, with every convenience; and he undertook to give us a building worthy of our mission, and he has done it. To-day a handsome, substantial college stands in the place of the old one I loved so dearly, and we expect to do great things through it. In addition to this, we have some hundreds of youths, boys, and girls being educated in schools scattered, as the churches are, over the entire district.

'Another striking evidence of the robust and aggressive Christianity of the converts at Amoy is the well-sustained and voluntary attempt to send the Gospel, beyond the sixteen millions said to speak Amoyese, into a vast prefecture of six counties where three or four millions of people live, 200 miles from Amoy itself, without any Bible or living witness until volunteers went to make Christ known to them. Our Union was mightily moved by the Spirit of God to undertake the evangelization of Ting-Chin. We asked for no men or money; we stated the needs of the field. The cry or challenge went out: "Who will go for us?" and the answer was returned by a dozen volunteers: "Here am I; send me." The task attempted is herculean; the distance is enormous for a Celestial; the dialects are many and difficult, for the Chinese are not linguists; the outlook was dreary and uninviting; distress and persecution were certain to attend the steps of the pioneers; but in God's strength they said they would go, and they went. The support is absolutely voluntary in men and means. We are preaching, teaching, healing, and distributing the blessed Word of God, and already some have been baptized and admitted to our churches. The pastor of our oldest Amoy church —a young man with fine spirit, intrepid courage, and signal ability—resigned his pastorate to become the leading pioneer among those millions in Ting-Chin. Those of us who know the Chinese are sure that only Christ's love and God's grace could produce a movement like this.'

CHAPTER XXIII

CENTRAL CHINA: SHANGHAI, HANKOW, AND CHUNG-KING

1. SHANGHAI. Shanghai lies on the north-east coast of China, in north latitude 31° 24′, east longitude 121° 32′, at a short distance from the mouth of the Yangtzekiang, and upon the banks of its tributaries. Although the city itself is only of the third order, and the natives of the district are much inferior to those in the southern parts of the empire as to intelligence, energy, and independence of character, this port must, nevertheless, be considered at present as our chief entrance into the heart of China. It communicates directly with one of the chief cities of Kiangsoo province, Soochow, which is situated at a distance of seventy-three miles, or thirty-six hours' sail, and also with Hankow, the capital of Chekiang province, at a distance of 150 miles. The value and advantage of such close and direct communication with these two great cities, may be judged from the estimate in which they are held by the natives, as expressed in the common saying, 'Above there is heaven, below we have Hankow and Soochow.'

Besides the intercourse that is maintained with those chief cities (which claim headship over provinces embracing more than sixty millions of inhabitants, and are the seats of wealth and luxury, fashion and learning in China), there is free and constant communication, by sea, with the northern and southern coasts, from Canton to Pekin, and all the middle provinces, such as Gankwai, Honan, and also many

rich districts and fine cities; for example, Chinkiang and Nanking may be visited within a week or two, by sailing up the Yangtzekiang, or by means of an infinite number of secondary channels.

In 1845 the staff was Dr. Medhurst, W. C. Milne, M.A., and Dr. Lockhart. Benjamin Southwell and William Muirhead joined the mission in 1847. The former died in 1849; the latter, the senior missionary of the Society in China, is still (1899) actively engaged in the Christian work in this great Chinese centre. With them, as superintendent of the press, came Mr. A. Wylie; and in 1848 Mr. Joseph Edkins reached Shanghai.

Dr. Medhurst's great work was the revision of the Chinese Bible. The hospital was under the care of Dr. Lockhart. To the other missionaries fell the work of preaching, evangelizing, and itinerating. We will glance at these three great departments of service.

The features of work in Shanghai may be gathered from an official letter written by Mr. Muirhead on October 15, 1851:—

'The peculiar character of this people seems to require much preparatory effort, in order to awaken them to the serious consideration of eternal things. Still, the way is preparing. A vast amount of religious knowledge is being diffused. Hundreds and thousands have come within reach of the means of grace. They have heard the gospel; their hands have handled of the word of life; they have conveyed it to distant parts of the empire. It is now widely known that teachers from the West are proclaiming the doctrine of Jesus, and exhorting all "to turn from dumb idols to serve the living God." The appropriate influence of this may not be immediately apparent, yet we are persuaded that the seed of the kingdom will not be altogether lost, but that some, by Divine grace, will fall into good ground, and yield abundant fruit. More than this, however; we have had occasion for joy and praise in the results of our work, not being merely of a general kind. A considerable addition, as you have already heard, has

been made to the church from the Fokien portion of the community, and it is gratifying to learn that all the newly admitted members continue to hold fast their profession, and to walk in obedience to the truth.

'The various services at the two chapels have been regularly kept up, and, we are happy to say, there has been no diminution in the average attendance. Although the audiences are composed, for the most part, of very different persons, there are many who come to the services frequently. Their general conduct is quiet and orderly, and they often evince great attention to what is preached. In some of the public thoroughfares and temples, we have also had numerous congregations, and always enjoyed the most perfect facility in making known our sentiments and views. Seldom, indeed, do the people openly object to anything we advance, but rather they seem to give unequivocal consent to our statements regarding the folly and uselessness of idolatry. On declaring to them the sublime truths and authority of the Christian scheme, these appear to be listened to, not so much as a matter of positive doubt or disbelief, as one that only requires to be more fully considered and proved. This fact, notwithstanding the extraordinary mental inertion and preconceived opinions of the natives on the subject of religion, we often feel to be highly encouraging, while it excites the hope that the continued preaching of the Gospel will yet, even amongst them, produce its appropriate effect.

'The attendance in the hospital is as large as formerly, and affords an excellent opportunity for imparting to numbers a knowledge of Divine things. During the year a dispensary has been opened twice a week in the Old Chapel, whither many resort for medical relief who would not go to the Hospital. On these occasions, also, religious services are previously held, which, we trust, in connection with the highly appreciated medical assistance rendered them, will yet be found savingly beneficial to many.'

A new chapel was built in 1851, and Mr. Edkins, writing April 12, 1852, says:—

'Our new chapel is open daily for preaching, whenever the weather is sufficiently fine to render the gathering of a congregation probable. There are many strangers from distant parts of China attracted to this city by its great and augmenting trade, who eagerly seize the opportunity of hearing the preaching of foreigners. These usually form a part of our audiences. On entering into conversation with them in the Mandarin, their ideas and modes of reasoning are found to be all identical. The books they read, and their domestic customs being the same, there is seldom much appearance of individual originality, and they receive the doctrines of Christianity all in the same unmoved temper of mind. To these strangers Dr. Medhurst's preaching in the Mandarin dialect is especially adapted. Happily there is this medium of communication, which makes the impartation of our ideas practicable to the inhabitants of the most distant provinces of the empire. If these travelling merchants could be brought to take back with them the belief of the truth as well as the books which we furnish to them, our religious views would spread quickly over this idolatrous land.'

Two matters of great moment were connected with the early days of the Shanghai Mission. The first was the preparation of a new Chinese translation of the Bible which became widely known as the Delegates' Version. The translation of Dr. Morrison has already been fully described, and it will always stand out as a marvellous achievement. But as a matter of fact the New Testament portion was open to very serious criticism, and the version never achieved any independent circulation and use. As the later missionaries came to possess a fuller knowledge of Chinese, Morrison's work was felt to be unequal to the needs of the case, and, as we have seen, the Hong Kong Conference of 1843 decided in favour of a new translation. In this work Dr. Medhurst was the moving spirit and the dominant influence. It was begun and finished at Shanghai, and printed both there and at Hong Kong.

Like Dr. Marshman's, Morrison's version, while a very

remarkable production, was defective. It was, however, faithful. Morrison himself looked forward to and made preparation for its revision. In a letter to the Bible Society he wrote: "I make it my daily study to correct the Chinese version of the Scriptures; and my brethren of the Ultra-Ganges Mission are requested to note down whatever may occur to them as an error or imperfection in the translation. These are sent to the college and preserved, or immediately employed, as may appear best." He hoped that his son, John Robert Morrison, who gave high promise of being a great Chinese scholar, would at some future time revise Morrison and Milne's Translation. This wish was about to be carried into effect when the death of Dr. Morrison frustrated the plan; for the son, having succeeded to his father's office as Government translator, had not the requisite time to devote to the work. The production of this most important version, and the numerous and successive editions through which it passed, is mainly, if not entirely, due, under Providence, to the generous aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who from first to last advanced more than £10,000 in furtherance of the translation and its circulation.

The next translation after Morrison's was by Drs. Medhurst, Gutzlaff, and Bridgman; Mr. J. R. Morrison devoting what time he could spare from his official duties to perfect the translation. These gentlemen completed the New Testament in 1835; it was adopted by their colleagues, and was the chief version used, in the next ten or twelve years, by Protestant missionaries in China. Although nominally the work of the above-named committee, the version was chiefly made by Dr. Medhurst, and underwent a final revision by him in 1836. He also took part in the translation of the Old Testament published by Dr. Gutzlaff in 1840. In addition to translating the Old Testament, Dr. Gutzlaff modified the version of the New Testament which he and Dr. Medhurst had prepared jointly; and he printed some twelve editions of it, each edition being revised and improved.

It was hardly to be expected that the versions already made, lacking, as in many places they were, in perspicuity, elegance of style, and idiomatic precision, would give long-continued satisfaction; accordingly, in August, 1843, a meeting of missionaries was held in Hong Kong to discuss the question of revision, when a plan was adopted by which the services of every missionary capable of rendering aid were enlisted; and at five stations local committees were formed, to each of which a share of the work of revision was given. From these local committees delegates were appointed to form a general committee of revision, by which the translations of the local committees were to be compared, and the version finally determined by the votes of the delegates.

The first meeting of the delegates was held in June, 1847, the members of the committee being Bishop Boone, of the American Episcopal Mission, and the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, both living in Shanghai; the Rev. W. Lowrie, of the American Presbyterian Mission, Ningpo; the Rev. J. Stronach, of the London Missionary Society, Amoy; and the Rev. Dr. Bridgman, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Canton. Mr. Lowrie was drowned shortly after the work was begun, and the Rev. W. C. Milne was elected to fill his place. Bishop Boone never attended a meeting of the delegates after the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel was finished, and Dr. Bridgman never made a suggestion which his colleagues could accept; and when the version was finished he repudiated all responsibility for it, so that the translation was virtually the work of the English missionaries—Medhurst, Stronach, and Milne, all three connected with the London Missionary Society.

The committee, aided by several native scholars, continued their work daily, almost without intermission, till the New Testament was finished in July, 1850. It was published with the imprimatur of the delegates, and is known as 'The Delegates' Version.' Soon after the publication of the New Testament, a revision of the Old Testa-

ment was commenced, but, owing to a division among the members, the committee separated, and the result was two versions. One was made by the English missionaries, Medhurst. Stronach, and Milne, and has been called 'The Delegates' Version,' although this title is not strictly accurate; yet as the actual translators were the same as those who executed 'The Delegates' Version' of the New Testament, and as the style is uniform with it, the one title has been given to the whole Bible. The other version of the whole Bible was made by Dr. Bridgman and Dr. Culbertson, American missionaries who withdrew from the committee of delegates.

Dr. Medhurst also translated the Old Testament into Nanking Mandarin, and in concert with the Rev. J. Stronach carried out the translation of the New Testament in the same dialect, the entire Bible being published in 1856 at the cost of the Bible Society.

The other event which for a time greatly hindered missionary efforts at Shanghai and Amoy was the great Tae-Ping rebellion. The rebel chief, Hung Sew-Tseuen, had by means of a tract written by Leang A-fă come in some imperfect measure under Christian influence. Dr. Legge, in 1853, gave the following account of this remarkable man:—

'In 1837, it is stated in one of the works which I have been analyzing, he was taken up to heaven, and fully instructed in Divine matters. Before that time, however, his mind had been excited about the great truths which are contained in our Scriptures. There is evidence that he was for some months, in 1846, residing, for the purpose of receiving religious instruction, with Mr. Roberts, an American Missionary in Canton. On his first application to that gentleman, he informed him that the thing which first aroused his mind was a tract with the title—"Good Words to Admonish the Age," which was given him several years before at one of the literary examinations. The statements of that tract were subsequently, we learn from another document, given last year by a relative of his to

a Swedish missionary in Hong-Kong[1], confirmed to him by a vision which he had in a time of sickness, and during which occurred his visit to heaven. Thus we are carried back, beyond 1837, to the point when this religious movement commenced, and we want to find a tract, entitled—"Good Words to Admonish the Age," given to Sew-tseuen, then a literary student, at one of the triennial examinations. Now, we have the tract, and we have the record of its distribution on one of those occasions.

'"Good Words to Admonish the Age" was a tract well known to Missionaries some ten or twelve years ago, but it has latterly been out of print. I had the old blocks sought out, however, during the present week, and have had a few copies struck off. No one can look into it without seeing at once that its phraseology and modes of presenting the truth are repeated in the publications obtained at Nankin. It is rather a misnomer to call it a tract. It is a compilation of tracts, or short sermons on passages of Scripture, and the general principles of religion, in four pretty large Chinese volumes. The different volumes, however, used to be distributed separately, each with the general title, and, perhaps, Sew-tseuen only received one of them, and not the entire set. So then, as the oak is in the acorn, the present great movement lay in one, or more, of the volumes of this compilation—"Good Words to Admonish the Age." The writer, Leang A-fah, is still alive, and still continues abundant in labours, in connection with Dr. Hobson's operations in Canton. And now for the fact of the distribution of this tract at the literary examinations in Canton. This I shall give you in the words of A-fah, in a letter written in the end of 1834:—"For three or four years I have been in the habit of circulating the Scripture lessons[2], which have been joyfully received by many. This year the triennial examination of literary candidates was

[1] This document is verified by the quotations which it gives from the publications that have since been obtained at Nankin.

[2] 'Scripture lessons' is only another name for *Good Words to Admonish the Age.*

held in Canton, and I desired to distribute books among the candidates. On the 20th of August, therefore, accompanied by Woo A-chang, Chow A-san, and Leang A-san, we distributed 5,000, which were gladly received, without the least disturbance. The next day we distributed 5,000 more." My space will not allow me to quote more of A-fah's letter. His good endeavour soon brought the attention of the mandarins upon him, and the end was the severe punishment of one of his friends, the death of a second, and the flight of himself to Singapore. The detail which I have given shows you the book by which, the individual by whom, and the manner in which, the head of this formidable rebellion was first brought into contact with Scriptural truth. The connection between him and A-fah will greatly interest those who wisely like, in their study of Providence, to put this and that together. A-fah was the first convert made by Protestant Missions, and by him is communicated an influence to the mind of this remarkable individual, which has already extended to tens of thousands, and may spread over the whole of this vast territory.'

Opinions differ as to the character of Hung; but it must be said that in his opening proclamation he made appeal both to sentiments of patriotism, and to principles of morality which were distinctively Christian. He took advantage of the fact that the reigning dynasty in China was not a Chinese dynasty, but a Tartar dynasty, to constitute himself the champion of China. He also boldly declared war against idolatry, the open sins, and oppressions, practised by those in authority in nearly all the great cities as well as in the country districts. His opening campaign was uniformly successful, and in 1853 he established himself in Nanking, the southern capital of the empire. A still further sign of his apparent inclination towards Christian principles and doctrines, was the appointment of his cousin, Hung Jen, to be his prime minister.

Hung Jen, like the rebel king, was a native of Canton province, but he had found his way to Shanghai, where he was taken up by Dr. Medhurst, and employed, being a good

scholar, in writing a commentary on 1st Corinthians; by-and-by, when the rebels reached mid-China, Dr. Medhurst sent Hung Jen to Hong Kong for safety. Dr. Legge recognized his abilities and not only employed him as an evangelist, but recommended him as a teacher to Mr. Chalmers, who was then studying the language. As soon as Canton was open for mission-work, after the war began in 1856, Mr. Chalmers sent Hung Jen to that city to assist in reorganizing the work which Dr. Hobson had been obliged to abandon. He was an earnest and effective preacher, and did excellent service in Canton for a year or so, when he was seized with an irrepressible desire to go to Nanking to teach the rebels more perfectly the Christian religion. He travelled to Nanking overland, meeting much peril and hardship. But the power and authority of the Taiping chief were too much for him. He accepted a high appointment, fell into the ways of the court, and perished on the dispersion of the rebels from Nanking, much lamented by all who knew him in the south.

Before the Taipings left South China, in the early fifties, the Triads (Cantonese rebels) sought an alliance with them and were rejected. In the year 1853 the Taipings took Nanking. In the autumn of the same year the Triads, acting independently, captured the native city of Shanghai. After six months the foreign community, taking the side of the Triads, attacked and drove off the Imperialists on April 4, 1854.

Mr. Edkins, writing on April 11, 1854, observes:—'The siege of Shanghae by the Emperor's troops, has continued throughout the six months whose Missionary history I have now to record. Within the last few days a new feature has been introduced into the conflict. The foreign authorities, with all the force at their command, have found it necessary to attack the Imperialists and destroy a large encampment near the settlement.

'During the opening months of this year meat and rice have been plentifully distributed among the poor in the city. The cessation of all trade had reduced them to great

poverty, and it was necessary that some steps should be taken for their relief. Large sums were subscribed by foreign merchants, and Dr. Lockhart undertook the purchase and distribution of provisions. This gave the opportunity of addressing large congregations on the subject of religion. Dr. Medhurst and Mr. Muirhead discharged this duty.

'Dr. Lockhart's labours at the hospital have been much increased by the great number of wounded men brought to receive medical care. Many of the fights that have taken place have been within view of our own houses. The proximity to the scene of conflict has filled with work the hands of your indefatigable medical Missionary; increased opportunity has thus been afforded for communicating Christian instruction. The wounded were accompanied by their friends; these have frequently formed a large audience in the hospital hall. In this duty Dr. Medhurst, Mr. Muirhead, and myself have taken part.'

Shanghai has been under the care throughout its missionary history of exceptional men. Dr. Medhurst, after superintending the mission from 1843 to 1856, visited England for the benefit of his health, but died two days after landing, on January 24, 1857. He had just completed forty years of most effective missionary labour; and China will ever owe him a debt of gratitude for his services in founding the Chinese Mission, and for the Delegates' Version of the Scriptures, mainly his work, which has remained for over forty years the Bible of China. It was not until after the Shanghai Conference of 1890 that the work of seriously revising and improving Dr. Medhurst's work was taken in hand.

Medhurst's colleague, Dr. Lockhart, was also a remarkable man. He carried on the hospital from 1843 to 1857. In September, 1855, Griffith John reached Shanghai and began his marvellous missionary career. He remained in connection with the Shanghai Mission until 1861. In 1857, with Mr. Edkins, he visited Soochow; in 1858 he established stations in Sung Kiang and other places, and during the

next two or three years he made tours into the interior, thus preparing the way for the great extension of work at Hankow in 1861. John Macgowan was here from 1860 to 1863; Dr. Henderson superintended the hospital from 1859 to 1865; and George Owen was here 1866 to 1872, when he accepted a Japanese Government appointment. But since 1847 Dr. Muirhead has been the mainstay of the mission.

Shanghai is the great port of Central China, and consequently a most difficult centre for Christian work. In the report of his visit in 1883 Mr. Thompson emphasizes this aspect of the mission :—

'Shanghai is a peculiarly trying place for Christian work. In addition to the unfavourable influences due to the presence of a large number of foreign sailors and to the effects of foreign trade, it has the unenviable dignity of being the most notorious centre for the opium traffic in all China. Large opium hulks are moored off the foreign settlement, and in the streets of these settlements are to be found an immense number of opium palaces, many of them very expensively and beautifully furnished and decorated, able to accommodate 300 or 400 smokers. There are also large numbers of gambling dens and houses of ill-fame. In fact vice seems, in the foreign settlements, to walk abroad by daylight perfectly unabashed and shameless. Natives gather in Shanghai from all parts of the Empire, for purpose of trade or for self-indulgence. A very large number of the men who come for trading purposes leave their families in their distant homes; and many wealthy Chinamen seem to choose Shanghai as the place where, of all others, they can most freely spend their gains in various sensual pleasures. Such a state of things cannot possibly be conducive to successful Christian work.

'Nevertheless, the Society has much cause to rejoice over the progress of the mission in this place. There are in the native city two chapels connected with our own mission. One of them, known as the Wu-lao-fung Chapel, comparatively small but well built, and having connected

with it a house for the native teacher and a schoolroom, is well situated in a crowded part of the city for the evangelistic services for which it is daily used. The other chapel, Sam-pai-lou, is on one of the main thoroughfares, and is a large and comfortable place. The congregation which assembles in this place on the Sabbaths is large and respectable, many of them being in receipt of from 8 to 10 dollars per month in connection with foreign business houses. They support the native evangelist at the principal chapel, giving him a salary of 12 dollars a month. There are also several voluntary workers connected with the mission, two of whom are paid for services as writers, but devote a large part of their time to evangelistic work; and there seem to be a number of devout and earnest persons among the converts.

'The property in the English settlement is very valuable. It consists of a large piece of ground situated on one of the chief Chinese streets in the settlement. The central portion of the front was sold some years ago to the committee of the native hospital for the use of the medical superintendent. This is flanked by the ground on which Union Chapel stands—and which belongs to the Society—and by the ground on which the hospital stands, and which also belongs to the Society. There are two large mission-houses on the compound standing behind the house of the doctor of the native hospital, and, in addition, is a building which is being used as a Bible depository, and a piece of waste ground which, apparently, is not of very much use for any domestic purposes. The site is an exceedingly good one for business purposes, and Union Chapel would make a good evangelistic preaching-station; but for school-work, or even for residence, it is becoming increasingly unsuitable. All the property on every side abounds with brothels and opium dens.

'The evangelistic work of the mission outside Shanghai has been carried on throughout a very extensive district, chiefly lying to the south-west. One station, the town of Bing-hu, is a large and important place on the coast, fully

100 miles from Shanghai, and there are many other places at various distances within this range which are periodically visited. In five of the country stations there are small communities of native Christians. The mission employs for this country work three catechists and a superintending evangelist. The catechists receive salaries of six, five, and four dollars per month respectively. The superintending evangelist, Ni-yun-san, is paid fifteen dollars per month, but has to provide his own house. The native preachers come to Mr. Muirhead once a month for special instruction, and spend three or four days in careful study of some part of the Scriptures under his direction.'

Five years before Mr. Thompson's visit, Messrs. Muirhead and E. R. Barrett, B.A., who was connected with the mission from 1875 to 1878, reported that the native church contained 111 members in full communion. At the Shanghai Conference of 1877 statistics of missionary achievements in China were presented, and in these our Society more than holds its own:—

'There are altogether thirty different Protestant Missionary Societies at work in China, but the above are the principal ones. There are also seven Roman Catholic Societies at work, representing the different orders in that body. There are 301 Protestant missionaries in China, exclusive of wives of missionaries; and of these 63 are single female missionaries, leaving a balance of 238 male Protestant missionaries against 254 Roman Catholic missionaries. The total number of Chinese Protestant Christians is 13,035; Chinese Roman Catholics, 404,530.

'In the year 1882, Mr. Muirhead was joined for a brief period by the Rev. G. Griffiths, who was succeeded in 1883 by the Rev. J. Stonehouse. Mr. Stonehouse remained in Shanghai until 1886, when he was transferred to Peking. After the removal of Mr. Stonehouse, Mr. Muirhead continued at his post without any male colleague until the end of last year. Two lady missionaries joined the mission in 1888, and have done useful educational and other work. Miss Gilfillan married and retired from the mission in

1890, and her place was occupied by Miss Halley, of Melbourne, Australia. The Rev. Ernest Box and the Rev. J. Lambert-Rees were appointed to reinforce the mission in 1890.

The mission in Shanghai has been pre-eminently a preaching mission. The city chapel, well situated in one of the main thoroughfares, is used daily, and still attracts large numbers. The church on the mission premises in the foreign concession, and the hall of the native hospital, next door to the mission premises, are also used for constant preaching. House-to-house visitation, the distribution of tracts and books, Bible-women's work, a girls' school, and other forms of effort are also employed incessantly to instruct the people on the nature of Christianity, and to lead them to Christ.

2. HANKOW. The Yangtszekiang, the great river of China flows into the sea near Shanghai, and forms a ready way into the very heart of China. From the first the eyes of the missionaries were directed to the great cities which lie along its banks. Of these the most important is Hankow, and thither, in 1861, the agents of the Society carried the Gospel message:—

Hankow is 676 statute miles from Shanghai. It is situated on the Yang-tsze, which at this point is nearly a mile wide. In June, when, owing to the melting of the snow on the Thibetan hills and the spring rains over the vast valley that it drains, the Yang-tzse approaches its full volume, the largest ocean-going vessels find the river easy navigation as far as Hankow. But ordinarily communication with the outside world is kept up by a daily service of river steamers which ply between Hankow and Shanghai.

Hankow has also its foreign settlement—the British Concession, half a mile long and a quarter wide, by the side of the Yang-tsze. The road by the river is like a boulevard, and the other roads are wide and have trees planted, and the consulates and merchants' houses are fine buildings in

the European style. But, while in Shanghai the foreign settlement dwarfs the native city, in Hankow the concession is only a small suburb of the vast native town—four miles from end to end—which contains from 800,000 to 1,000,000 of people, and whose narrow streets from early morning till late at night are crowded by a slowly moving throng.

In Hankow there is a vast resident population; and, in addition, crowds of strangers—merchants, soldiers, mandarins, carrying coolies, boatmen—are ever coming and going from and to remote parts of the empire. More promising spheres of work it would be difficult to find. Evangelistic preaching is the main feature of the work throughout Central China. It is carried on daily in hospital and chapel, on the streets within the cities, and in ever-widening districts around about them. Medical mission-work is so associated with this evangelization as to be an integral part of it, and our medical brethren are themselves earnest evangelists.

The story of the founding of the Hankow Mission can be best told by extracts from Griffith John's letters written at the time:—

'Hankow, November 5, 1861. Having been here for several weeks, preaching daily to this people, you will be pleased to learn how the work is progressing. As we have no regular chapel, the services are conducted in a large hall in my house. The door is opened every afternoon for two or three hours. The native assistants (two in number) and myself, preach in turns. At the close of each service books are given away to all applicants who can read. My audience generally consists of the representatives of several provinces. Canton, Fúh-Kien, Sz-Chwan, Kwei-Chow, Kan-súh, Shan-si, Shen-si, Hu-nan, Kiang-si, Ngan-hwei, Che-Kiang, Kiang-su, &c., all meet here in their respective merchants and artisans. Many of them come and go annually. Not a few attend our preaching from day to day, and to most our speech is quite intelligible. From this point the Gospel may penetrate and spread over the eighteen provinces. The Gospel is listened to invariably

with much attention. Most come with the sole purpose of learning what this new doctrine is. The questions asked by them, and the answers elicited by questions put to them, are indicative of a state of mind far more inquisitive than that of any part of China that I have yet been to. The books are received thankfully, and, what is far better, are read by many.

'The mandarins here are disposed to be very friendly. The district magistrate has called upon me twice, and written me several very kind letters. The Lieutenant-Governor has sent me a proclamation to be posted up on our door, commanding both soldiers and people not to injure or molest foreigners, under the severest penalty. The friendliness of their disposition has given me an opportunity to speak a word for Christ in the highest circle of Chinese society. Yesterday I was invited to breakfast by one of my mandarin friends. Among others he had invited a Hú-nan military mandarin to meet me. Having spoken much of the military glory of Hú-nan, and the martial courage of the Hú-nan men, he said that there was no danger of their ever believing in Jesus, or of His religion ever taking a deep root in that celebrated province. "Slowly, my friend," said I; "the Hú-nan people know not His person and character, and therefore can't believe in Him just now; but ere long they will be made better acquainted with Him, and who knows but that many of them will turn to Him." "Never," rejoined he; "they have Confucius, and Jesus cannot be compared with him." "Infinitely superior," added I; "the one is from the earth, and the other from heaven. We have sages in abundance in the Western world, but we never think of instituting a comparison between them and Christ." "But," said he, "all sages are heaven (God) sent." "Christ," replied I, "is not only God sent, but God incarnate—God manifested in the flesh." This doctrine offended the pride of the man, as it does that of the natural mind in every age and country. It led, however, to some further conversation, with which I was much pleased.

'The river, down to Wú-hú, is now in the entire possession of the Imperialists. It is impossible to foresee what will be the end of these things. Believing in the superintendence of an all-wise and all-good Providence, we cannot but think that all will work together for her good. We feel convinced that the Omnipotent is present in these mighty convulsions. It does not require much sagacity to see that this state of things has done much towards opening up the country so wonderfully and effectually to the Missionary and the merchant. Also, their national pride being considerably humbled, the people have been rendered more docile and susceptible of impressions from without. A great change is decidedly going on, which will produce a rich harvest in time to come. May God give His people at home, and His servants on the field, grace to labour and to wait. What we all need above anything in the present crisis, is strong, unwavering faith in the final conquest of the Gospel—the ultimate triumph of truth.'

'March 25, 1862. You will be pleased to learn that Mr. and Mrs. Wilson have returned from Japan greatly improved in health. They arrived at Hankow on January 18. Mr. W. has been able to work hard at the language ever since. In a very short time he will be fully prepared to preach in this dialect, and labour actively among this people. I trust that, by our joint efforts, we shall be able to establish Missionary Stations, not only in Hankow and Wú Chang, but also in many of the surrounding cities and towns.'

'The Missionary's work is to teach the truth, and few things can delight him more than to find that his teachings are understood and remembered. And this leads me to make a remark on the advantages which the Protestant method of teaching has over the Roman Catholic. The foreign priest does not preach publicly to the heathen. In fact he never comes in contact with the heathen world. All that he sees of them are those whom his native agents bring under his notice in the shape of inquirers. Even the native agents don't preach publicly; they simply go about

quietly among their immediate acquaintances. Neither do they distribute their books widely; they give copies occasionally to their converts, but, I believe, never to the heathen. The Protestant method is that of publishing loudly, openly, honestly, to all who wish to come and listen, and to scatter the seed of truth as broadly as possible, in the shape of books and tracts.

'Another advantage connected with the publicity of our method is that, though the Missionary may be stationary at one place, still he acts, to a certain extent, upon the whole empire. Traders who visit a place from distant cities or provinces, may leave it without knowing that there is such a man as a Roman Catholic priest there. Not so with the working Protestant Missionary. He cannot but be known and found out by all parties. We have had among our hearers people from all the surrounding country; these carry with them the Gospel, partly in their heads, and fully in the books presented to them. The other day an old man of the place came to hear me. At the close of the service a few questions were put to him, which he answered very readily. I asked him if he had heard the Gospel before, and he replied that he had heard it, many years ago, from Dr. Medhurst and Mr. Muirhead, at Shanghae. The old man seemed quite convinced of the folly of idolatry; and the probability is, that what he heard ten or twelve years ago at Shanghae led him first to doubt its truth. Such are some of the advantages connected with *public* preaching, and the *full* and *free* distribution of the Word of God, and other Christian books.

'The entire devotion of a Chinaman to the present, the physical, and the material, renders him almost inaccessible to spiritual influence. Speak of present weal, or present woe, material prosperity, or material adversity, and he is all eyes and ears. Heaven, however, has no charms to attract him, and hell no horrors to move him. The former, his gross, sensual soul, can understand and appreciate, but the latter elude his vision. This feature in the Chinese character is lamentable and discouraging. At the close of

a discourse, in which the Missionary has been endeavouring to show how life and immortality have been brought to light in the Gospel—how Jesus saves from sin, delivers from hell, and confers a heaven of bliss upon the believer—a Chinaman will stolidly ask him, "What *advantage* is there connected with believing in Jesus? Will it bring us any *rice*? How many *cash* does a man *receive* for entering the Church?" Such *is* a Chinaman. But such he is not to be for ever. The Gospel has been proved potent enough to vivify his dead soul. What has been done in one case may be done in millions of cases. What we need in the meantime is faith—faith in God and in the ultimate triumph of truth. In the conversion of the Chinese nation as a nation, God will give the world some day a proof of the truth and divinity of the Gospel, such as will hush the voice of scepticism for ever.

'We have hardly touched the *Empire* yet. China is hardly conscious of our presence. Before the work is accomplished the Church must advance her gold and silver with a far more liberal hand than she has done, and young men of piety and character must come forth in far greater numbers than they do at present. The conversion of China will cost the Church her treasures, the colleges their brightest ornaments, and the Missions the lives of their best men. Unless we are all prepared for this we had better give it up. If our Brethren at home knew what it was to contend with the power of darkness, as concentrated in the form of Paganism, as it is developed in China, they would certainly send out men by hundreds and not tens.'

Mr. Wilson, in a letter dated September 11, 1862, describes the formation of the first Christian Church in Hankow:—

'Of those who have manifested so deep, and sustained an interest in the doctrine as to be classed among "inquirers," some have removed to other places, or, being only visitors, have returned to their homes; of several of these we had much reason to hope well; some have ceased to inquire further; whilst others have gone on until they have been

enrolled as members of the church. Of such there are now nine. The first, who was also the first convert to Christianity in connection with Protestant Missions in this part of China, was baptized on Sunday, March 16, 1862. On June 8, six others, four men and two women, were baptized. The greatest depth of religious feeling was manifested by one who, it appears, had been quite an ascetic and devotee. He had long been seeking moral renovation through the discipline of the sect of Kwan-yin—a sect which in this province is very numerous, and has comparatively high aims. He seemed as though he had deeply felt a spiritual want, but had not been able to meet with anything to satisfy it until the light of Christian truth shone in his mind. In the midst of almost universal apathy and indifference respecting the soul's well-being, it is cheering to meet with an earnest spirit. The remaining two converts were baptized on August 17. One of them is a native of Honan, who is at present residing at Hankow; the other is a Hankow man and a scholar. He first came to me as teacher; he soon began attending the Sunday services for converts and inquirers, and at length became a candidate for baptism. Including two assistants and one servant, the native church now numbers *twelve members*, all of whom, so far as we can judge, are, we trust, really united to Christ. We regard it as one important object to make the members feel that on each rests a share of the responsibility of the admission of new members, and in all matters of discipline to train the candidate to self-government. In order the better to insure the advantages of religious worship in their meetings, we are publishing a small collection of hymns, which has been revised and prepared by Mr. John for this object, in such a style as to be intelligible to all, without violently offending the taste of the refined in letters. Mr. John has also prepared a tract or pamphlet for circulation, written with a view to answering the questions and meeting the objections which are not uncommonly proposed by those who listen to the preaching of the Gospel.'

In 1863 Mr. John lost his colleague, Mr. Wilson, who died on August 11. He was a man of great promise, and Mr. John felt the bereavement keenly. In a letter dated August 14, 1863, he wrote: 'If his life had been spared he would have made one of the best Chinese scholars, and one of the most efficient missionaries.'

In the course of 1864 Mr. John was able to carry out the plan he had cherished since reaching Hankow, of gaining a footing in Wuchang. This involved a four months' conflict of wit and endurance between the mandarins on the one hand, and the missionary on the other. When the land upon which mission-buildings could be erected was finally secured, on December 28, 1864, Mr. John wrote:—

'Such was the end of nearly four months' conflict with these mandarins—men almost incapable of speaking the truth, or of acting honestly. But though the struggle was rather irksome at the time, I am glad of it now. It gave the mandarins, scholars, and gentry an opportunity of venting their wrath in a concentrated form. Ever since they have been as quiet and urbane as possible. It also made the triumph known far and wide. It is known over the whole province that the mandarins opposed in vain, and that the conflict ended in their issuing a proclamation to inform the people that what I had done and was purposing to do had their sanction. This fact will make it much easier to commence the work in the surrounding cities. To open Wu-chang is, in principle, to open the whole province. To have failed there would have made failure elsewhere almost inevitable. I have, from the beginning, attached the greatest importance to this undertaking, and now I feel thankful to God that my efforts have been crowned with success. I must also inform you that H.B.M. Consul helped me to the utmost extent of his power. If he had frowned on the attempt, the mandarins would have been victorious. I feel greatly indebted to him for his sympathy and efficient aid.

'The buildings, consisting of a commodious chapel, two

rooms for the foreign missionary, a house for the native evangelist, and two large schoolrooms, are completed. Half of the ground has been left for a hospital or a dispensary. The land and buildings cost about £500, which sum, within a few pounds, has been subscribed by the "Hankow Community." I simply mentioned the fact that I wished to establish a mission in Wu-chang, and the above sum was readily contributed. This is an additional proof of the liberality of this community. Pau-sien-seng, the native evangelist whom I have put in Wu-chang, is a well-tried man. He is likely to work well, and do much good. He is a Christian in deed and in truth, and evidently anxious to devote his energies to the work of an evangelist. He was a highly respectable merchant, and he is now in comfortable circumstances. His influence in the native church has hitherto been of the most salutary kind.'

By the end of 1864 the converts in Hankow were thirty-six in number. Griffith John was also very successful in securing competent, earnest, and energetic Chinamen to act as evangelists. Thus, though he was still single-handed, the mission steadily grew in numbers and in working power. In 1866 hospital work was begun, the Hankow community subscribing £300 towards the building, and Dr. Reid, one of the foreign residents, undertaking the supervision of the medical work. In the same year, Mr. Evan Bryant, who had been appointed to the mission, reached Hankow; and in 1867 Mr. Thomas Bryson, who had been appointed resident missionary at Wuchang, reached that city. In 1868 Dr. Shearer was sent out to carry on the hospital work. He gave less than two years' service, resigning in order to carry on private practice. In 1870 Griffith John visited England. While at home Yü Ki-fang, one of the prominent Hankow converts, died. Mr. John at the time placed on record his portraiture, and the description will serve for many another convert also in the Chinese Church:—

'He was received into the church at Hankow in the

year 1863, when about sixty years of age. His path during these seven years may indeed be compared to that of the shining light. He was a noble specimen of a Christian. I know of no drawback in his religious career. It is exceedingly difficult for a Chinaman to break off entirely from many of the habits in which he is so thoroughly rooted and grounded. But it is wonderful how effectively this is done in some instances. Some of the converts seem to leap over the chasm that yawns between the kingdom of Satan and the kingdom of God, and to become visibly new men in Christ at once. We have such men at Hankow, and they stand out now before my mental eye very distinctly. Yü was the most prominent among them. At the very commencement he seemed a completely changed man. His whole being was powerfully influenced by the truth from the beginning, and his entire character purified and ennobled. His life appears to me to have been as spotless as that of any Christian I have vet met with in this country. In the infant church at Hankow he was a great spiritual power. Though a humble and uneducated man, he commanded universal respect. As a native assistant he was most earnest, diligent, and faithful. Every day, between the hours of twelve and five, he was to be found at his post in the chapel. It was stimulating even to the missionaries to witness the zeal and activity of Yü in the Master's service.

'I find that in China, as well as elsewhere, the hour of dissolution is regarded as a solemn one, and that the inmost thoughts of men's hearts are generally revealed in that important crisis. It has always been to me a matter of deep interest to know how our converts die; for it is certain that if they are heathen in heart, and Christians only in name, the whole fraud will come out at that testing moment. Now, the little church at Hankow has lost fifteen of its members by death, and not one of them, so far as I know, has apostatized on his deathbed; whilst not a few of them have, to my certain knowledge, died as every Christian ought to die—rejoicing

in the hope of the glory of God. Yü Ki-fang was one of these.

'During his illness he enjoyed the profoundest peace and serenity of mind. He had no apprehensions in regard to his future, and seemed only concerned lest he should be burdensome in the meantime to the living. He often told his pastor and others that Christ was his only hope, and that he had found in Him an all-sufficient Saviour. When asked by Mr. Bryant how he felt in prospect of death, he replied, "My sins are very great, but the merits of Jesus are great, too. I die embracing the cross." We are sometimes told that all the Chinese Christians are hypocrites, and that a genuine conversion in China is an impossibility. Let the life and death of Yü Ki-fang be our reply to that sneer for the present.'

In 1871 Mr. Arnold Foster, B.A., was appointed to Hankow, and in 1879 Mr. William Owen joined the mission. Mr. Mawbey, formerly of Cuddapah, was in charge of the hospital from 1879 to 1882; and in 1883 Mr. Thomas Gillison succeeded him. In 1882 Mr. Arthur Bonsey was appointed to Hankow. Mr. C. G. Sparham reached Hankow in 1885. When Mr. Thompson visited Hankow in 1883 he was greatly impressed by the progress made and the activity evident at this mission in the heart of China:—

'Hankow is the greatest trading centre in China, with the exception of Canton, and is not surpassed even by it. It is a place of remarkable activity of commercial life, and the briefest observation is sufficient to impress a visitor with the wealth and the enterprise of the native population. It is situated at the confluence of the River Han with the larger stream of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and on the eastern bank of the Han. It has thus water communication in two distinct directions extending to many hundreds of miles. The River Han, flowing down from the north, drains a vast tract of densely peopled and prosperous country, while the Yang-tse-Kiang comes from the west through a course of upwards of 1,200 miles before it reaches this city. The dense forest of masts belonging to the junks, which for

a mile and a half seem to crowd the Han river, impressed me very much, and the view from the top of Han-yang hill —comprising the city of Han-yang on the west bank of the river, and Hankow on the east bank, with Wuchang on the opposite side of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and thus presenting at once a view of the homes of a million of people—was one of the most solemnly suggestive sights I witnessed during my Chinese journey. Wuchang is not nearly so large a city as Hankow, nor has it the same commercial activity; but it occupies an even more prominent position in the governmental life of the country. It is the great provincial centre of authority, and is also one of the chief centres to which students are gathered for those great literary examinations which form so characteristic a feature in China life. From time to time several thousand students are assembled in the great examination hall of Wuchang, from all parts of the province of which it is the capital, and thus afford an opportunity of presenting the Gospel in some form to a very large number of the most intelligent and active-minded of the young men of the country.

'I was much pleased with what I saw of the native workers connected with this mission. All of them seemed to be men of earnestness and worth, and in two or three cases they are certainly above the average of such workers. There are three preachers connected with the church at Hankow who are paid from the mission funds. There is also in the same church one who has other means of support, but who devotes himself with great earnestness and ability to Christian services as a voluntary worker. There are two paid evangelists at Wuchang, and one at Hiau-kan. The last is supported by the church. Mr. John meets the Hankow workers every Saturday for a Bible class, and Mr. Owen meets the preachers and deacons connected with the Wuchang Mission every Friday evening for the same purpose. In Hankow, as elsewhere, boys' schools have been given up, and no systematic attempt has yet been made to introduce Western knowledge among the young. There is a small girls' school of which Mrs. Arnold Foster

was kindly taking charge at the time of my visit. In the mission at Wuchang there are two small schools, one for boys, the other for girls.

'The district of Hiau-kan, forty miles from Hankow, and not far from the Han river, is the one in which the labours of the missionaries have been most remarkably blessed, and which claims special attention from the Directors of the Society, in view of any further development of the Hankow Mission. It is situated in an extensive district, most densely populated, and there are already a large number of converts with an active native church.

'The medical branch of the mission in Hankow has proved an exceedingly valuable adjunct to the other labours of the missionaries. Mainly owing to the exertions of a local friend of the mission (the late Dr. Reid), a large sum of money was obtained some years ago, by means of which the present site for the hospital was secured, and the building was erected. It consists of a two-storied building in a compound, open at one end to the foreign concession, and at the other end to the street, in the native city. On the ground floor is the chapel in which the native Christian church meets for worship, and in which patients assemble daily; also a room used by the Bible-woman for meeting female patients, a dispensing-room, and a consulting-room.

'In Wuchang the old chapel and mission-house stand on a compact site, and seem well situated for work. The house is now partly occupied by a native preacher as his residence, and partly is used as a day school. There is also another chapel in the heart of the city of Wuchang, with a preacher's house attached to it. This is well placed on a crowded thoroughfare very near the great examination hall.'

The rapid growth of the Hankow Mission in recent years was well summarized by the master hand of Griffith John in the Decennial Report for that year. Dr. John thus enumerated the signs of progress:—

'1. The growth in the number of baptisms. The first two were baptized in 1862. Between that year and 1870 295 persons were baptized; between 1870 and 1880

there were 1,114 baptisms; between 1880 and 1890 the number reached 2,092. When I arrived at Hankow, in July, 1861, there was not one Protestant convert in the whole of this region, and among the heathen population it would have been hard to find one who knew anything about Christianity. The work of preaching and teaching was commenced at once, and that of healing soon followed. I am unable to give you the statistics of the other missions working at this place; but the statistics of our own mission will convey some idea of the numerical result of these thirty years of labour at this important centre.

'2. The growth in the past decade has been remarkable. The number of adult baptisms and of persons admitted to full Christian membership has been 720. Deducting those who are known to be dead, or who have been excluded from fellowship from moral failure, there appears to be a net increase of 521 during the ten years.

'3. The increase during last year was more remarkable than in any previous year. Ninety-six adults were baptized, and nine were admitted to full fellowship with the Church, making a total of 105; nineteen died, and seven were excluded, leaving for the year a net increase of seventy-nine. There is much that is trying in connection with our work, and I could tell tales of weakness, defection, sins, and wickedness connected with the native churches which would astonish many. But I have gone through it all, borne it all, and yet my faith in the ultimate triumph of the Gospel in China is stronger to-day than it was thirty years ago. We have many true, earnest, devoted Christians among our converts, and their number is growing day by day. At the meetings held in Hankow during the week of prayer at the beginning of the present year, converts attended who had come distances of six, seven, and eight miles—a journey which involved the sacrifice of a day's work to people who are in exceedingly poor circumstances. Among the large gathering who assembled day by day were the first male and the first female converts to Christianity in Central China, baptized by

me in 1862, both of whom, Mr. Chu and Mrs. Kau, are actively engaged in Christian work.

'4. There has been an amazing change in the amount of work which is being done in Central China by various missionary societies. When Mr. Wylie and I in 1868 journeyed through the provinces of Hupeh and Sz-Chuen, we did not meet a foreigner save one or two Roman Catholic priests, and not a single Protestant missionary, along the whole route of upwards of 3,000 miles. There are now on the same route somewhere about twenty stations inland, and the country is free everywhere for visitation or for settlement.

'5. There has been a remarkable spread of Christian literature. Up to 1876, each mission labouring in Central China prepared and paid for the printing of its own tracts and books. In that year the Hankow Tract Society was established, and issued 900 tracts. In 1883 the circulation in connection with this Society had reached 340,000; in 1886 it had grown to 500,000; in 1889 upwards of 1,000,000 tracts and books were distributed from its press, many of these being scattered throughout all parts of China, and finding their way to Australia and California. Similarly the circulation of the Scriptures has enormously increased. Between 1883 and 1889 22,045 Testaments and 1,123,649 portions of the Scriptures have been issued from the Hankow Agency of the National Bible Society of Scotland.

'6. During the past ten years this Society's mission in the province of Hupeh has become consolidated and extended in many ways. The missionaries are no longer content with itinerating journeys through various portions of the country. There are now a number of converts in various portions of the province. In the district of Hiau-kan, an important station has been opened which promises to be a splendid centre for occupation by European missionaries as soon as the men can be found to take up the work. In addition, the mission has found permanent quarters in three great walled cities of the province, Yüng-mung, Ying-shan, and Hwang-pi.'

The testimony of Messrs. Bonsey and Sparham, both of whom are actively engaged in evangelistic work in the city of Hankow and in various parts of the province, corroborates that of Dr. John. Mr. Bonsey records that he has observed, during eight years of his missionary life, a distinct change in the spirit and behaviour of the people. 'It would be too much to say that the old animosity and suspicion have given place to friendliness and confidence: still more would it be misleading to say that the Chinese around us are consciously hungering and thirsting after the Gospel. But it is, undoubtedly, true that a spirit of inquiry has been awakened, and a superficial knowledge of the Gospel has been imparted.' Mr. Bonsey's impression is that the progress of the work in the country is even more remarkable than in the city of Hankow.

The medical mission in Hankow has been of long standing, but the decade 1880 to 1890 witnessed such alterations and enlargement as vastly increased its usefulness. By the generosity of friends on the spot, and especially by the contributions of Dr. John himself, the Society came into possession of premises admirably adapted for very extensive medical work. Accommodation has been provided for sixty-five in-patients, and is constantly in use. The amount of work which has been done from 1883 to 1890, since Dr. Gillison first entered upon his duties, may be gathered from the following statistics:—

Dispensary—New Cases	51,982
Dispensary—Old Cases	37,883
In-Patients	5,262
Surgical Operations	4,999
Subscriptions	H. taels 8,305
Baptisms	73

Mrs. Griffith John died in 1885, and the Report of 1890 thus refers to the most valuable and important work done by her and her lady colleagues:—

'The late Mrs. John was a devoted and successful worker, not only among the European sailors, in whom she took a special interest, but also among the Chinese women

around her, and especially among the female patients at the hospital. She continued to labour, as opportunity was given her, to the very close of her life, five years ago. Since then the burden of work among the women has fallen almost exclusively upon the shoulders of Mrs. Arnold Foster. Mrs. Foster has two small girls' schools, in which the chief work is learning the Scriptures. She has also had classes for teaching Christian women to read the Bible, and has found daily opportunity at the hospital of becoming acquainted with and influencing a large circle of heathen patients. The results of this varied work are being seen in many directions. Many women now join the church, the majority of whom are brought in by their relatives. Others are now at the hospital, and yet others learn of Christ from their children's lessons. The result is the gradual uplifting of our Christian women into clearer light and nobler ideas of life.'

It was in memory of Mrs. Margaret John that the Margaret Hospital referred to above was built in 1889 by Dr. John and a few friends. It was then a one-storied building, and while very compact was far from adequate to meet the needs of a growing work. A second story has since been added, Mr. Bonsey's architectural knowledge being of considerable help in preserving the good appearance of the building. It is now (1899) a thoroughly serviceable hospital for women, with a ward for six beds, a private ward, sitting-room, bathroom, matron's room, also a miniature doctor's room downstairs; while upstairs there is a capital operating-room, a ward for six more beds, with bathroom attached, a small special ward, and a room for two young women assistants.

The alterations during the last few years in the men's hospital have been considerable. The main central building has retained its original form externally, but important alterations have taken place inside. It now contains sixty beds.

During 1897 3,250 new cases men, 1,243 women, or 4,493 in all, were treated in the dispensary; adding to these

the return visits, a total of 9,144 was reached. Then 426 in-patients men, and 75 women, or 501 in all, were received into the hospital. There is now imperative need for a medical school in which native assistants can receive proper instruction, and where, too, a staff of Christian dressers and medical evangelists can be trained for the promotion of the work in the district around. From its central position in the heart of the great Chinese Empire at the junction of two of China's greatest waterways, from its importance as a commercial centre, and from the added fact that it is fixed upon as the terminus of the Northern Trunk Railway from Peking and is likely to become the heart and centre of a network of railways in the north in the not far distant future, Hankow is eminently fitted for the establishment of a medical school, in which medical helpers may be trained to supply the numerous mission hospitals that are springing up in connection with our own and every mission in Central China.

From 1883 to 1890 the Rev. W. Owen has been the only representative of the London Missionary Society in Wuchang, the great centre of exclusiveness and self-sufficiency, getting assistance for some of the weekly services from his brethren at Hankow, but living alone and having the whole responsibility of the mission upon his shoulders. The work has been hard, and the progress made very slow. Nor can this be wondered at, when it is remembered that in this provincial capital and great educational centre one missionary has to care for the native church, superintend and partly teach a boys' school, take large part in daily evangelistic preaching, and, in addition, visit a vast country district in various parts of which are settled isolated Christians. In addition to the regular services in the domestic chapel and in the street chapel, and the work among the boys in the day school, special effort has been made to reach the students who gather for the great examinations, by distributing among them portions of the Scriptures. By this means the Word of God has been carried to remote places. Three great distributions

were made in this city during 1883 and 1890, in connection with the triennial examinations, and one a few years before Mr. Owen took up work at Wuchang. 10,000 copies were distributed the first time; 20,000 the second time (10,000 of which were Gospels); 20,000 the third time (10,000 of which were Gospels); and 10,000 the fourth time; in all, 60,000 copies. And these books have been carried here and there and everywhere all over the province. This is the way the seed of the kingdom has been scattered abroad from this centre during the last ten years. Besides the books distributed, thousands upon thousands have been sold.

Visitation of the country around has been regularly carried on year by year, until it can be said that the whole of the Wuchang prefecture has been, to some extent at least, made acquainted with the Gospel.

Mr. Owen wrote in 1890: 'I have not been in China very long, but long enough to notice a marked change, for the better, in the attitude of the people towards the Gospel. People will come to the chapel, and listen to the preaching of the Gospel by the hour, if they have time on hand, and should there be any one present inclined to be rude, the preacher hardly needs trouble himself about him; the congregation, as a rule, will see that he either behaves himself, or goes out. It used not to be so in Wuchang eight or ten years ago.'

3. Chung King. This is one of the largest cities in Sz-Chuen, the largest province of the Chinese Empire. This province has an area of 167,000 square miles, and a population of 68,000,000. Chung-King is a trading mart, situated on the banks of the Yangtse, 1,400 miles from the coast, and contains between two and three hundred thousand people. The city, which is walled, is a peninsula built on rock and densely packed. It consists of an upper and lower town. In 1888 mission-work was begun here. Mr. J. W. Wilson, who had been at Wuchang since 1886, began the work. Commodious and suitable premises were purchased, and occupation com-

menced on May 5, 1890. Dr. Davenport arrived on November 5, and, during the few weeks before the end of the year, had fitted up two rooms as dispensary, intending to commence regular work after the Chinese New Year. He was accompanied from Hankow by Mr. Li Keh-Seng, a convert of many years' standing, and a well-tried agent in Christian work, who was specially set apart for this service by the prayers of the Hankow church.

In 1895 Dr. Davenport's health compelled him to leave Chung King, but the mission was strengthened by the appointment of Mr. and Mrs. Claxton, formerly of Samoa, and Mr. and Mrs. W. Owen. Since that date Mrs. Owen has died and Mr. Owen has resigned, while Mr. R. Wolfendale has taken up the medical mission. 'Steady work, manifest advance,' was the report for 1896.

The changes in the Hankow staff have been rapid of late years. Dr. Griffith John still (1899) superintends the great mission of which he was the founder thirty-eight years ago, and which has so enormously developed under his wise, enthusiastic, and devoted care. So imperative has he considered these claims, that even when in 1888 he was elected to the chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, he felt constrained to decline the honour rather than leave the work so dear to his heart. Under his care also, and by the generous aid of the Religious Tract Society, Hankow has become a great centre for the publication and the circulation of tracts and books in Chinese. As if these duties were not sufficient to exhaust his energy, in 1885 he completed and issued a version of the New Testament in Wen-li. In 1889 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. John's colleagues, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Foster, now also are still in full work there; the former having been associated with the mission since 1871, the latter since 1882.

In 1891 Mr. W. S. Terrell was appointed as missionary at Hiau-kan; in 1890 Mr. A. M. Mackay. In 1892 Mr. T. J.

Burton went to Wuchang as medical missionary, but at the close of the year he had to take Dr. Thomson's place at Hong Kong, and in 1894 his own health failed, and he resigned. In 1892 Dr. Lavington Hart took up work at Wuchang, and in June, 1895, was transferred to Tientsin. In 1893 Mr. J. Walford Hart reached Chung King, and in March, 1894, married, at Hankow, Mary Harris of the Hankow Mission. Mr. Hart died in April, 1894, and Mrs. Hart in July, 1895.

But notwithstanding these changes and losses, the work goes steadily forward. Between 2,000 and 3,000 persons have been baptized in the history of the mission, and a hold has been obtained upon this great central region of China which will never be relaxed until idolatry disappears, the power of ancestor-worship is broken, and the lifeless code of Confucius gives way to the life-giving Gospel of Jesus Christ.

AUTHORITIES —Letters, Journals, and Official Reports; *Pictures of Southern China* and *Christ or Confucius: Which?* by J. Macgowan; *Christian Progress in China*, by Arnold Foster, B.A.; *Child Life in Chinese Homes*, by Mrs. Bryson; *Everyday Life in China*, by E. J. Dukes; *John Kenneth Mackenzie*, by Mrs. Bryson.

CHAPTER XXIV

NORTHERN CHINA: TIENTSIN AND PEKING

THE Northern China Mission of the Society is situated in the province of Chi-li, a name which is translated 'Direct Rule,' and which indicates that it contains the seat of Government. It embraces an area larger than England and Wales, and is inhabited by 30,000,000 of people. It was inaccessible to missionary effort until after the signing of the Treaty of 1860.

I. TIENTSIN. The eyes of the Shanghai missionaries had often been directed towards this great northern centre of life and power. For a brief period during 1860 and 1861, under Mr. Hugh Cowie, mission-work was carried on in Chefoo. But it was not until 1861 that Mr. Edkins was able to gain a footing at Tientsin. He returned thither from Shanghai in June of that year, and his first letter, dated June 4, describes the foundation of all the work which has since been so successfully carried on in Northern China :—

'I left Shanghae with Mrs. Edkins, to come to this place, on May 5, in the Daniel Webster, an American barque. Tien-tsin is certainly a very inviting field for missionary operations, and we fully expect that other brethren will soon follow us.

'We looked for a short and pleasant voyage, but met with a very stormy one. After rounding the promontory of Shantung, and passing by Chefoo, we came on the 13th to the Miatau Islands, which stretch across the entrance to the Gulf of Pechili. It was here that part of the British

fleet wintered after the capture of the Taku forts and Peking last autumn. Just as we were preparing to leave, a terrible gale suddenly assailed us from the south-west, and nearly blew us on one of these islands. The captain was in great fear, and while he took the helm we knelt in the cabin in prayer to our heavenly Father.

'This city lines the Peiho and the Grand Canal for four miles, and is at present in a flourishing condition. It is, after Peking, the largest city in the province of Chi-li, and it is said to contain *half a million of people*. It has grown up within two centuries on the new land formed from the sea by the Peiho river, and it appears likely to increase in size. It is garrisoned by French and English troops, and will be held for at least another year, probably longer. Among the English officers and men there is a band of zealous and faithful Christians. Beside the regular services conducted by the army chaplain, there is a meeting every evening in an upper room. I preached in this room to an audience of more than fifty last Sunday evening, and administered the Communion afterwards to more than half of this number.

'We were hospitably entertained here for ten days by a kind friend, and then removed to a house within the walls, near the centre of the city, rented by the two missionary brethren Messrs. Blodget and Innocent, and just ready for occupation. The former, who is a New England Congregationalist, has opened a large room in this house as a chapel. He arrived at Tien-tsin last autumn, but has only lately obtained a suitable abode for regular missionary operations. I have now rented a house outside the east gate, in the very extensive suburb which occupied the space between the walls and the river. It will be ready for us to enter it in a few days. The first building opening on the street will be fitted up as a chapel, and will seat seventy or eighty persons. Meanwhile, I am also making inquiries to obtain a suitable preaching-room in a more frequented street within a convenient distance. *I find that public preaching in the temples here is remarkably well received.* The last two Lord's days I had good audiences at the north and west

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gates, where the temple courts are well suited for gathering a congregation of passers-by.

'Mr. Bruce and the French minister at Peking have concluded that it is for the best to refuse passports to foreigners to visit Peking. Missionaries who went without passports have been coldly received by countrymen belonging to the embassies, and have been almost upbraided for their conduct. Missionary duty, however, requires us to visit Peking unless very strong reasons of a political nature exist to render it unadvisable. In these circumstances, although I believe Mr. Bruce's course to be mistaken, I shall not at present go to Peking, but ultimately the heralds of salvation must visit that great Chinese capital, and proclaim the Gospel in the hearing of its citizens.

'But I must urge on you to keep in mind that I am here alone, and for efficient operations in this important province an accession of labourers is necessary. Tien-tsin is the seaport, and is admirably adapted to be a centre of operations in the province, and should be the basis permanently of our Mission in Chili. Two branches of the Peiho enter it here, and, besides, there is the Grand Canal, which terminates here by joining its waters to those of the Peiho. So important a centre of communication seems to be the natural basis of evangelistic labours for Chili.'

Mr. Edkins was speedily followed by Dr. Lockhart, who reached Tientsin early in September, and in his first letter draws a lively picture of that place, though with Mr. Edkins he recognized the necessity for at once establishing there a strong mission.

'Tien-tsin is a large, busy, active city, but one of the filthiest places I ever put foot in. The streets are unpaved, and the rain softens the earth, which is worked up by the mule carts of the country into a state that is something surprising, but rather unpleasant to stumble into. The filth of the place makes it very unhealthy during the hot season, and it is not a good climate, fearfully hot in summer and shockingly cold in winter; but it is a crowded, thriving, active place—is on the Peiho, at the north end of the Grand

Canal, an important city, and *must be a station of the London Missionary Society*, on account of its proximity to Peking. At present we have not free entrance to Peking, but I hope soon to get my passport, which I have applied for, and go there as soon as possible

'The new English settlement here is a good position—all the front lots are sold, but I have sent in an application for a lot which may be granted in addition. Edkins's little chapel I am much pleased with; he gets congregations of intelligent, decent people. I was with him yesterday—the service was partly reading, partly explanatory, and partly address; and the hearers were very attentive, and made sensible remarks. I am thus far pleased with the people and their evident cultivation. I shall slip into the dialect in a little time, and I doubt not I shall be as much interested in all my work here as I anticipated. It is a fine field, and much will be done, by God's blessing, among the people here and at Peking. God has opened up a way to this part—let us go in and possess it for Him.'

Mr. Edkins prosecuted the affairs of the new mission at Tientsin in so vigorous a fashion that on April 7, 1862, less than a year after his arrival, he was able to report very considerable progress:—

'Yesterday, the first Sabbath in April, I had the pleasure of receiving two candidates for Church fellowship into the Christian Church by baptism. Ten in all have now been admitted during the period that has elapsed from the commencement of last autumn, and four or five more are waiting for further instruction and inquiry in the hope of being then received.

'The older of the two received yesterday has been a schoolmaster, but is now elderly, and is supported at home by his sons. He has been an assiduous attendant at Christian worship for four or five months, and has attained a good knowledge of Christianity. The younger man, only eighteen years of age, is the son of a convert baptized at the commencement of the year.

'In choosing a chapel site in China, the first object is to

have it in a thronged thoroughfare, so that a large number may be readily brought to hear the blessed invitations of the Gospel. After some months of ineffectual searching, a shop at the East Gate was offered. I have now had it open a fortnight, and find that its location is admirable. It is usually filled in a quarter of an hour after the doors are opened. There are seats for 120, and there is standing-room for eighty more. Having this place to preach in every afternoon, and having also one or two natives who can assist in maintaining the services, I feel that a step has been taken in advance, and trust that the Word of God will grow and be glorified in the spread of the knowledge of Jesus, and the conversion of those hitherto involved in heathen superstition. A few books on the table, and some written scrolls on the walls, containing the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, a formula of the Trinity, and a summary of Christian doctrine, explain the object to which the room is devoted. It still remains to find a site to purchase for building a chapel.

'I rejoice to be able to announce that the Rev. Jonathan Lees, with Mrs. Lees, arrived here safely on April 11 by the Vulcan, a British troop-ship. To-day our dear young brother commences his Chinese studies. I cannot but seize this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Directors for this seasonable reinforcement.'

Dr. Edkins, after visiting Peking twice in the course of 1862, in May, 1863, left Tientsin to take up work permanently in the capital. His place was filled by Mr. J. A. Williamson, who joined Mr. Lees in March, 1864. Work proceeded steadily until January, 1867, when Mr. and Mrs. Williamson visited a village in Shantung to which one of Mr. Edkins' assistants had gone, and where his preaching had aroused deep interest. Mr. Edkins also had visited the place. So promising did the work appear that Mr. Williamson was very anxious to make the place a mission station. But the Directors, through Dr. Mullens, sent the following reply:—

'We are deeply interested in this movement, and desire

to see it thoroughly prosper under the continued blessing and teaching of that Spirit from whom it has sprung. It is this desire that leads the Board to utter to you both a few words of kind warning as to the mode in which you shall conduct and carry it on. According to past experience, the course to be taken about the new Christians would seem to be this. Frequent visits of English missionaries; dispatch of native catechists; cart hire, mules, forage; expenses at inns; hire of a house or two; before long, building of a nice large chapel; appointment of one or two catechists on comfortable salaries; school-room and furniture, schoolmaster on salary; and so on. General result: a large annual bill to pay in London; conviction on the part of the new converts that English people are very rich, are their father and mother, and that they themselves need do and give *nothing*!

'Now we are persuaded that all this is a mistake. We cannot but think that the Lord who has begun a good work can carry it on; and that He can carry it on now as He did in the days of the Apostles. They had no Societies to draw upon, yet their churches grew; and we are anxious that you should try their system with your new converts at Tien-chia-tswang. On the part of the Directors, therefore, I have to urge you not to make this new opening a ground of expense. We do not think it needful that either of you should go often to visit the converts. Put a good, trustworthy catechist among them. Why not ordain one of your two brethren, Chang or Siang, to the work? Let the converts give for their support all they can: you pay a small balance, and perhaps a small sum for travelling expenses. Let them worship in houses until they can put two or three houses together and form a chapel. *Try and do without money*: let the movement grow among them from within, not from without. Commend them to the Lord "on whom they have believed," and let them go on their own way, under the guidance of a native brother whom you consider trustworthy. Try the system, and let us know the result.'

There was doubtless a good deal to be said at the time for this view. The weakness lay in the fact that in a heathen land time is an essential element in the power of native churches to gain self-support. China is ahead of India in this respect, and not a few of the native churches are practically self-supporting; but the resolution of the Directors probably ignored far too much the inevitable force of local conditions.

The years 1869 and 1870 were times of trouble. In the former Mr. Williamson died under tragic circumstances:—

'On Tuesday, August 24, 1869, the Rev. James Williamson and the Rev. W. B. Hodge left Tien-tsin by boat, to visit the out-stations in Shantung. As they were lying at anchor on the following night, near the village of Ch'ên-kwan-tung, thirty miles from Tien-tsin, their boat was attacked at midnight by a band of robbers, and plundered of everything of much value. When Mr. Hodge was aroused by the noise, Mr. Williamson was missing. This seemed the more strange, inasmuch as they occupied the same bed. The first thing Mr. Hodge distinctly noticed was the cry of "Thieves!" by the boatmen. The door of the boat was open. On his endeavouring to escape to the shore the robbers commenced beating him with their swords—fortunately not using the edges. He was severely bruised from head to foot, and his escape alive was almost a miracle.

'He immediately sought the mandarin of the village, and met him coming to the scene of the attack with a few soldiers. But on his return to the boat, accompanied by the officer, the thieves had left with their booty. A party of soldiers was immediately sent in pursuit of them, and another party began the search for Mr. Williamson. This was continued without success till the Saturday, when about forenoon the body was found in the canal, about twelve miles below the place where the robbery occurred. There were no marks of violence on the body, and looking at all the circumstances, the most probable supposition seems to be that Mr. Williamson had heard some little disturbance,

but did not think it of sufficient moment to arouse his companion; that he arose, however, to ascertain its cause, and as he stepped outside the boat received a blow on his head which stunned him, and at the same time knocked him overboard. On any other supposition he would almost certainly have called Mr. Hodge, and would have saved himself by swimming. So far as appears, not the least political significance can be attached to this outrage. It was perpetrated by a band of thieves, seeking plunder—probably not desirous of taking life.'

In June, 1870, what has since been known as the Tientsin Massacre occurred. A mob killed the French consul, and in all murdered some twenty persons, including nine Sisters of Mercy. Mr. Lees, in a letter dated July 5, enumerates the atrocities perpetrated:—

'Foreigners killed, twenty certainly, perhaps twenty-two; natives killed, number uncertain, probably from sixty to one hundred. Property destroyed: French consular buildings, very extensive; cathedral, just completed; Hospital of the Sœurs de Charité, also just rebuilt; a third Catholic establishment; a French hong; eight Protestant chapels, including the extensive premises of the American Board; eight or ten of the houses of our more wealthy converts, besides the damage done to the property of native Romanists, and many robberies on a smaller scale. Three of the foreigners killed were Russians.'

This outbreak of fanaticism and superstition for a time hindered missionary work, and filled many of the workers, especially the native Christians, with anxiety and fears. But in the end it tended rather to the furtherance of the Gospel.

No colleague came to the assistance of Mr. Lees until the year 1879, when John Kenneth Mackenzie was transferred from Hankow to take up the superintendence of the medical mission. This had been carried on in an intermittent fashion, and mainly by a Christian native dispenser who had been trained by Dr. Dudgeon. But Dr. Mackenzie bent his energies to secure a hospital. In

this he was successful, being aided partly by his skill, partly by what some people call 'accident,' but by what he himself believed to be direct answer to prayer. The wife of Li Hung Chang, the great Chinese statesman, was dangerously ill. While the Tientsin missionaries and their native helpers were praying in August, 1879, a member of the legation suggested to the viceroy that he should see what the foreign doctors in Tientsin could do. Dr. Mackenzie was one of those called in, and his skill, coupled as he always maintained with persistent, pleading prayer, led to Lady Li's recovery. It was needful, in accordance with Chinese custom, that she should be nursed by a lady doctor, and Miss Howard, M.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission at Peking, came to Mackenzie's assistance. Li Hung Chang was so grateful, and became so deeply interested in Western medicine, that he placed a room at Mackenzie's disposal, and also aided the work with liberal contributions. This event soon rendered it possible for Mackenzie to realize the great desire of his heart. He himself has told how this came about:—

'The new hospital on the London Mission Compound, commenced in the autumn of 1879, was publicly opened on Thursday, December 2, 1880, by His Excellency Li-hung-chang. The occasion was one of special interest, in that it elicited the hearty co-operation of both Chinese and foreigners. The hospital is built on the east side of the Taku Road, the main thoroughfare between the native city and the foreign concession and shipping. It is erected in the best style of Chinese architecture, and has an extremely picturesque and attractive appearance. The rooms are very lofty, without ceilings, leaving exposed the huge painted beams, many times larger than foreigners deem necessary, but the pride of the Chinese builder. Running off in two parallel wings at the back, each entirely detached and separated by courtyards, are the surgery and wards, the latter able to accommodate thirty-six in-patients. The wards in the right wing, four in number, are small, intended each to receive only three patients. Here dangerous cases

can be isolated, and persons, such as officials and others, who require greater privacy received. In the left wing is the large ward, with accommodation for twenty-four patients, and beyond this a kitchen and other offices. The wards are all furnished with kangs, instead of beds, as is the custom in North China. These kangs are built with bricks, with flues running underneath, so that in winter they can be heated; the bedding is spread upon a mat over the warm bricks.

'Upon the arrival of His Excellency an illuminated address in Chinese was read and presented. The Viceroy, upon receiving it, uttered many kindly words, showing his appreciation of and sympathy with the work already done—"while disclaiming any praise or merit as due to himself in the matter, he took the opportunity of publicly expressing his thanks to me and warm approbation of the zeal with which foreign medical skill had been so freely bestowed upon the people of Tientsin."'

After speeches by the British and Russian consuls, 'the native assistants were introduced to the Viceroy. The Viceroy, having formally opened the building, commenced a careful inspection; he examined many varieties of drugs. inquiring into their properties; wanting to know if we had any remedies in common with the Chinese; whether most of our medicinal agents came from the organic or inorganic kingdoms; as to the cost of foreign drugs; and other queries too numerous to mention. But in the surgery the greatest amount of interest was excited; the walls were hung with anatomical and physiological charts, kindly lent by Mrs. Williamson, of Chefoo; on the operating table and shelves were spread the valuable collection of surgical instruments belonging to the hospital, with models of the human body and heart, lent by the Tientsin civil doctors. Everything in this department was new, even to those high officials, such as the Viceroy and Superintendent of Arsenals, to whom the latest inventions in electricity and mechanics are immediately sent. Questions without number as to the uses and action of various instruments were put, and re-

quired all one's readiness of mind to give answers that would be easily comprehended. The size of the human brain in relation to the body, as shown in the wax model, drew special attention. The wards were afterwards examined, and the working of the hospital carefully inquired into.

'Medical missions hospitals in China have hitherto been mainly, if not altogether, supported by foreigners, the few occasional subscriptions obtained from the Chinese forming so small a proportion of the funds used in the carrying on of these various institutions as to be practically of but little account. We have, therefore, had a unique experience in Tientsin, in that the hospital has been built entirely with Chinese subscriptions, and the working expenses obtained from the same source. We would humbly acknowledge the goodness of God in the entire matter. He, of a truth, has heard and answered prayer, and where the door seemed wellnigh closed He has opened wide its portals. On the Sunday following the opening a praise meeting was held in the large waiting-room of the hospital, attended by members of all the churches in Tientsin. Much prayer was offered up that, as God had already given so many temporal blessings, and drawn the people so near us, He would, in the days that are to come, pour down richly of those spiritual blessings for which our hearts are longing.

'From Viceroy and general subscribers the total amount received during the sixteen months, entirely from native sources, amounted to Tls. 8,320 = £2,496. The new hospital has already received over 200 in-patients, all of whom find their own food and clothing. Out-patients are still seen by me at the Memorial Temple four days a week. The register there shows the names of over 5,000 patients, with more than 20,000 visits.'

This hospital was an entirely new departure, and for some years, and while Dr. Mackenzie lived, the novel conditions did not affect it adversely. But as the hospital was never formally and absolutely made over to the Society, trouble resulted after his death. But for some years Dr. Mackenzie was spared to work happily and usefully

in the mission with ever-increasing spiritual power. Mr. Wardlaw Thompson visited Tientsin shortly after the new hospital was opened, and his account enables the reader to picture the different departments of the work:—

'The work of the mission is carried on chiefly within the native city, in which there are two chapels. One of these has of late been greatly enlarged and beautified by Mr. Lees at his own expense, and is a most commodious and attractive building. The Society, through the kindness of Mr. Lees, has become the possessor of sufficient ground behind the chapel to provide ample accommodation for a resident native minister, or for a school, if such accommodation should be required. I was glad to find the work of the mission being carried on with very great energy and many evidences of success. The two city chapels are open for service during several hours of every day, and a series of addresses are delivered by native assistants at these daily services, the missionaries connected with the station visiting one or the other, and taking their turn in addressing the people. I found, on visiting the chapels unexpectedly, that there was in each case a fair congregation listening to the earnest words of the native preacher; and as soon as it was known that the foreign missionary was in the place, a large number of persons speedily gathered and listened with apparent interest and attention to the address which Mr. Lees delivered to them. According to the testimony of the native preachers, as well as of our own missionaries, there has been, during the past five years, a very marked change in the demeanour of the people, and in their apparent desire to hear. Many questions of an intelligent kind, and giving evidence of real appreciation of the truth uttered, are now asked, and the opposition which was formerly met with has almost entirely passed away.

'In addition to the services in the city chapels, constant evangelistic work is carried on at the hospital. A service for the patients is held every morning, and one of the native evangelists devotes a large part of his time to

visiting the in-patients separately for reading and religious conversation. The experience of the missionaries seemed to show that, while very little direct influence was exerted by the service in the hall of the hospital with those who had assembled for advice and medicine, the practice of individually dealing with the patients who were being cared for in the wards was productive of very beneficial results. I had the pleasure myself of taking part in the baptism of one who had learned the truth during the course of his treatment in the hospital. He was a stranger from a distant part of the country, and had come to Tientsin entirely ignorant of Christianity. But his knowledge of the truths of the Gospel, as evidenced by his answers to questions put by Mr. Lees and myself, was remarkably clear and intelligent.

'Mr. Lees has for some years maintained a training class of young men whom he prepares to be evangelists. The candidates are received on approbation for several months, and are trained for a period of from three to five years. During the latter part of their course they are encouraged to take a large share in the daily services in the city chapels. Here, as elsewhere, they have to be supported during their course of study. This training class has been a most useful means of supply for this mission, and has also been a help to the mission at Peking. The results have not been all satisfactory, some of those who have received training having grievously disappointed the hopes of their teacher; but, notwithstanding this, the class is one of increasing importance. This branch of the work has hitherto been entirely unprovided for by the Society in any way. The funds for the support of the students have been raised by Mr. Lees by private contributions among his own friends in Manchester. While it is exceedingly gratifying to find that such help is being afforded by friends of the mission, it seemed to me that the arrangement was not a satisfactory one, or worthy of the Society. It may not be out of place here to dwell upon the increasing importance of developing a well-trained native agency

for carrying on the work of missions in China, and for providing pastors for the native churches. Apparently, men of native scholarship are not wanting among the converts, and some of them are most effective speakers and earnest workers in the missions. But, as yet, very little systematic effort has been made to give these men such a careful Biblical and theological training as to fit them to become leaders of their fellow Christians in the future development of the Christian Church. The native church in China is not yet strong enough to support a ministry with any vigour, but it is most desirable that there should be men fitted to take the lead, not only by natural ability and the evidence of spiritual qualifications, but also by such careful training as is always requisite for strong and continuous service.

'The country work connected with this mission is, as in many other cases in China, carried on at a considerable distance from the base of operations. The district lies in the extreme south of the province of Chili, and on the northern borders of the province of Shantung, the Grand Canal being a means of communication right down its centre. The nearest station is twenty-five miles from Tientsin, and the furthest is fully 150 miles away. It was to me a matter of very great regret that I was unable to pay a visit to this interesting country mission, the fruits of which have already been considerable, and the promise in which is very large and hopeful. The brethren at Tientsin and Peking unite in urging that steps should be taken by the Society, as soon as possible, to establish at least one missionary in the chief town of the district.'

In the years following this visit, and largely in consequence of it, the Tientsin Mission was greatly strengthened. In 1880 Mr. A. King came to the aid of Mr. Lees; and in 1884 he married Miss Howard, M.D., who had been of such great service in connection with Lady Li. Mr. and Mrs. King are still (1898) active workers in the mission. In 1885 Mr. and Mrs. Bryson was transferred from Hankow. Their long experience of Chinese life and work have made

their labours specially helpful to the mission. But in 1888 Dr. Mackenzie died after only a few days' illness. This event was a great loss to the mission. It not only deprived the mission of a strong helpful worker, but led directly to a series of most unexpected difficulties.

Shortly after Dr. Mackenzie's death troubles began to arise in connection with the relation of the Chinese authorities to the medical mission. The hospital had been erected by the contributions of wealthy Chinamen, and the viceroy had taken upon himself the privilege of furnishing it with a supply of surgical instruments, scientific apparatus, and drugs. Contributions had been made from time to time by Chinese who had received benefit, or who were interested in the work through the help gained by their friends. At the viceroy's own request Dr. Mackenzie had undertaken a class for the training of students in medicine and surgery, under the auspices of the Chinese Government, and a liberal allowance had been made to him monthly to meet the expenses incurred in connection with the accommodation and boarding of these young men. He had been asked to take an official position, and was offered a salary for his services as the viceroy's medical attendant, but declined any personal remuneration, on the ground that he was a missionary, and that all his work was connected with the advancement of Christianity. The allowance made for the students was so liberal that Dr. Mackenzie was able to save part of it, for the purpose of forming a Hospital Trust Fund, which he had intended to apply to the extension of medical mission-work. This fund had been increased by private contributions, and at the time of Dr. Mackenzie's death had attained to such an amount that it had been agreed to appropriate the proceeds to the support of a medical missionary in Mongolia.

No sooner was Dr. Mackenzie removed than the Chinese authorities claimed the right to appoint his successor, and, it being shown that this was a matter which rested with the Directors of the Society, they promptly laid claim to the hospital buildings and the whole of the Trust Fund. It

had always been understood by the Directors and by the missionaries on the spot, that the help of the viceroy and his Chinese friends was given directly to the mission; but the matter being referred to arbitration, it was found that the Chinese claims were legally valid. It was shown that they had always dealt with Dr. Mackenzie personally and not with the Society, and consequently it became necessary to give up all that part of the fund which had been accumulated as the result of savings from the monthly allowance of the students, and also those buildings which had been erected by the special contributions of the Chinese officials and others nine years ago. It appeared at first as if the deeply interesting work which had grown and developed in connection with the medical mission would come to a sudden and painful end. By a friendly arrangement, however, the Society was permitted to purchase the buildings, erected on its own land, at a valuation, and thus premises were provided for carrying on the work. The medical mission became entirely the Society's property, and the cause of Christ has gained by the complete disconnection with Chinese officials.

Dr. Roberts was recalled from Mongolia to succeed Dr. Mackenzie in 1888. For six months the hospital was worked on the old lines, while negotiations and arbitration were being carried on. Since the new arrangement began the accommodation has been more restricted, but the rooms which for some time had been occupied by the medical students reverted to their original use, so that with the smaller staff of workers there has been ample scope for carrying on their work. The number of outpatients has been larger than ever before, but the inpatients for a time were not so numerous. The Christian element in the work has been prominent in all the arrangements of the hospital at Tientsin, and as the result it has been made the means of rich and widespread blessing.

An extension of work took place in 1888. The district of Chi Chou, lying about 150 miles south-west of Tientsin and hitherto worked by native evangelists, was

now made a mission centre, and, after attempting without success to occupy Hengshüi, a new station was formed at Hsiao Chang. W. Hopkyn Rees and Dr. Macfarlane were the first missionaries. The former had been in Peking since 1883; the latter came straight from England. The Report for 1890 showed very hopeful progress: there were three out-stations, fifty-six villages in which Christians were known to reside, and the number of church members had risen to 214.

Women's work also was greatly strengthened in Tientsin. In 1887 Mrs. Morrison and Miss Winterbotham joined the mission, the former specially to do medical work among the women. Miss Roberts arrived in 1888 as a self-supporting worker.

During the closing years of the century, changes in the staff were frequent. Mrs. Lance spent the year 1885 to 1887 in preparing for a work upon which her heart was set, but which her untimely death cut short. The Directors, in 1893, accepted gladly an offer of service from Miss Kerr, who had been in China as an independent worker for some years, and whose thorough knowledge of Chinese and the people enabled her at once to take up work among Chinese women. In the autumn of that year the mission was further reinforced by the arrival of the Rev. D. S. Murray and the Rev. A. D. Cousins. Mr. Murray, having been in Shanghai for several years as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was able without much delay to adapt himself to the Northern dialect, and has commenced active work. The claims of the work and the impulse of the Forward Movement led to a large increase of the staff. In 1894, in addition to Messrs. Lees, Bryson, and King, the list of workers included Dr. Roberts and Dr. G. P. Smith, D. S. Murray, A. D. Cousins, and two additional lady workers, Miss Macey and Miss Kerr. In 1895 Dr. Lavington Hart was transferred as a lay missionary from Wuchang to Tientsin. In 1896 Mr. and Mrs. Murray and Miss Kerr went to reside at Yen San, an out-station about seventy-five miles south of Tientsin, as

a permanent mission centre. The Report for that year gave a very hopeful view of the work in hand and of the prospect of a large extension of usefulness in the district:—

'The opening of the Chinese Medical College in Tientsin in 1893 was an event full of encouragement. The medical school which was started twelve years ago by the late Dr. Mackenzie, at the request of the Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, in connection with the mission hospital, was closed soon after his death. The scheme has now been resuscitated entirely apart from the mission. An extensive and expensive range of buildings has been erected, which were opened by the Viceroy himself, and twenty English-speaking Chinese students have been gathered for instruction in medicine. Not only was this public and official recognition of the value of Western medical science the direct outcome of the work of a medical missionary of this Society, but the two Chinese tutors were both trained by Dr. Mackenzie; and of the pupils eight were Christian lads, and some of the others have received their previous education at mission schools in the south of China. This is but one of many evidences constantly presenting themselves, that though for a long time the direct results of mission-work may seem to be very slight, an influence is being exerted which may have unexpected and far-reaching fruit.

'Notwithstanding the opening of the Medical College, the Dispensary and Hospital connected with the mission have been as largely used as ever. In fact, the confidence of the patients in the skill of the physicians has become more marked; 5,480 persons have been treated in the dispensary, and these have made 17,874 visits; 649 in-patients have had the benefit of the hospital, the average length of stay in the hospital being nineteen days. In addition, Dr. Roberts has been twice to the country for four or five weeks, visiting Yen San on both occasions as well as other places on the way thither, and during these journeys has treated fully 3,000 additional patients. The evangelistic work of the hospital has been carried on with

constancy, and not without many signs of God's blessing. Dr. Roberts and Dr. Smith, and their three Chinese assistants, all take part in this work, the most influential part of which is in personal conversation with the patients in the wards. As in past years, so now, deeply interesting cases of conversion occur from time to time.

'A very important addition to the staff has been made by the appointment of an itinerant medical evangelist. Scattered throughout the Provinces of Chihli and Northern Shantung are 229 patients who have received baptism during the past fourteen years. Most of them live in centres as yet unreached by any mission. It was with the hope that more might be done to shepherd those scattered sheep that Mr. Yang Hsi-ch'êng has been appointed travelling evangelist. He has made three long trips and met with much encouragement.

'An incident occurred on one of these journeys which shows that medical mission-work is appreciated even by highway robbers. When travelling on foot one day, the evangelist was attacked by two robbers, while a third guarded the road in front. They proceeded to rob him of his money and bedding, and the third one gradually approached, carrying in one hand a sword and in the other a pistol. Upon recognizing the preacher's face, he said: "Stop a bit, this is a teacher; we must not rob or harm him." Then, turning to Mr. Yang, he said: "I heard you preach in a temple in Tientsin in the spring of this year, when I was getting some medicine there." He had mistaken the dispensary for a temple, owing to a similarity in architecture. So saying, he made his companions return the stolen money and bedding to the evangelist, and sent him on his way rejoicing.'

The Rev. A. King, in 1894, drew a hopeful picture of the general work of the Tientsin Mission:—

'We have at times been pained by the discovery of grievous faults in the lives of some of the native Christians, but we have been gladdened not seldom by seeing men and women brought out of the power of darkness and trans-

lated into the Kingdom of Christ, and we are convinced by many things around us that the Christian leaven is at work not only in the church, but among many who are afraid to acknowledge themselves as followers of Jesus.

'A great part of my time during the year was given to the Theological School. One student has gone to assist Mr. Rees in the Chichow district, while a new student has joined the class from the Peking church. We have now six young men in the school. Three of these will finish their three years' course of study at midsummer, but I expect their places will be more than filled in the spring by young men from the out-stations. The progress of the students has been satisfactory.

'Changes have also taken place among our native workers. Mr. Chang, who was for several years pastor of the native church in Tien-tsin, died in the early summer. He was one of the earliest converts to Christianity in Tien-tsin. He was an elegant Chinese scholar, and had grasped clearly the spirit of the Gospel. His student habits prevented him from being a success as a pastor, but he was a remarkably able preacher of the Gospel.

'The Christian communities in the Yen-san district have been very sorely tried by repeated outbreaks of persecution. The evangelist, Mr. Chang-yung-mao, has apparently not been altogether blameless, but he and his friends have suffered very severely for their faults. The difficulties have now, apparently, come to a peaceful end.'

At the present time (1899), under the care of Mr. Murray, Miss Kerr, and Miss Esam, Yen San is one of the most hopeful stations in North China.

2. PEKING. Dr. Lockhart, who in 1857 had returned to England, hurried back in 1861, intent on opening, if possible, a medical mission in Peking. He reached Tientsin early in September, was successful in getting a passport, and with characteristic energy lost no time in journeying to Peking. His letter from that city, dated September 18, 1861, is of permanent value, since it describes the com-

mencement of Protestant Missions in the metropolis of the most populous empire on the globe:—

'I have arrived, by God's great goodness, at the end of my long journey, am at Peking, living in this Tartar city, at the British Legation, as Mr. Bruce's guest. As soon as I got my passport I started, and in five carts journeyed the hundred miles from Tien-tsin to Peking; it took me two and a half days to do it. What a contrast with the beginning and end of my journey! I was two hours slipping down to Dover, one hundred miles from London, and the final one hundred miles were nearly three days in accomplishing. However, at last I rolled in my cart under the great gates, and entered the Imperial city, thanking God for all the way in which He had led me, and given me grace to enter on this place as the hoped-for sphere of labour. Mr. Bruce has been very kind, and promises to help me; at present I am a visitor, but I shall be very loth to go away, and shall try all plans to secure my residence here.

'This is a grand place for work; it is the capital, the vital heart of the empire. I expected to find much dirt here, and *it is* here in quantity; but still there is much of great interest—its walls, its gates, its streets and palaces are all vast and fine. I have seen the old Jesuit Observatory on a grand terrace on the walls, with its neat bronze instruments by Verbiest, Ricci, Schaal, and others—not used at present; they are immense things, and richly ornamented. Also, in another part of the city, the old Romish cathedral; on its gate is the inscription, "Via regia cœli 1657." The walls were painted by Ghirardine. It is being repaired most fully after long neglect and decay. I am going to the old cemetery, where Ricci, Schaal, and many others of the old missionaries lie interred; it is outside the city, in the West. I hope my coming will be the commencement of Protestant Missions in Peking, and that the London Missionary Society will not give up the place. There is a house I shall try to get in a few days, but, owing to the death of the Emperor, affairs are unsettled, and nothing can be done just now.'

Dr. Lockhart, on October 3, reports the acquirement of suitable premises for his work:—

'I have been at Peking for three weeks, and though I have not entered into possession of my house, I hope to do so in a few days. My notice was called to a house next to the British Legation, which the Prussian Minister desired to take; but after his suite had lived in it for a day or two they left it, and as soon as we knew it was vacant, I looked it over and found it would do admirably; and an especial reason why it will do for me is, that there is not another house that can be obtained! The government buy the premises, and I rent from the Legation and put it in repair, of which it needs a great deal, chiefly for the hospital part. I am rejoiced to get a house, as I am the only British subject in Peking out of the Legation, and it is a new thing altogether. I consider it a good beginning for the Mission; and though I can see that I must be alone for a time, yet in due course others will be able to join me. The thing must grow, and cannot be forced.

'The house and premises cover a good deal of ground. There is a large gate and wall to the street, then a small court and house, then a quadrangle with rooms all round. This will be for dispensary and hospital. Immediately I enter my house, I shall the next day open a dispensary. I have already picked up several patients, and I believe I and my work are getting known about the place. Milne will be here in a few days. He is assistant Chinese Secretary, and has charge of the students, who will be here in a month, among them, William Stronach. They will be company for each other, and I am very glad they are coming.

'From the Observatory the view of the city, and the palace and park, and of the hills to the north and east, is very grand. I know no scene equal to it. To see Peking from a height is very splendid—the place gives a glorious prospect; but when you leave the height and descend, it takes away the poetry of the thing altogether, and you find yourself in the dust and dirt of a Chinese city.'

Dr. Lockhart, by the beginning of 1862, was in full work.

'As soon as I went into my house and it was known that I would attend to any sick Chinese that applied to me, patients began to come for relief. One of the first, if not the first patient that applied, was a woman suffering severely from a deep-seated abscess in the palm of her hand. I told her that I could relieve her by opening the abscess. She said she would submit to anything that would relieve her extreme pain, and bravely endured my making a deep incision into the palm. She soon got well, and then came dressed in her best clothes, with her children, to thank me for aiding her. At first two or three patients only would come, then a dozen or more, then twenty or thirty would apply daily. Among my early patients there were a few successful cases, which no doubt had an influence in increasing the number of applicants.

'A man came for relief of a cough, and I noticed that one eye was closed. He said it had been closed for twenty-two years, in consequence of a burn in the face, and as the skin healed, the edges of the eyelids were glued together. After examining the state of the parts I told him I thought the eye was safe, and that I could open his eyelids. He was much pleased at this, and I passed a probe at a little orifice through which the tears escaped, and, cutting over the edge of the lids, set the parts free, and then completed the opening to its proper size, when a good sound eye was exposed. The man was much delighted, and went off exclaiming that he had regained an eye.

'In consequence of these and other such like cases, the number of patients rapidly increased, until for many successive days I attended on an average to five, six, or seven hundred persons, a third of whom were women and children. People of all classes now resort to the hospital. Officers of all ranks and degrees come themselves and send their mothers, sisters, wives, children, and other relatives. Ladies and respectable women come in large numbers ; merchants and shopkeepers, working people and villagers from a distance, and beggars in great variety, fill the courtyards. I shall not enter into the detail of cases already attended

to, as I hope to draw up a longer report of the hospital on a future occasion. There were *registered* during the first three months individual cases amounting to 6,815, but the number actually attended to was much larger.'

From the opening of the hospital, the medical operations of Dr. Lockhart were accompanied by the daily labours of a native Christian evangelist, who gave oral instruction to the patients, and distributed portions of Scripture and suitable religious tracts. Mr. Edkins, who visited Peking twice, for a month each time, during 1862, reported the most gratifying progress: 'I came up here at the end of December, and found that the preaching in the patients' waiting-room has been duly conducted by the Tien-tsin convert, who was left here in the autumn. We have much reason to rejoice in the opening that a kind Providence has made for the Gospel in Peking. The waiting-room of the hospital contains about sixty, and it is filled in fine weather repeatedly by patients and their friends. During the time of waiting for their summons, the people sit listening to the Chinese preacher or myself, while we expound the Gospel, and urge on them the claims of Divine truth. We now begin to reap the fruit of these four or five months' sowing. Several hearers soon began to ask for baptism. They were recommended to wait. I was glad to find, on returning, that some of these persons have had their knowledge extended and their experience deepened. After several conversations with them, they appeared to me proper subjects for baptism. We held a meeting on Saturday to consider this matter. There were three Tien-tsin converts and one from Shanghae present, with Dr. Lockhart and myself. Two candidates were examined, and in the opinion of the native brethren and our own they were adjudged suitable subjects for the Christian rite. Another, who could not be present, was also admitted on the testimony of the native preacher and my own. There are now four more applications for baptism, which have been for the present deferred. Great attention was manifested yesterday at the baptismal service. The result has been an increase in the

number of those present at the evening meeting for prayer and exposition, both last night and this evening. You will desire, as we do, that a blessing may be poured out from on high upon this great city, and that the first drops having come on us, as we trust from heaven, a continuous shower may follow.'

Thus within a year, and with limited opportunities of direct Christian teaching, was the first Protestant Church in the capital of China founded.

Although to the London Missionary Society belongs the honour of having been the first Protestant Society to establish its missionaries in Peking, it was speedily followed by the workers of other great missionary agencies. On Jan. 2, 1864, Dr. Lockhart reported that there were already ten missionaries actively at work: Mr. Edkins and himself, Mr. Burdon, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Fryer, of the Church Missionary Society; Dr. Stewart and F. R. Mitchell, for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Mr. W. C. Burns, of the English Presbyterian Mission; S. Schereschereveski, of the American Episcopal Mission; and Dr. Martin, of the American Presbyterian Mission.

Dr. Dudgeon, who had been appointed to the medical mission so successfully originated by Dr. Lockhart, reached Peking in March, 1864. Dr. Lockhart, who had come out only for this temporary service, was consequently free to return to England. He left Peking in April, 1864, and after visiting Hankow and Japan on the way, reached England in August. He was not destined to serve the Society again in the foreign field. He retired from its staff in 1867, having been officially connected with it for twenty-nine years. But he was spared for another generation to render most helpful aid in the home administration. In 1869-1870 he was Chairman of the Board of Directors, and from that time onward no face in the Board-room was more cheery and hopeful, no counsel was listened to with more respect, and no truer friend of missionary enterprise in all its branches could be found among the Society's supporters. In 1891 he celebrated his golden wedding,

receiving on the occasion a congratulatory address from the Directors. In 1892 he enriched the Society by presenting to the Library his large and valuable collection of books relating to China. He died at the ripe old age of eighty-five, on April 29, 1896, full of years, loved and honoured by a wide circle of sorrowing friends.

In 1863 Mr. Edkins removed from Tientsin to Peking to take charge of the mission there. On April 15, 1864, he was able to send tidings of successful work in the western half of the mission:—

'At a church meeting held on the day of Dr. Dudgeon's arrival, several inquirers, desirous of baptism, were examined, and four among them were then decided on as suitable persons to receive the rite. It was pleasant that this little gleam of prosperity should come to us just before our brother Dr. Lockhart left. Three of the four candidates are Manchus, who have offices in the household of the Prince of Corea, a Manchu prince, whose ancestor, at the time of the Tartar conquest, received that title for his services in subjugating the kingdom of Corea. These *three* converts are the first fruits of our evangelistic efforts in the *western* part of this great city. We began with a small room in the courtyard of one of the imperial temples. Here a Tientsin helper was placed to preach daily, and hold evening meetings for prayer. The old Manchu, baptized in the autumn, exerted himself to gather an audience in this little retired room. The three men who have just been received were part of this little audience from the first. After a few weeks we were able to obtain a better house in an adjoining street; this has been open for worship since the end of January, and the same inquirers have been diligent attendants at this new preaching-room since that time. The congregation in fine weather numbers about sixty, and many are becoming desirous of receiving baptism. A hospital patient, who has heard the preaching of the Gospel for a year and a half, is the *fourth* convert.'

The premises secured for hospital work by Dr. Lockhart

were rented from the British Legation, and in 1865 these were required for members of the diplomatic staff. A Chinese temple was secured, and opened for mission use in September, 1865. On September 12, 1865, Mr. Edkins wrote home :—

'The street being one of the principal arteries of the city and much frequented from morning till night, we have the chapel open at present daily for some hours. Several hundreds are hearing the Gospel each afternoon, and we have evidence by the questions asked that interest is excited. One man remarked, "It is the first time we have heard of the gods changing their abode. How can it be?" The reply was that "The removal of the idols is no affair of ours; in fact, we do not believe in them, and think that to remove them is no harm at all. But, though that is our opinion, it was not our doing."

'Several of our foreign friends feared that the negotiation for the temple would fail. It is, indeed, a remarkable thing that heathenism should so readily resign one of its sacred edifices to Christianity, a hostile religion. But the temple was the priest's own purchased property, and he thought that its being devoted to gratuitous healing would save him from self-condemnation if his conscience should trouble him, and from the disapprobation of the public. As to what the displaced dignities would themselves think has not cost him, so far as appears, any concern.

'Seventy or eighty patients attend the hospital daily. Dr. Dudgeon is much interested in the number and variety of new cases. Both in the medical and evangelistic department our work has received a new impulse in advance. Up to the present time there has been a lack of opportunity in this, the eastern part of the city, for the five baptized men, whom I have in training to become preachers, for the exercise of their gifts. But there is no longer this want. They take turns in addressing the numerous audiences who assemble in the chapel, and in conversing with inquirers.'

For a number of years the whole burden of the Peking Mission rested upon Mr. Edkins and Dr. Dudgeon. In

1866 R. J. Thomas, B.A., was appointed, but never settled down to work in the capital, and is supposed to have been drowned while on a voyage to Corea. In 1870 James Gilmour was appointed to Peking with a view to the ultimate reopening of the Mongolian Mission, and in 1871 S. Evans Meech joined the mission. The little group at work in the capital in the year 1872 was composed of very diverse and vigorous personalities. One was a veteran who had been labouring in China for twenty-two years; another was a man of energetic, aggressive temperament, skilled in his profession, active in work, but restive under criticism and opposition. James Gilmour was one of the most remarkable men the Society has ever sent to China. He was a man of deep spiritual feeling, burning with enthusiasm, and possessed of keen insight and sound common sense. He and Mr. Meech had been fellow students at Cheshunt College, they were equal in age, and naturally viewed missionary questions from a similar standpoint. It was almost inevitable that differences of judgment should arise upon missionary methods, and that the two elder men should see things in a light quite different from that in which they appeared to the two younger. The history of the mission was very clearly and succinctly traced by Mr. Wardlaw Thompson, who visited Peking after the quartette had worked side by side for over ten years. The only addition to the staff prior to Mr. Thompson's visit had been the arrival of George Owen, who has been referred to under Shanghai, and who on his return from Japan was re-engaged by the Directors, and appointed to Peking. He arrived there in 1876, and during 1878 to 1881 laboured in the western branch of the mission. In 1881, on the retirement of Mr. Edkins, he took charge of the native church in the East City.

Mr. Thompson's description enables the reader to realize both the general conditions of the mission, and also the special difficulties due to individual characteristics in the workers:—

'Peking may be reached from Tientsin either by road or

by river. The distance by road is between eighty and ninety miles. The tortuous course of the river makes the distance by water considerably greater, and, as the current is strong and the wind seems often to blow down stream for days together, progress by river is slow. I went by road on horseback, performing the journey in two days, and had thereby an opportunity of seeing a little of country life as we passed through the villages and small towns *en route*, and as we experienced the dubious comforts of the Chinese inns at night. The great plain over which the track passes is a vast expanse of poor earth with scarcely a stone, and presents little to charm the eye or to please the senses in any way. The first appearance of Peking is exceedingly impressive. The height, massiveness, and great extent of the wall surrounding the city, and the lofty towers rising over each gateway, convey at once the feeling that we are approaching one of the great old-world capitals; and further acquaintance with the city serves to deepen the impression. The men who laid out Peking had most imperial ideas of size; and, had their great conceptions been worthily carried out and maintained by their descendants, it would be one of the most magnificent cities in the world. As it is, it contains a very large number of splendid buildings, especially palaces and temples, on the erection and adornment of which vast sums of money and constructive and decorative art of no mean order have been lavished. But their present condition is one of shabby disrepair, and the great thoroughfares of the city present to the beholder's gaze only a succession of mean and insignificant dwellings. The view from the walls reveals the fact that the best part of the city is hidden within the enclosing walls which surround the dwellings and gardens of the princes and great nobility of the Chinese Empire, large numbers of whom inhabit Peking and maintain considerable state, but seclude themselves entirely from the gaze of the outer world. The population of this great city or cities—for there are more than one—is variously estimated, but may probably be put down at about 800,000.

'The Society has two distinct missions in Peking: that in the East City is situated on the great thoroughfare known as the Hattameng, which runs through the city from north to south. The position of the mission buildings is distinguished by two gigantic poles of honour, said to be 75 feet in height, which are erected in front of the gateway leading to the hospital. There are here three mission houses, a hospital (with wards for accommodating patients), a hospital chapel, and the rooms which are used for a girls' boarding school. The buildings are almost entirely in pure Chinese style, and are crowded together in a very limited space. The hospital chapel was formerly a temple, which, when its decorations, external and internal, were fresh and clean, must have been a really beautiful place.

'The hospital chapel stands back at a considerable distance from the street, and is approached by a passage entering through a massive and handsome gateway. The position is such as to ensure perfect quiet for the services; but it is also so secluded from public view as to make it a most unsatisfactory place for gathering a general congregation and carrying on evangelistic work. As it is the only chapel connected with the mission in the East City, it is not surprising that evangelistic effort has not made much progress in this part of the mission.

'The mission in the West City is fully four miles distant from the East City Mission. It was commenced in 1863, and is much more favourably situated as to accommodation. The mission compound is large and open, and has access to a narrow street at the back as well as to the street in front. Here there are two dwelling-houses (built in European style), a chapel, and a small school-room, and, in addition, the West City Mission has two well-situated and commodious street chapels on main thoroughfares for the purposes of evangelistic work. Property in Peking, as throughout China, cannot be held legally by foreigners. There are, however, deeds connected with the West City property which are held by Mr. Meech, and which would probably, in the event of any dispute, be recognized by the

Chinese Government as sufficient to entitle the Society to be regarded as the owners. The East City property is held on a special tenure. Most of it, according to Dr. Dudgeon's statement, was guaranteed to him personally, as the physician of H.B.M. Legation, under the hand of the present Lord Derby. The deeds have been handed over by him to Mr. Owen. The girls' school property was purchased by Dr. Edkins, and was held in his name. When he left the Society he handed over the deeds to Dr. Dudgeon. The work of the mission in this great city is so large, and requires such constant attention, that there is very little done in the district outside.

'There is, at present, nothing done in the direction of training those who are at work, nor in the preparation of others for the service of the mission. This probably is owing, to some extent, to the very marked divergence of opinion among the missionaries in years past as to the qualifications to be regarded as indispensable before any man could be received as a candidate for training, Dr. Edkins and Dr. Dudgeon holding an opinion on this point very different from that of the other missionaries. It appears there are, from time to time, offers of service from Chinese literary men who, having heard the Gospel, profess their belief in Christianity, and at the same time offer their services for employment in Christian work. If their offer is accepted, and employment is given to them, the opinion of Dr. Edkins is that they often turn out to be good workers and good men, and, according to him, in this way in the past the mission stood pre-eminent in point of progress, and was able to supply other missions with some of their best men. If such men are not encouraged by receiving employment when they offer themselves, they usually go away and are not heard of again. The younger missionaries have felt that before they could give employment to any man it was necessary that they should know more of him and of his Christian character than was possible under these conditions. They have been, therefore, very cautious and slow to accept the services of men who have offered them-

selves, and the consequence has been that of late the number of such applicants has diminished, and the number of Christian workers has been small. Probably the operation of the principle adopted by our brethren now in the field, though it may result in diminishing the number of workers, will have its compensation in the superior quality of those who are employed.

'The work in the country is carried on in a district from twenty to sixty miles distant from the city. There are, however, no settled stations or centres in which Christians are gathered together as congregations. The European missionaries have their hands so full of daily services in the city that it is impossible for them to devote any large share of time to superintendence of this work. The native evangelist goes round the district periodically, and services are held in each place he visits whenever he is present. Such work as this cannot be very profitable, and certainly will not be a source of strength to the mission.

'The mission hospital in Peking has become well known, and has been a centre of most valuable influence for natives of all classes. The reputation Dr. Dudgeon has gained for skill has drawn to him persons from long distances, and has given him admission to many of the most influential of the Chinese officials, even amongst those who are most opposed to contact with foreigners. The doctor's time was wholly, and, apparently, inevitably taken up with the purely medical part of his work—seeing patients, training students, and assisting in the formation of a Chinese medical literature. The connection of the hospital with the purely spiritual work of the mission is also not so satisfactory as its influence as a great centre of healing for the people of Peking. A service is conducted in the hospital chapel for the benefit of the patients, and some slight effort is made to visit those who are inmates, and to bring the claims of the Gospel home to them. A Bible-woman meets the female patients in a separate room while they are waiting to consult the physician. Yet the spiritual side of the work seemed to be kept very much in the background, and it is evident that a

very decided change in the arrangements is required in this direction. Valuable as the hospital is indirectly as a means of impressing upon the Chinese the skill and the charity of Western Christians, it does not seem to be fulfilling its true function as an integral part of the mission-work of the Society, unless it is made more directly a means towards securing spiritual ends.

'There is in connection with the East City Mission a very interesting Boarding School for girls, which was established and carried on most successfully by the late Mrs. Edkins. At the time of my visit it was under the supervision of Mrs. Owen, who, however, was not able to undertake the teaching. The accommodation is limited, and the numbers are not large, but it affords a good nucleus for a much needed work.'

Mr. Thompson's report refers to two very serious issues which for years disturbed the Peking Mission, and with regard to which an extensive correspondence is in existence. The first bears upon the relation of the hospital to the mission, and the relative inefficiency on the *spiritual* side of the hospital work. This was due rather to lack of time than of inclination on the part of Dr. Dudgeon to attend to it. The matter was further complicated by the fact that Dr. Dudgeon was, by consent of the Society, also in private practice. It is not needful to enter at length into this series of incidents. They form an illustration of the fact that if a man combines private work with missionary duty, difficulties are certain to arise. Dr. Dudgeon was a first-rate doctor, and there is, of course, no question that the medical side of the work received his most careful attention. But the Directors, though cognizant of the special conditions in his case, yet believed that the healing of the body would be used, so far as possible, to aid the medical missionary in doing all in his power to heal the soul. But by experience here and elsewhere they have been driven to the conviction that medical work, pure and simple, cannot be considered a legitimate department of the Society's service.

Not unfrequently during the century there have been men connected with the educational or the medical departments of work who have seemed to consider their duty to the Society discharged if they attended with care and skill and thoroughness to duties which could be just as efficiently done by a competent and equally well-trained heathen.

In the West Indies, in Africa, in China, and elsewhere, local conditions have sometimes necessitated the drawing up of title-deeds in individual names of missionaries instead of the Society. This was the case in Peking with Dr. Lockhart and Dr. Dudgeon. This too in case of death, or of the occurrence of difficulties, has sometimes led to trouble. Even arrangements like that carried out at Tientsin by Dr. Mackenzie, and which at the time seemed so promising, have in the end brought the Society into serious legal and financial difficulties. Experience has shown that the only safe rule is to insist that in every business arrangement the missionary acts solely as the agent of the Society; and that it should be impossible for a missionary ever to secure a personal interest through property transactions into which, by virtue of his position, he has to enter. And this is now the fixed rule and practice.

Important as scholarship, educational work, and medical skill and success are, they may be all worse than wasted if the missionary engaged in these duties cannot or will not make them minister to directly religious and evangelistic work. They are wasted because even a heathen could do the same, and because a missionary who is a scholar, or a teacher, or a doctor *and nothing more*, is filling the place of some other worker, who to all these relatively inferior qualifications could add the one thing needful—a burning love for the souls of men, and for their salvation.

The years 1872 to 1880 were a period of very unhappy friction in the Peking Mission, and the solution of the troubles was deferred because Mr. Edkins was away on furlough from 1873 to 1876, and Dr. Dudgeon from 1875 to 1877. During this stay in England the University

of Edinburgh, in recognition of his profound Chinese scholarship, conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Mr. Edkins.

The point at issue with Dr. Edkins was the right method of dealing with converts, native helpers, and catechists. He believed that as soon as a Chinaman evinced any interest in Christianity it was wise and politic to employ him in the service of the mission, and to pay him out of the mission funds. The younger missionaries felt that, human nature being what it is—especially Chinese human nature—it was wiser, to make the gate of conversion straight, never to baptize a convert until he had been subjected to a fairly long probation, and, above all, never to allow the certainty of pecuniary gain to become a determining influence in his choice. They believed that the policy which Dr. Edkins persisted in following, against their views and wishes openly expressed in committee, violated these generally admitted sound principles; and the Directors concurred in this view. In December, 1880, Dr. Edkins resigned; and shortly afterwards accepted a post in the Government Department of the Customs. His connection with the Society thus terminated, greatly to the regret of his colleagues, who, though they felt bound to resist action which they saw to be injurious to the mission, yet respected him for his personal qualities, for his long service, and for his altogether exceptional Chinese scholarship.

Dr. Dudgeon continued in charge of the hospital until July, 1884, when he returned to England, and in December of that year resigned his connection with the Society. He returned to Peking to carry on private practice there. In 1883 Mr. W. Hopkyn Rees was appointed to Peking; and towards the end of 1884 Miss Jessie Philip and Miss Smith reached the capital in order to develop work among the women and girls. The hospital in 1886 passed under the care of Mr. E. T. Pritchard. Mr. J. Stonehouse joined the East City Mission in 1886.

The Rev. George Owen described in the Decennial Report for 1890 the progress made in a decade which

began in storm, which witnessed steady progress, and closed with the promise of greater successes in the future. In reference to the East City Mission he stated:—

'Notwithstanding the retirement of the Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., and of Dr. Dudgeon, the former of whom afterwards accepted a post under the Chinese Government, while the latter established himself as a physician in Peking, there has been steady and hopeful progress. In spite of the peculiar difficulties attaching to work in Peking, there is not a mission of the Society in China which presents more satisfactory promise of future growth and strength if its needs can be properly supplied.

'(1) Notwithstanding much greater strictness in dealing with candidates for baptism, there has been a steady, though not uniform, increase in the number of baptisms.

'(2) The church membership has increased, after making allowances for deaths, removals, and exclusions, from 81 to 170.

'(3) The attendance of the converts at public worship has become so much more regular, that the old hospital chapel has proved altogether inadequate for their accommodation, and it has become necessary to erect a new chapel with accommodation for three times as many.

'(4) The increase in the attendance of *women* at the Sunday services is very marked.

'(5) The contributions given by the people have markedly increased.

'(6) There are evidences of a real spiritual growth among the members of the church. In the spiritual condition of the church there has also been considerable progress, more particularly since 1885. During that year there was a decided revival of spiritual life, and the whole church was quickened. The impulse then received still continues, and manifests itself in various forms. The general tone of the church is good. The attendance at the Sunday services and the Friday prayer-meeting is comparatively large. There is more earnest study of the Scriptures, more prayer, and more effort for the salvation of others.

'Amidst these signs of life and promise, there is much to awaken anxiety and much to sadden the heart. The Christians are almost without exception extremely poor and illiterate, and this seriously militates against their Christian progress. It is hard for them to turn aside from the engrossing labour of provision for the necessaries of life to attend regularly the means of grace, and they are not in a position to attend to the nourishment of the spiritual life by reading. It is disappointing also that we have hardly touched even the middle class yet.

'Another cause of anxiety and sorrow is due to the numerous failures among the baptized professing Christians to apprehend aright the nature of the Christian profession or to act in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel. This, however, is a trouble common to all mission-work.

'The dispensary has helped 7,235 men and 2,115 women, the total visits paid by patients being 20,168. The hospital has received 247 in-patients. If there were more and better accommodation there would be far more in-patients, especially a respectable and paying class.

'There has been remarkable advance in the provision made by other societies for medical mission-work during the decade. In 1881 there were two medical missionaries in Peking, in 1890 there were nineteen. Yet the hospital has maintained its position steadily and the local contributions have improved. Five medical students are under Dr. Pritchard's care, and in addition he has recently lectured in the Imperial College on anatomy and physiology.

'Miss Moreton has been engaged in work among the female patients. Daily she and Mrs. Wang have met them to speak of Christ, and in this way upwards of 2,000 women have heard the Gospel. They have also paid weekly visits to the homes of those who expressed desire for further acquaintance. Some of the in-patients have awakened much interest, and appear to have gone to their homes impressed and anxious to be Christians; but there has been no visible fruit in confession of Christ.

The lack of really suitable native helpers is a great drawback to the development of this work. Women of sufficient intelligence and energy, with a truly Christian spirit, who may visit the homes and teach those who desire instruction, are *very* few in number. Miss Smith, reviewing the past six years during which she has had charge of the girls' boarding-school, is able to rejoice in the evidence of progress which such a review furnishes: "Taken in detail, there has been so much ebb and flow, so many discouragements to check in the school, that only as we review the whole do we realize what a steady advance has been made."

'When Miss Smith commenced work in 1884, the school had dwindled down sadly, but there has been steady improvement since she commenced her work. The numbers have increased, the willingness on the part of the parents to clothe their daughters has markedly increased. Some of those who have been married from the school are carrying the light of Christian knowledge and character into their new homes; and the Christian influence constantly brought to bear upon the scholars is bearing fruit in conversions to God among them. No branch of work in the Mission demands more sympathetic and generous help than this effort to influence the minds and hearts of the future wives and mothers of the Christian community.

'The history of the West City Mission is practically comprised within the last decade, though the actual commencement of the work was made a few months earlier. Year by year the history of the Mission has appeared to be depressing rather than encouraging; the fruits have been small and often disappointing, and the hearts of the workers have been saddened by unfulfilled hopes. Yet the review of the whole period shows that, though there has been no great and conspicuous success, there has really been steady progress, and there is abundant ground for thankfulness and encouragement. Notwithstanding the interruption to the steady continuance of work, due to changes in the *personnel* of the Mission, there has been growth—not rapid nor great,

but continuous. In 1881 the means for work consisted of a small domestic chapel and one preaching-hall on a great thoroughfare. The growing requirements of the Mission have led to the transformation of the domestic chapel into a dwelling-house for lady missionaries, and the erection of a better situated place, with fully three times the accommodation for worshippers. There are also two preaching-halls, well situated, in which attentive and apparently sympathetic audiences daily hear the Gospel. The membership has grown from seventeen to sixty-four, though there have been fourteen deaths and fifteen have been excluded.

'Work among the women, which was carried on entirely by the missionaries' wives at the beginning of the decade, is now provided for by two lady missionaries, one of whom has considerable experience in nursing and medicine, and is able to minister to the suffering and the sick.

'Miss Pearson has been carrying on medical mission-work among the women since 1887. Meetings for women have been held in the Mission compound, on Sundays and Wednesdays, at which, after religious service and friendly talk, the dispensary has been opened, and those requiring medicines have been cared for. On other days, meetings have been held in native houses in different parts of the surrounding quarter of the city. These meetings are attended mostly by the very poor, who have to work hard, and are consequently much hindered. The well-to-do classes have still a strong aversion to foreigners, and their ideas and customs are so conservative, and so different from those of Europeans, that it is exceedingly difficult to get at them.

'One of the women who first came for medicine in 1889 is now a member of the church. Fortunately for her, her husband was inclined toward Christianity, having attended the services at our East City chapel for some time. Since his wife began attending our meetings here, he also came to our Sunday services, and joined Mr. Meech's class for inquirers. Mrs. Ch'i met with a good deal of opposition at home from her mother-in-law and other members of her

family, who not only object to Christianity, but to foreigners in general. However, she persevered in her attendance; although sometimes irregular, yet she learned Gospel truth with evident eagerness, and although she did not know one character when she first came, she soon learned to read and repeat the catechism from memory. Her name, at her own request, was entered for baptism in February, and after the usual three months' probation and examinations by Mr. Meech and the native preachers, she was baptized in May, together with her husband and children.'

The additions to the staff since 1890 have been: Mr. J. M. Allardyce in 1891; Miss Goode, 1890 (retired in 1892); Miss C. E. Goode in 1891; Mr. Eliot Curwen in 1894, who married Miss Pearson in the same year; and the latest additions have been Mr. Howard Smith, Mr. J. B. Grant, and Miss Saville, M.D.

During Founder's Week in 1895, Mr. Bryson from his nearly thirty years' experience of Chinese life, eleven of which were spent in North China, comprehensively summed up what the Society has attempted and accomplished in the metropolitan province of China:—

'There is now in connection with all the stations of North China a membership of 1,000 souls. More have been baptized from the commencement of the mission. During the intervening years many have died in the Lord; others have fallen away, and been excluded from church fellowship. Were we to reckon the children of converts, and those who are favourably affected towards Christianity but have not the courage openly to confess Christ, the total of 1,000 might easily be more than doubled. Scattered over so wide an area, and living in small communities, it can hardly be said that anywhere we have yet a strong native church. The members are mostly poor, and nearly all are illiterate. Only a few belong to the middle or educated classes. Here and there are individuals who have so apprehended Christ that the Bible has become their constant companion and meditation, prayer the invigorating atmosphere of their life, and preaching the

Gospel without hope of reward their unwearying delight. These are the missionary's comfort and support in hours of despondency and trial, and they will be the brightest jewels in his crown of rejoicing at that Day. But such men are rare. The majority live on a much lower plane. They have renounced idolatry, they worship the One true God, they are kinder husbands and more filial sons; but the direct influence they exert in favour of Christianity is no greater than that of the average member of a church in England. They are babes in Christ, with the passions of grown men and women; they require to be carefully shepherded, and like sheep they are very apt to go astray.

'Their sincerity, as a rule, cannot be doubted, for it is often put to the severest test. Christianity in China is still a foreign religion; the Chinese are not yet reconciled to the presence of the "outer barbarian" among them. Even intelligent officials who can speak English and French fluently cannot divest themselves of the idea that missionaries hold some secret commission from their own Governments for political rather than religious ends. Hence every Chinaman who allies himself in creed and worship with the foreigner (whether his profession of Christianity be false or true) is regarded as unpatriotic, and brings upon himself the suspicion and hatred of his neighbours. Let it also be remembered that the Christian cuts himself off from, and thereby condemns, some of the most sacred customs of his country, such as ancestral worship; and it will at once be seen that the door of entrance into the church is neither so broad nor so easy (as some slanderously affirm) that only a poor man seeking a bowl of rice will enter it. Baptism is not usually administered until after a probationary period has been passed, and every effort is made to keep the church pure; but the harvest is the end of the world, and tares are found with the growing wheat. Self-support is constantly pressed upon these native churches, but our success in North China so far has not reached any very definite results.

'Modern missions to the heathen seem to pass through

three stages. In the first the missionary figures as evangelist, pastor, and teacher, and the native church depends for nearly everything upon the foreign society. In the second the churches call and support their own pastors, and the missionary is set free to superintend and direct the labours of a large number of evangelists, and to act generally the part of a bishop. In the third the native church has reached the stage of independence, the foreign agents are withdrawn, or their support from abroad ceases. The parent society commends her spiritual children to God and the Word of His grace, and they are left to their own resources.

'In China, with the exception of Hongkong and the group of independent churches around Amoy, we are everywhere struggling through different phases of the first stage, some more forward, and others lagging behind. Monthly contributions are expected from every member according to his ability. The money so collected, along with the weekly offerings, are spent in the support, it may be, of a schoolmaster, or the employment of an occasional evangelist, or more frequently in helping the poor and defraying incidental expenses. Both at Peking and at Tien-tsin the experiment was tried of ordaining native pastors more than ten years ago, but subsequent events proved that this action was premature—the experiment failed.'

CHAPTER XXV

THE MONGOLIAN MISSION

THE Society has made two attempts during the century to bring the knowledge of the Gospel to the nomadic people who inhabit the enormous area lying to the north of China Proper. Although comparatively barren in tangible results, and undertaken against the opinion of many competent judges, these attempts deserve careful description. The first was full of romance; the second was a magnificent example of whole-hearted consecration. The first began in 1817, and ended in 1841. The second began with the appointment of James Gilmour in 1870. Consequently this chapter naturally falls into two sections, dealing respectively with the earlier and the later missions.

1. THE EARLIER MONGOL MISSION. During 1815 and 1816 the attention of the Directors was fixed upon the needs of the vast empire of Russia. For a few years they assisted by money grants the work of the Moravian Brethren at Sarepta on the Volga, in what was known as a mission to the Calmucks[1]. In the Report for 1818 we read: 'The Directors have lately granted one hundred pounds in addition to three hundred formerly given in aid of the Moravian Mission to the Calmucks of the Torgutsk tribe, where the brethren Schill and Huebner, having now acquired their language, are beginning to preach the Gospel.'

A mission to Irkutsk appears to have been urged upon the Directors by Dr. Paterson and Dr. Pinkerton, who were at this time resident in Russia, one at St. Petersburg

[1] See *Evangelical Review*, 1818, p. 41.

and the other at Moscow, and who were actively engaged in the work of the Russian Bible Society. It was decided in the spring of 1817 to begin this mission. Mr. Edward Stallybrass, who had been educated at Homerton, sailed for Cronstadt in May, 1817, and reached St. Petersburg on June 11. In September he was joined there by Cornelius Rahmn, a native of Gothenburg, who had been appointed as his colleague in the Siberian Mission. These two remained in the Russian capital until January, 1818, where they studied Russian. Through Dr. Paterson and other friends Government sanction was obtained for their mission, and upon Jan. 2, 1818, the two missionaries, with their wives and a little daughter of Mr. Rahmn's, began their long sledge ride of about 4,000 miles. They stayed a few days in Moscow, where through the influence of friends they obtained an interview with the Emperor, Alexander I.

'We went at the appointed hour, and were received into his private cabinet, in a most gracious manner, without the ceremonies which are usual at court. He asked us respecting our object (although he was fully informed of it by our letter to Prince Galitzin): we told him that our immediate object was to learn the Bratsky or Buriat language, in order to translate the Holy Scriptures into it, and if possible the Manjur afterwards. He mentioned it as a singular circumstance that the Buriats (who collected money for the Bible Society) should be desiring to receive the Bible, and we to impart it, at the same time, although living at such an immense distance from each other. He spoke of the difficulty of our undertaking; expressed his approbation and pleasure; said he was persuaded that nothing but a firm hope in the word and promise of the Most High God could enable us to carry our resolutions so far into execution. He referred to many of the promises of the Holy Scriptures, respecting the universal circulation of divine truth; spoke of the pleasure which he experienced, and which every real believer must experience, in seeing them so remarkably fulfilled; and expressed his

firm persuasion that they will *all* be accomplished, because made by a faithful and powerful God. He regretted that he was able to speak so little in English upon these "great subjects." He assured us of the pleasure he should find in affording us all the assistance which we should need, both for our journey, and also for the promotion of our object, when we arrived at Irkoutsk. He said that he had given most positive orders, and should still give them, that every possible facility should be afforded to us; and, above all, he assured us that his prayers should ascend to God on our behalf, that the important work which we had undertaken might be accomplished. In taking leave of us, he shook us most heartily by the hand: we expressed our wish that he might enjoy a long and happy reign in this life, and a crown of glory which fadeth not away; and that he might be made the happy instrument of imparting the blessings of the Gospel to many of his subjects.

'We departed, cheered and animated, not more on account of the favour which our object had gained with him, and the hope of his patronage, than by the truly Christian manner in which he conversed, and the fervency and enlargement of his desires for the prosperity and extension of the Redeemer's kingdom upon earth. Throughout the whole of our journey, we experienced the effects of his Imperial Majesty's commands; and we feel ourselves laid under very great obligations also to the Governors of the provinces through which we passed, and to many other individuals of rank and station, who combined their efforts, in order, as much as possible, to facilitate our journey and promote our comfort.'

Leaving Moscow on January 19, they travelled by way of Nijni Novgorod, Tobolsk, and Tomsk, and arrived safely at Irkutsk on March 26. The record of this journey, given at length in vol. v of the *Quarterly Chronicle of the Transactions of the London Missionary Society*, 1815 to 1819 [1], is one of the most remarkable in the early annals of the Society. We extract two passages:—

[1] Pp. 311 and 341.

'The *Selinginsk Buriats* live 500 *versts*[1] and upwards eastward of Irkoutsk. On the boundaries of China four Buriat Cossack regiments are stationed, each consisting of 600 men, with their own commanders. The *Chorin Buriats* take up their abode sometimes nearer and sometimes farther from Irkoutsk, about the distance of 1,000 *versts*. This tribe, which is the most numerous, consists of about 30,000 people, and is governed by four *tyshàs*, of whom the eldest is the chief commander. Both these last tribes are adherents to the religion of the *Lama*. It is said that ten years ago they fetched their religious books from Thibet, on thirty wagons, and paid for them 12,000 head of cattle. Many of the Buriats have embraced the Greek religion, but there is reason to think more from political motives than from real conviction. Such proselytes are detested by the heathen Buriats.

'To the last tribe belong the two Buriats who are now in St. Petersburg, translating part of the New Testament; and it appears highly desirable that we should take up our abode amongst them, or between them and the *Selinginsk* Buriats, these two tribes being the most numerous, each possessing books, and many of them being acquainted with the pure Mongolian language. We wish, however, to wait, and see what may appear to be the will of God, humbly and earnestly looking up to Him for guidance and direction into the path of duty. To us it is a matter of little consequence whether we remain here or take up our abode a thousand *versts* farther from home: we wish to ascertain what is the will of God concerning us, and hope we shall be enabled cheerfully to obey every intimation of His providence.'

Stallybrass and Rahmn at once gave themselves to the study of the Mongolian tongue through the medium of Russian—a method necessary indeed, but likely to prove rapid and successful only in the case of expert linguists. We are not surprised to read, 'they had to contend with many disadvantages, arising chiefly from the want of a Mongolian Grammar and Dictionary.' But they obtained

[1] Fifty versts about equal thirty-two miles.

a vocabulary of Russian and Mongolian words, and ultimately accumulated 10,000 of the latter. Meanwhile, in St. Petersburg Mr. Schmidt, of that city, in co-operation with two Buriats resident there, was translating Matthew and John into Mongolian, and of this book the missionaries hoped soon to receive copies.

In the autumn of 1818 Stallybrass visited Lake Baikal, and pushed on to Selenginsk, about 200 miles south-east of the lake. As some ten or twelve thousand Buriats were resident in this district, it was finally selected as the site of the mission. But Mrs. Rahmn's health could not stand the severity of the Siberian climate, and finally Mr. Rahmn returned to Sarepta, and for some time engaged in mission-work there. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1823, and to London in 1826, and ceased to have any connection with the Society after 1834. Meanwhile, William Swan had reached St. Petersburg in July, 1818, and stayed there studying Russian and Mongolian, and aiding in translation work. In December, 1819, in company with Robert Yuille, who had recently been appointed to the mission, he started for Selenginsk. Stallybrass and his wife had on July 5, 1819, left Irkutsk, and reached Selenginsk on the seventeenth of that month. The Report for 1820 states :—

'Several communications have subsequently been received from Mr. Stallybrass, from which it appears that his opinion of the eligibleness of Selinginsk as a missionary station had been confirmed since his residence in that city. He observes that there is abundant employment for missionaries in all the surrounding country, exclusively of the immense tribe of Chorinsk Buriats, who dwell about 250 *versts* N.E. of Selinginsk. He had begun to visit the neighbouring tribes on horseback, and during a journey of between 100 and 200 miles had distributed tracts in the Mongolian language among the natives, and had also presented copies to several of the Lamas. He describes the Buriats as being a very inoffensive people, and observes that during his journeys he lies down to sleep in their tents with a sense of perfect security.

'Mr. Stallybrass has erected a house in the vicinity of the city. The necessity of superintending the building had for some time circumscribed his studies, as well as his intercourse with the natives; the latter, however, he less regretted, as his stock of tracts was exhausted. Having been invited to attend the marriage festival of two young natives at Selinginsk, he complied. There were present on the occasion about 400 persons, among whom he distributed all the tracts that remained in his possession.

'Having received from St. Petersburg a further supply of Mongolian tracts, Mr. Stallybrass had immediately put them into circulation. They were received by the people with their usual expressions of satisfaction. He had also received a part of the Mongolian translation of the Gospel by St. Matthew, and was in expectation of soon receiving a supply of the entire Gospel, and also of that of St. John.'

Swan and Yuille reached Selenginsk Feb. 17, 1820, and in conjunction with Stallybrass employed themselves in obtaining suitable buildings for the mission, and in the study of the language. They followed then what to-day is practically the only possible method of work among a nomadic people.

'The completion of the buildings above alluded to has, at length, enabled the brethren to devote more of their time to this department of the mission. Their visits to the surrounding tribes are become more frequent, and less cursory, than they previously were. They now remain in the midst of the people, whom they visit for several days together, in order to converse with the Lamas, and others, who resort to the temples. These means appear to have been attended with highly pleasing and encouraging results. Select passages are read from the Gospels and tracts, which suggest important topics of inquiry; and the Buriats, as they show no reluctance to enter into conversation, arrive in this way at the most interesting inferences, the effects of which are very apparent, both on their judgments and feelings. These conversations take place without the intervention of an interpreter; but the

brethren are anxiously longing for the time when they shall be able, with entire freedom of speech, to proclaim to the Buriats, in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God.

'Besides the Gospels and tracts distributed by the brethren on their journeys, numerous copies are dispersed abroad by means of the Buriats, who, from distant parts of the surrounding country, visit the mission-house, for the purpose of obtaining medicines and medical advice. These the brethren dispense *gratis*, and by this means have conciliated the good opinion of the Buriats in no small degree. Under circumstances thus propitious, the brethren not only supply these visitants with tracts, but also converse with them on religious subjects. Many of them come from places distant from Selinginsk 400 or 500 *versts*, so that the fame of the brethren is spread throughout all the neighbouring country.

'Mr. Stallybrass has finished the alphabetical arrangement of his Vocabulary [1], and commenced the translation of the Mongolian interpretations into English. He has also prepared the outline of a Mongolian Grammar.

'The Governor-General of Siberia, Count Speransky, has visited the brethren at Selinginsk, and kindly repeated his assurances to do all that lies in his power towards promoting their designs. Through His Excellency's interposition with Prince Galitzin, a credit has been subsequently opened in favour of the mission, with the house of the Russian American Company at Irkutsk, which, in a pecuniary point of view, will conduce materially to the accommodation of the brethren.'

The missionaries' journal for 1821 illustrates the difficulties of the work they had undertaken. During February, 1821, they made a tour in their district.

'*Feb.* 6.—Our end in visiting this and several other temples

[1] This is the arrangement of a Lexicon, composing twenty octavo volumes, containing from 200 to 250 pages each, and forming merely a Vocabulary, without any alphabetical order. This Lexicon has an interpretation in Mongolian and Manjur; so that Mr. Stallybrass's plan has been to arrange it alphabetically, and to insert the volume and page where the word occurs.

was not so much the distribution of tracts, for tracts had already been widely circulated, as to converse with the people upon the subjects contained in them, humbly hoping that we might be directed and enabled by the Spirit of Truth to say something to them which, at least, might induce them to reflect on their contents. Another advantage which we hoped to derive, and which hope, we trust, has not been altogether disappointed, was that from our residence among them we might become better acquainted with their colloquial phraseology, and thus be enabled more freely to converse with them upon the important truths we are desirous to impress upon their minds.

'We were visited chiefly by Lamas, from morning to night, and had many opportunities of speaking to them concerning the *one thing needful.* They were surprised at our controverting their opinions, having been quite unaccustomed to it ; and although their religion is different from that of others, yet they seemed never before to have heard that it was not good enough *for them.* In general, although we met with some exceptions, they were not inclined to enter into argument ; with this we were as well pleased, in one point of view, as it gave us the better opportunity of making known unto them the simple doctrine of the cross—the atonement of our Lord Jesus, as the only safe foundation upon which sinners can rest ; but on the other hand it was accompanied by great indifference of mind to all the subjects which we brought before them.

'*Feb.* 12.—We again set forward to another temple, situated at the north end of the lake, and arrived in the evening. We saw Lamas here, as well as at other temples, who cut the wooden blocks for printing their prayers in the Tangut language. The board is usually about fifteen inches long and four broad. The letters are cut very neatly, and on both sides of the board. The lines are lengthways, six on each side : a man can finish such a block in five or six days. There was a similar board, but of larger dimensions, and used for a particular purpose, hung up in our room. It measured eighteen inches by thirteen, and was filled with

repetitions of the words "*om-ma-ni-bad-me-hom*," which signify something like "Lord, have mercy upon us." It is used for printing on pieces of a particular sort of thin white cloth, called *hadak*, and a number of these pieces, so printed, are suspended upon ropes and poles around the graves of deceased Lamas, or other persons of consequence. We visited the grave of an old Lama who died here last summer. There were, perhaps, a hundred of such printed cloths waving in the wind upon the poles erected beside the grave, and as each cloth contains six hundred repetitions of the prayer, sixty thousand prayers were offered up for this Lama every moment!

'Observing Shaman idols hanging in a tent we called at to-day, we made some inquiries relative to them, as whether they were of any use—whether they prayed to them, or if they paid them any kind of worship? The people thought we were putting such questions by way of joke, and merely to excite a laugh. They soon perceived, however, that we were speaking seriously; but they seemed more disposed to treat the subject in a ludicrous manner, as they at first conceived we intended, than to listen to any serious discourse upon the guilt and danger of idolatry, and the necessity of forsaking their vain and wicked superstitions. The seemingly unconquerable indifference of these people would soon paralyze our efforts to show them their need of a Saviour, did we not exercise an humble faith in His own Word. Our present circumstances give a tenfold power and sweetness to many of the promises of God. What a fund of encouragement to a Missionary does that text contain, "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."'

In 1823 Mr. Swan made an extensive journey, covering nearly 1,300 English miles, to the east of Selenginsk. One result of this journey was the purchase of a house at Onagen Dome, and an extension of the mission in that quarter. Mr. Swan thus describes the event:—

'I again became a guest in the house of the Taisha

Jigjit for a few days, and then, having finally agreed about the purchase of the house spoken of in a former part of this letter, I removed and took possession of it on behalf of this mission. I entered it with sentiments accordant, I trust, with the words of my brother Yuille, in a letter he wrote me in reference to the transaction. "I hope you have consecrated it to the Lord by a prayer of faith, without doubting that He may make it a lasting habitation for the righteous—a holy place where He will dwell for ever—a Sion from which shall come out deliverance to the eastern Mongolian tribes—a place of strength that cannot be subdued—a place of light that cannot be extinguished—a place where tens of thousands of sons and daughters shall say that they were born there." I have now resided in this house two months, and have received daily visits from the surrounding Buriats, and among the rest the chief Lama of the neighbouring temple. The Taisha is my frequent guest. The intercourse I have with him is a very gratifying circumstance, and goes far to counterbalance the discouragements occasioned by the indifference and hostility of others. He seems bent upon attaining a knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, and for this purpose is diligently studying the Gospels, and spends many hours with me in hearing them explained. To say more would be premature. Oh that the knowledge which he and other individuals of his nation have acquired of the true way of salvation may be sanctified, that they may become the subjects of the Spirit's teaching, the trophies of the Redeemer's grace, and the joy and crown of rejoicing of His unworthy servants. I purpose returning, in the course of a few weeks, to Selenginsk, but before leaving the Ona I expect a visit from my fellow-labourer Mr. Yuille.'

The mission was now fairly established. There were two stations and three missionaries. The language had been mastered. The people had become familiar with the presence of the strangers, and the work fell into a regular routine. Journeys long or short, visits to Buddhist temples, conversations with lamas, conversations in dirty, smoky,

cramped Mongol tents, attempts to give simple medical and surgical aid, the distribution of Gospels and of tracts to those who were wishful to take them, or seemed likely to use them—in duties like these weeks and months and years passed by. Of the fruit which they longed for they were permitted to gather but little. Readers of *Among the Mongols* and *James Gilmour of Mongolia* know that for a Mongol to accept Christianity is practically for him to accept banishment from home and family. Far harder to overcome than those which obtain in China itself are the social and family hindrances in Mongolia to acceptance of the Gospel. Hence it is not remarkable that the story of this early Mongolian mission presents us with no long list of converts.

But it is doubtful whether the annals of the Society present a missionary story richer in faith, in patience under trial, in endurance of physical stress and discomfort, and in faithful plodding along the path of duty. And these devoted workers achieved one great task of abiding benefit to Mongolia. They translated the whole of the Old Testament into Mongolian. The New Testament had been translated by the Russian Bible Society, and was issued in 1824. This was so carefully revised by Swan and Stallybrass in London as to be practically a new translation, and was published in 1846. The Old Testament, translated at Selenginsk and Onagen Dome, was printed, largely under the superintendence of Mr. Abercrombie, the former part at Selenginsk, the latter at Khodon, under the watchful superintendence of the missionaries. It was thus completed, and published in Siberia in 1840.

Personal trials, in addition to those attending their work, fell upon the little band of workers. In 1833 Mrs. Stallybrass died. In 1834 Mr. Stallybrass visited St. Petersburg and Copenhagen, where in 1835 he married again, and, after a visit to England, returned to Selenginsk in 1836. His second wife died in 1839. Mrs. Yuille died in 1827. and in 1838 Mr. Yuille, although he remained in Siberia, ceased to be associated with the mission.

Mr. Swan, after completing, with Mr. Stallybrass, the manuscript of the Mongolian Old Testament, returned to England by way of St. Petersburg in 1831. He visited Great Britain, and while there married Miss Hannah Cullen of Edinburgh. Mr. and Mrs. Swan left Leith on their way to Siberia on August 1, 1832. They were detained in St. Petersburg for over a year, and reached Khodon in March, 1834. Mrs. Swan shared the duties and anxieties of the mission for the next seven years, and on the suppression of the mission Mr. and Mrs. Swan returned to their native land. He died at Edinburgh in 1866, but Mrs. Swan lived until 1890. She was known to a wide circle in Edinburgh and in Scotland, and was up to the day of her death a warm and sympathetic and energetic friend of the London Missionary Society, always willing and always glad to help on its manifold agencies of blessing. Mr. Stallybrass, the pioneer of the mission, died at Shooter's Hill in Kent in 1884, at the age of 91.

We have noted how in the early days of the mission it had the warm co-operation of the Russian emperor and some of his most powerful ministers. But just when it seemed to have taken deep root, and there were many signs of a coming harvest of blessing, the work was brought to an end by a change of policy at St. Petersburg.

The Report for 1840 contained these words :—

'In consequence of representations made by the leaders of a local faction, who deem it their interest to oppose the Gospel of Christ, inquiries were instituted last year by the Russian Government into the proceedings of the mission. A close investigation was made by officers who visited the station for that purpose. The converts were assembled, and underwent a strict examination, in order to ascertain whether they had imbibed from their religious instructors principles in any way calculated to loosen their attachment to the Government under which they live. Nothing of this kind was elicited; the functionaries departed satisfied of the innocence of the accused; the adversaries were rebuked and confounded; and the whole affair terminated in a

manner perfectly satisfactory and honourable to all concerned, excepting those in whose malevolent selfishness the inquiry originated.'

The Report for 1841 describes the closing scenes in this chapter of the mission :—

'The Directors deeply regret to state, that by a decree of the Russian Synod, confirmed by the Emperor, the Society's mission in this part of the world has been suppressed. The cause assigned for this intolerant proceeding was that the mission, in its relation to that form of Christianity already established in the empire, did not coincide with the views of the church and Government. The brethren, Swan and Stallybrass, to whom the decree was officially communicated on the 29th of September, observe :—

'"Deeply afflictive though it be to think of such a termination to our missionary labours in this country, we feel it no small relief to our grieved and burdened minds that the extinction of the mission is no act of ours, nor of the Society's. To the Russian church belongs the responsibility of removing the light of Gospel truth, which was beginning, by means of the mission, to irradiate some spots of this heathen land."

'Messrs. Swan and Stallybrass fully expected to complete the printing of the Mongolian Old Testament before leaving Siberia. There can be no doubt that their hopes have been realized, as in November last only two sheets remained to be done. The printing of the New Testament necessarily lies over to some future period. It appears there is a version in the possession of the Synod, should they ever think it desirable to place this divine treasure in the hands of those who perish for lack of knowledge. Mr. Abercrombie, the missionary printer, has returned to the Scotch Colony at Karass, of which he is a member.

'Thus have terminated the operations of a mission commenced by this Society twenty years ago, and which has been an object of its constant solicitude and interest. To the sentiments and feelings expressed in the following extract of the last letter received from the devoted brethren

who are now returning from their distant field of labour, the Directors most cordially and unfeignedly respond :—

'" It is painful to bid adieu to the scenes where we have spent so many years, and to the people, of whom, we trust, the first-fruits have been gathered unto Christ. To leave in the wilderness those who have turned from their idols to serve the living God is a trial which few can estimate. Their simple faith, manifested in love to Christ and consistency of behaviour, has cheered us in our labours. They are living evidences that we have not laboured in vain, and earnests of the abundant harvests to be expected when the Word of God shall have free course and be glorified in this land. But alas! they are now to be left as sheep without a shepherd; as orphans, without a parent or guardian; and we are compelled to leave our spiritual children but partially instructed in many things, exposed to the malice of their enemies, the arts of the deceitful, the derision of their heathen neighbours, and, it may be, to still more grievous sufferings. But God our Saviour, as we trust and pray, will be with them, and deliver them from every evil work."'

James Gilmour, who reopened the mission, and who, by his consecrated self-denial and devotion, restarted it upon its beneficent course, was called to labour in other parts of the vast Mongolian field. But in 1871 he visited the scenes of his predecessors' toils. Few will differ from the estimate he formed then of the workers and of the results of their labours :—

'Siberia, nowadays, and under some circumstances, is not at all a bad place to live in. To be in Siberia then was to be pretty well out of the world; and for Englishmen and Scotchmen to be there meant a degree of isolation and solitariness that must have been hard to bear. No telegraphs then, and postal facilities were very meagre. They were foreigners in a strange land, looked on with suspicion by the Government, the ecclesiastics, and the people; and, above all, were utterly beyond the range of Christian sympathy. And there they were year after year, learning

the language, translating the Scriptures, preaching the Gospel, and instructing the ignorant adults and children.

'They had gone to Siberia, not to seek to bring men over from the faith of the Greek Church, but to seek the conversion of the Buddhistic Buriats; so, remembering their aim, they removed themselves as much as possible from the Russian inhabitants, and surrounded themselves with, and sought friendships among, the Buriats. This was severing the last link that bound them to the civilized world, and rendering their isolation nearly complete. There was some romance in their situation, but the sustaining power of romance is feeble when it is a year or two old; they had a noble aim and a strong enthusiasm, which no doubt sustained them well; but even then there must have been times when they thought fondly of their native lands and home friends, and when the depressing effect of their intercourse with the degraded Buriats, and the bleak gloom of the desolate distances of Siberia, must have weighed down on their spirits like a millstone.

'In addition to the gathering of a few converts, and the great work of translating the entire Bible, the Siberian missionaries have exerted a moral influence of no small extent. The picture of these men away among the remote tracts of Siberia, searching out the few and scattered inhabitants, and seeking to impart to them the truths of the Gospel, is well calculated to sustain flagging missionary zeal in other less difficult fields. This of itself is a good deal; for such pictures are not usually lost on the world.

'But the most practical outcome of this influence seems to be the fact that the Greek Church has started mission-work for the Buriats. About the extent or nature of the work no details are forthcoming; but that it exists at all is something; and the great probability is, it owes its origin to the example set by the English missionaries, who began their work in Siberia more than half a century ago.

'The other missionary labours of the translators were condemned and stopped long ago; they were not allowed to preach and teach; they had to leave the country;

but this enduring monument still remains. In time to come it may be revised, corrected, and improved, as all first versions have to be; but still, after all, it will be essentially their work; and perhaps the time may yet come when there shall be many Mongol-speaking Christians to bless the labours of the early missionaries, and read the Bible translated by them.'

2. THE LATER MONGOL MISSION. This began with the appointment of James Gilmour, M.A., who reached Peking in May, 1870. The plan he hoped to execute was to obtain a knowledge of Chinese, and also of Mongolian, from some of the many Mongols who visit Peking in the winter months. Then his purpose was to attack Mongolia from the south-eastern border, a route the exact contrary of that followed by his predecessors. It is not possible for us here to follow out in minute detail the twenty-one years of service which Gilmour was enabled to give to China and Mongolia. The reader who wishes to do so will find ample material ready to hand in Gilmour's own books, *Among the Mongols* and *More about the Mongols*; and in the two works by the author, *James Gilmour of Mongolia* and *James Gilmour and his Boys*.

The year 1870 was a critical period in Chinese missions. The riot and massacre of Roman Catholic missionaries in Tientsin aroused much alarm and anxiety in all centres where foreigners were carrying on Christian work.

By the end of July, 1870, Gilmour had reached a fixed resolution to go to Mongolia as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. A severe test had been applied to him, and the way in which he met it gives the key to the whole of his after life. He used the trial as a help onwards in the path of duty, and the chain of events which would have led many men to postpone indefinitely the beginning of a new and hard work only drove him the more eagerly into new fields. The reasons that influenced him are set forth in his official report, written many months later:—

'After the massacre at Tien-tsin, very grave fears prevailed at Peking; no one could tell how far the ramifications of the plot might extend, and it was impossible to sift the matter. The people openly talked of an extermination, and claimed to have the tacit favour of the Government in this; nay more, the Government itself issued ambiguous, if not insinuating, proclamations, which fomented the excitement of the populace to such an extent that the days were fixed for the "Clearing of Peking." The mob was thoroughly quieted on the first of the days fixed by a twenty hours' pour of tremendous rain, which converted Peking into a muddy, boatless Venice, and kept the people safely at home in their helpless felt shoes, as securely as if their feet had been put into the stocks. This was Friday. Tuesday was the reserve day; Saturday and Sabbath one felt the tide of excitement rising, and on Monday morning the Peking *Gazette* came out with an Imperial edict that at once allayed the excitement, and assured us that there was no danger for the present.

'Up to this point I stood quietly aside; but now was my time to reason, and on the data they supplied I reasoned thus: "If I go south, no Mongol can be prevailed on to go with me, and so I am shut out from my work, and that for an indefinite time. If I can get away north, then I can go on with the language, and perhaps come down after the smoke clears away, knowing Mongolian, and having lost no time." I felt a great aversion to travelling so far alone, and with such imperfect knowledge of the language, but as I thought it over from day to day I was more and more convinced that to run the risk of having to go south would be to prove unfaithful to duty, and so I conferred no longer with likings or dislikings, resolved to go should an opportunity offer, and in the meantime worked away at Chinese.

'By-and-by a Russian merchant turned up; he was going to Kiachta, so I started with him. I could not go sooner, as it was not safe to travel in the country before the Imperial edict was issued; to wait longer was to run the risk of not going at all.'

The name Mongolia denotes a vast and almost unknown territory situated between China Proper and Siberia, constituting the largest dependency of the Chinese Empire. It stretches from the Sea of Japan on the east to Turkestan on the west, a distance of nearly 3,000 miles; and from the southern boundary of Asiatic Russia to the Great Wall of China, a distance of about 900 miles. It consists of high tablelands, lifted up considerably above the level of Northern China, and is approached only through rugged mountain passes. The central portion of this enormous area is called the Desert of Gobi.

A kind of highway for the considerable commercial traffic between China and Russia runs through the eastern central part of Mongolia, leaving China at the frontier town of Kalgan, and touching Russia at the frontier town of Kiachta. Along this route, during all but the winter months, caravans of camel-carts and ox-carts attended by companies of Mongols and Chinese are constantly passing. The staple export from China is tea; the chief imports are salt, soda, hides, and timber.

The west and the centre of Mongolia are occupied by nomad Mongols. They have clusters of huts and tents in fixed locations which form their winter dwellings. But in summer they journey over the great plains in search of the best pasturage for their flocks and herds. They are consequently exceedingly difficult to reach by any other method than that of sharing their roving tent-life. In the south-eastern district of Mongolia there are large numbers of agricultural Mongols who speak both Chinese and Mongolian. The towns in this part are almost wholly inhabited by Chinese.

The winter in Mongolia is both long and severe; in the summer the heat is often very oppressive, and the great plain is subject to severe storms of dust, rain, and wind.

Buddhism is all-powerful, and the larger half of the male population are lamas or Buddhist priests. 'Meet a Mongol on the road, and the probability is that he is saying his prayers and counting his beads as he rides

along. Ask him where he is going, and on what errand, as the custom is, and likely he will tell you he is going to some shrine to worship. Follow him to the temple, and there you will find him one of a company with dust-marked forehead, moving lips, and the never absent beads, going the rounds of the sacred place, prostrating himself at every shrine, bowing before every idol, and striking pious attitudes at every new object of reverence that meets his eye. Go to Mongolia itself, and probably one of the first great sights that meet your eye will be a temple of imposing grandeur, resplendent from afar in colours and gold.'

'The Mongol's religion marks out for him certain seemingly indifferent actions as good or bad, meritorious or sinful. There is scarcely one single step in life, however insignificant, which he can take without first consulting his religion through his priest. Not only does his religion insist on moulding his soul, and colouring his whole spiritual existence, but it determines for him the colour and cut of his coat. It would be difficult to find another instance in which any religion has grasped a country so universally and completely as Buddhism has Mongolia.'

It was to the herculean task of attempting singlehanded to evangelize a region and a people like this that James Gilmour addressed himself. His early journeys are fully set forth in *Among the Mongols*, and we do not propose to repeat them here. Our object rather is to depict the real nature of the work he accomplished. He left Peking on August 5, and reached Kalgan four days later. On August 27 he started for his first trip across the great plain of Mongolia to Kiachta. Including a visit to Urga, it occupied a month. It was full of intense interest for the traveller, and many of the most abiding impressions of his life and work were then received. His diary reveals the deep yearnings of his heart for the salvation of the Mongols. Under the date September 11, 1870, he writes :—

'Astir by daybreak. Camels watering; made porridge and tea. This is the Lord's day; help me, O Lord, to be in the Spirit, and to be glad and rejoice in the day which

Thou hast made! Several huts in sight. When shall I be able to speak to the people? O Lord, suggest by the Spirit how I should come among them, and guide me in gaining the language, and in preparing myself to teach the life and love of Christ Jesus! Oh, let me live for Christ, and feel day by day the blessedness of a will given up to God, and the happiness of a life which has its every circumstance working for my good!'

Kiachta, on the southern frontier of Siberia, was reached September 28, 1870, and there Gilmour was at once plunged into a series of troubles. The Russian and Chinese authorities would not recognize his passport, and he had to wait months before another could be obtained from Peking. He found absolutely no sympathy in his work. He knew next to nothing of the Mongol language. Yet with robust faith, with whole-hearted courage, with a resolution that nothing could daunt, he set to work. A Scotch trader, named Grant, was kind to him, and found accommodation for him at his house. At first he tried the orthodox plan of getting a Mongol teacher to visit and instruct him. Before he secured one he used to visit such Mongols as he found in the neighbourhood, trying to acquire a vocabulary from them, asking the names of the articles they were using, their actions, and all such other matters as he could make them understand. But his loneliness, his ignorance of the language, the inaction to which he was condemned, partly by his difficulty in getting a suitable teacher, and partly by the uncertainty as to whether the authorities would allow him to remain, told upon his eager spirit as week after week passed by, and he became subject to fits of severe depression. Here is a picture of one of these early days:—

'To-day I felt a good deal like Elijah in the wilderness, when the reaction came on after his slaughter of the priest of Baal. He prayed that he might die. I wonder if I am telling the truth when I say that I felt drawn towards suicide. I take this opportunity of declaring strongly that on all occasions two missionaries should go together. I was

not of this opinion a few weeks ago, but I had no idea how weak an individual I am. My eyes have filled with tears frequently these last few days in spite of myself, and I do not wonder in the least that Grant's brother shot himself. *Oh! the intense loneliness of Christ's life*, not a single one understood Him! He bore it. O Jesus, let me follow in Thy steps, and have in me the same Spirit that Thou hadst!'

In March, 1871, he visited Selenginsk and Onagen Dome, the scene of the labours of Stallybrass and Swan from 1817 to 1841, and then he took a run into Siberia, crossing Lake Baikal and visiting Irkutsk. After another but briefer sojourn at Olau Bourgass he set out on his return journey, visited Urga, then crossed the great plain on horseback in the course of fourteen days, and reached Kalgan on June 11. After a rest there he made two excursions into Mongolia, visiting Lama Miao, one of the great Mongol religious centres, in the first; and occupying some weeks with a further spell of Mongol tent-life during the second.

After his wanderings even Kalgan was a haven of rest, and he had secured there a base of operations. 'Now,' he writes, 'that I have got my study window pasted up, and a nice little stove set going, it seems so comfortable that it would be snug to stay where I am. But comfort is not the missionary's rule. My object in going into Mongolia at this time is to have an opportunity of reviewing and extending my knowledge of the colloquial, which has become a little rusty consequent upon its disuse to a great extent while here, trying to get up the written.'

All who are even superficially acquainted with Chinese matters know how difficult it is to acquire the colloquial, and still more the written language. Mongolian is not nearly so difficult, but it presents a task needing vigour of intellect and strength of will. Both of these Gilmour possessed in a measure far above the average. 'In the written,' he states on October 7, 1871, 'I am still far from at home. Most of the Bible I can read slowly and at sight. Many words I can write. I think I could write a bad letter

myself alone. The other day I did so. My teacher said it was well written, and said also he rejoiced in the progress of his scholar; but I put this down to mere politeness.'

The self-denying and arduous labours of his first sojourn in Mongolia had given to James Gilmour a knowledge of the language and an acquaintance with the nomadic Mongols of the plain far in excess of that possessed by any other European. But even then, as also at a later date, the question was raised whether more fruitful work might not be done among the agricultural Mongols inhabiting the country to the north-east of Peking. On April 16, 1872, he started on his first journey through the district in which in later years the closing labours of his life were to be accomplished. He spent thirty-seven days in this preliminary tour, and travelled about 1,000 miles.

Gilmour's first estimate of this region as a field of missionary enterprise, expressed on April 25, 1872, remained true to the end, even though in later years the exceptional difficulties of work among the nomads induced him at last to settle among the agricultural Mongols:—

'Though I saw a good many Mongol houses, yet I must say I do not feel much drawn to them in preference to the nomad Mongols. The only possible recommendation I can think of is that, coming among them, I might go and put up for some days at a time in a Chinese inn. This would save me from great trouble in getting introductions, and it might be less expensive. The great objection I have to them is that, though a mission were established among them, it would be more a mission in China than anywhere else. The Mongols in these agricultural villages speak Chinese to a man, and I cannot help feeling that, since there are so many missionaries in Peking speaking the Chinese language, these Mongols fall to them, and not to me.'

Soon after his return from this trip into Eastern Mongolia, Mr. Gilmour sent home an elaborate report upon the conditions and prospects of the Mongol Mission. He deals with the whole question of the work, showing why, in his

opinion, the *agricultural* Mongols should be evangelized by Chinese missionaries. Mr. Edkins and others thought that Gilmour should undertake that labour, but after having seen more than any missionary of both regions and classes of Mongols, on the ground that he was the man 'who had to go and begin,' he decided for the plain.

In November he tried the experiment of living at the Yellow Temple in Peking during the winter, in order that he might meet and converse with the numerous Mongols who visit the capital every year. Here he not only made new friends, but he also frequently renewed acquaintance with those he had met on the plain. These visited him in his compound, and were occasionally a weariness and vexation to him, inasmuch as they very frequently severely tried his patience, without affording him the comfort of knowing that the good tidings of the 'Jesus book' were finding an entrance into their dark minds and hard hearts.

In 1873 Mr. Gilmour made several journeys over the plain of Gobi, and during 1874 he spent some months itinerating among the tents of the Mongol nomads. And yet at the close of the summer, and after nearly four years of strenuous toil, he had to write: 'In the shape of converts I have seen no result. I have not, as far as I am aware, seen any one who even *wanted* to be a Christian; but by healing their diseases I have had opportunity to tell many of Jesus, the Great Physician.'

In December, 1874, Mr. Gilmour married Miss Emily Prankard. The following year, 1875, he was constrained to stay in Peking, as Dr. Dudgeon was absent and he had to discharge a portion of the doctor's duties. He kept up his connection with Mongolia by putting up his Mongol tent in his compound, and inviting companies of Mongols to dine with him. These entertainments also served as object lessons for his colleagues.

In 1876 the trips to the plain were resumed. No colleague had yet been secured for him, and, with a bravery and consecration beyond all praise, Mrs. Gilmour accompanied him. This she did not once simply. For the first journey

the novelty of the experience and the conviction that she could at any rate help to preserve her husband from the feeling of utter loneliness, which had been so hard to bear in past years, were powerful reasons. But she went a second and a third time. She went after the novelty had worn off, after she had learned by very stern experience how hard and rough the life was, after previous exposure had told but too severely upon her physical strength. And thus she deserved the eulogy passed upon her by her husband: 'She is a better missionary than I.'

Mr. Gilmour's colleagues in the North China Mission were not very warm in their sympathy with the Mongol Mission. They knew and loved him; they appreciated his exceptional bodily, mental, and spiritual gifts; but they thought he could more usefully spend his zeal and energy in labouring for the thousands of Chi-li rather than for the tens of Gobi. Gilmour himself was fully alive to the existence of this feeling.

'As regards the opinion of other members of the Committee here, I have never called for any formal expression of it, nor have they (the members of Committee) ever been invited to discuss the question of the Mongol Mission in committee, but I know their individual opinions in an informal way. Messrs. Meech and Barradale don't say much; Mr. Owen thinks we will never do much in Mongolia working upon so distant a base as Peking; Mr. Lees thinks it a pity to take up such a seemingly unproductive field while so many more promising fields call for attention; he moreover thinks that the only way to do much for Mongolia is through China; Dr. Edkins thinks I spend too much time and labour over the Mongols, his idea being seemingly a combination of Mongol and Chinese work, with a preponderating tendency towards Chinese; Dr. Dudgeon has always regarded the Mongol Mission as hardly practicable. On the principle, however, of *Sow beside all waters*, and *Thou knowest not which shall prosper, this or that*, perhaps it is well that the Gospel should be exhibited to the Mongols also, and if

any one is to go to Mongolia, perhaps many people would have more disqualifications than myself.'

From 1880 onwards Mrs. Gilmour's health began to fail, and early in 1882 the family visited England on furlough. During his stay, by the publication of his vivid and remarkable book *Among the Mongols*, Gilmour did much to direct the eyes of many in the West to the hitherto unknown and unrecognized Mongol Mission. They returned to Peking towards the close of 1883, and in 1884 Gilmour made what was perhaps his hardest and most astonishing journey. He visited the plain, *on foot*, in February. In 1885 the first Mongol convert was baptized, a man who had often accompanied Mr. Gilmour, and who had been largely influenced by him, but who was actually baptized by Mr. Sprague of the American Mission at Kalgan. Mr. Meech's furlough kept Mr. Gilmour in Peking during 1885, and in September of that year his wife died.

During 1885 James Gilmour gradually reached the conclusion that a change of field was desirable. He was aware that friends and colleagues more or less qualified to form an opinion had urged upon him the advisability of labouring in Eastern Mongolia among the agricultural Mongols. No one knew so well as himself the advantages and the disadvantages of this plan. The reasons that finally led him to a decision were noble and characteristic. It was a hard field, and no one else could or would go. The Mongols of the plain were to some extent benefited by the American Mission at Kalgan; those dwelling in Eastern Mongolia were without a helper. Considerations like these, as he tells us, decided his new course of action.

Mr. Gilmour entered upon this new departure on the understanding that a medical colleague should be sent to him at the earliest possible moment. This responsibility the London Board assumed and endeavoured to discharge. The result was a severe trial to the faith, not only of the solitary worker but to all interested—and they were many—in the fate of the new mission. But in estimating the success of both missions, that on the plain and that in

Eastern Mongolia, it must never be forgotten that what Gilmour considered *essential*, the presence and help of a medical colleague, was never in the providence of God granted to him for any length of time.

It was at this period he entered upon a course of life so closely resembling that of the natives that he probably injured his health. His brethren were opposed to the ascetic mode of life he adopted, and the extreme of hardship which he so often and so willingly encountered in his work. But he himself often said, and there are many references in his diary to the same effect, that the kind of life he was living in the interior was quite as healthy, and quite as conducive to longevity, as the ordinary and certainly much more comfortable life of a missionary at Peking. While it may be true that the exposure and sufferings of twenty years had so weakened him as to leave him powerless when seized by the last illness, yet the labours of twenty such years spent in the service of God and the service of man are surely the seeds from which there shall yet spring a rich harvest to the glory of God and to the blessing of the dark and degraded Mongols and Chinese.

By the close of 1886 three main centres of work had been selected in the new district—Ta Chêng Tzŭ, Tá Ssŭ Kou, and Ch'ao Yang—all three being towns of some importance. Mr. Gilmour used to spend a month or so in each town, visiting also the neighbourhood, especially those places where fairs were held, and where consequently the people came together in large numbers. He had a tent which he used to put up in a main thoroughfare, and there he stood from early morn until night healing the sick, selling Christian books, talking with inquirers, preaching at every opportunity the full and free Gospel of salvation. His constant and consistent life of Christlike self-denial in the effort to bless them told even more upon the beholders than all these other things combined.

In March, 1888, Dr. Roberts joined Gilmour as his colleague; but their fellowship had lasted not a month when Roberts was summoned to Tientsin to fill the place

vacated by the death of Mackenzie. Nearly a year elapsed before Dr. Roberts' successor, Dr. G. P. Smith, reached Gilmour. When he did, in March, 1889, the latter's health was so bad that he had to be ordered home for rest and change. He returned to his work early in 1890. In the same year Dr. Smith's wife, formerly Miss Jessie Philip, died. This compelled him, early in 1891, to leave Mongolia for a time. Just before he left, Mr. Parker, who had been appointed to the mission, reached Tá Ssŭ Kou. Mr. Gilmour himself seemed better, and hopeful about the prospects of the mission; but the end of his course was nearer than any one dreamed. He visited Tientsin in May, 1891, to attend the North China District Committee Meeting. During the meetings he was taken ill with fever and died on May 21. He had toiled in a hard field. He had worked through the long day. As far as converts are concerned, there is little to show for his twenty-one years of endurance and suffering. And yet he has left such a memory behind that one of his fellow workers in Peking could say of him, 'I doubt if even St. Paul endured more for Christ than did James Gilmour. I doubt, too, if Christ ever received from human hands or human heart more loving, devoted service.'

The grief of converts and of heathen was alike great at the news of his death. The father of the mission, Gilmour had made his presence felt as that of a humble, unselfish, consecrated man, whose one thought was how he might best do good, and bring all around him to the saving knowledge of Christ. The Rev. J. Parker wrote: 'Grown-up men burst out in tears and sobbed like children when they were told that he was dead. All along the route where Mr. Gilmour was such a familiar visitor—always being out in the market-place at their fairs—the first question they asked was, "Has Mr. Gilmour come?" Every day at the evening prayers I can hear his name mingled with their petitions.'

The loss to Mr. Parker was as great as it was to the converts. Still a novice in mission-work, having a very imperfect acquaintance with the Chinese language, and fully

eight days' journey from his nearest colleagues and helpers, his position was most trying. In a true spirit of consecration he determined to remain at his post and carry on the work, and by the help of God he was enabled to do so. The story of the year's work and experience may be best given in Mr. Parker's own words :—

'After Gilmour's death I judged it my duty to go back and work along until reinforcements should come. As there were some business matters connected with his private affairs, Mr. Meech, of Peking, accompanied me back. We arrived at our destination early in June. Mr. Meech, being able to finish his work quickly, returned to Peking, after spending a day in each of the above-named places. He was obliged to hurry, as the rainy season was at hand. He left me in Ch'ao-Yang to get my first experiences of work alone.

'I immediately took up Gilmour's medical work, and soon found my hands full. I could not go out on the street to work, as my Chinese was hardly fluent enought for that. But I found I could get plenty of patients without. I had a notice stuck outside the inn, announcing that medicine was given away to the sick, and also saying that I should only dispense after midday and not before. This was necessary, as they were accustomed to come at all hours, which left me no time for Chinese. After a time they began to keep this rule, and I had the first half of the day for study. From midday until sunset, seven days a week, I found my time fully occupied in dispensing. In the course of four and a half months 2,000 visits were made by patients, most of whom were new cases. To these afflicted people were given tracts. Some of them bought portions of the Scriptures. The native preacher's room was thrown open, and here, before I opened for dispensing, would be collected a number of patients whom the preacher would address.

'I need not write at length upon the trouble which forced me from the field. As you will remember, a rebellion broke out in November, and Ch'ao-Yang, where I was staying, was the first to be attacked. I had to leave rather hurriedly, leaving all behind me. After hiding for the

fortnight, the rebels having been driven thirty miles away from the city, I returned. But finding it still very insecure, and large forces of rebels collecting near at hand, I concluded that it was more than a local affair. Also the Chinese money shop, where all my silver is kept, was closed up, and my resources were fast giving out. I then buried all valuable things, as medicines and books, and left the place, and, by a roundabout way, through the goodness of God, got safely to Tien-tsin.

'I am glad to say that God has wonderfully protected the Christians, although at one time they were in daily fear of being attacked. My goods and medicines, as far as I know, have not been touched. I am afraid that had we possessed mission buildings, they would have shared the fate of many a Mongol temple.'

Peace was, however, speedily restored by the vigorous action of the Chinese authorities, and in the spring of 1892 it became safe for Mr. Parker to return to his sphere of labour. He left Tientsin on April 19 with his new colleague, Mr. Macfarlane, and reached Ch'ao Yang on May 3. Since that time the work of the mission has proceeded without break and with many signs of blessing. Mr. Parker wrote:—'We were able to commence work at once. The Christians soon heard of our arrival, and gave us a hearty welcome. There was some little distress among them on account of some being deprived of their employment by the rebellion. Some had interesting stories to tell of their adventures.'

The Mongols were always timid and hard to get at, but since the rebellion at the end of 1892 they have been more out of reach than ever. In the meantime Ch'ao Yang has become the centre of an increasing work among the Chinese, and is a very encouraging field of labour. At the beginning of 1893 the two missionaries were able to remove from the small and inconvenient rooms in which they were then located to much more commodious premises. But already the accommodation has proved too small for the needs of the mission, and property has been

procured, providing room for a commodious chapel, and for a hospital and school as well as for dwelling-houses. In September Mr. Parker married Miss Ashburner, formerly of the Amoy Mission. In the same year he reports encouraging progress:—

'I am glad to be able to speak of a small increase in the number of members. This year I have baptized fifteen—i.e. five women and ten men. We have lost two by death. One of these, during some months of trying sickness, gave true evidence of having realized the blessedness of trust in Christ. He was one of Gilmour's earliest converts. During his illness he taught some of his neighbours the Truth, and by his instrumentality three men have been brought into the church. The membership now stands: Ch'ao-Yang, forty-six; Tá-ssŭ-Kou, four—total, fifty. There are four names on the roll of Ta-ch'eng-Tsü, but as little is known of these, and nothing has been done for them, I do not count them. Three-fourths of those baptized are comparatively young men, ranging from twenty-four to thirty-six years of age. I am very pleased with the general conduct of the Christians. They appear to be earnest, and readily respond to any call upon them for help for a sick brother or for the Cause. But they are ignorant, and need much teaching.'

The year 1894 opened brightly in the Mongol Mission, and for several months steady progress gladdened and stimulated the workers. Then came a twofold trouble: Mr. Macfarlane, after repeated attacks of dysentery, felt compelled to return to England for his health, and the outbreak of the war with Japan made the whole of the country bordering on the route of the Chinese soldiers to Manchuria so unsafe for foreigners that Mr. and Mrs. Parker found it necessary to retire from their station. They went first to the nearest port in the hope that they might be able to return soon; but the advance of the Japanese made continuance even in Niu Chwang so unsafe, and the prospect of taking up the work again so remote and uncertain, that they went down to Amoy, and are now serving the Society as a special deputation among the Australasian

churches. During the first eight months of the year there was much to encourage. The Christians were almost entirely free from persecution. The attendance at the services increased so much that frequently the chapel could not contain the number who came. Ch'ao Yang was as before the centre of the mission, and claimed the chief part of the missionary's time and strength. Daily preaching to the heathen in connection with dispensary practice, a class for inquirers, and Sunday services for the Christians occupied Mr. Parker's time very fully; while Mrs. Parker conducted Sunday services for the women, and had two weekly meetings in the houses of converts in different parts of the city. Two of the most intelligent and earnest members of the church have been chosen as deacons, and have proved most valuable voluntary helpers. There are also now three evangelists—Mr. Liu, who is at work in Ch'ao Yang; Mr. Jang, who has had charge of Tá Ssŭ Kou and then of Lao-pei-tzu-fu; and Mr. Liu Ji, who was formerly Gilmour's 'boy,' and who, having been trained at Tientsin, has become general helper, and is preparing for work among the Mongols.

'The former station at Tá-ssŭ-Kou has been re-opened, as it is in the midst of a large population of villages. The four Christians there remain faithful, and there are inquirers. The chief difficulty at present is the impossibility of obtaining accommodation. An effort has also been made to re-open the work at Ta-Ch'eng-tzu, one of Gilmour's first stations, around which there is a considerable Mongol population. An entirely new station has been formed at Lao-pei-tzu-fu, and here the work seems full of encouragement.' Mr. Cochrane has been appointed to succeed Mr. Macfarlane as superintendent of the medical mission. Slowly but steadily the Mongolian Mission seems to be making progress both in the number of converts and also in capacity for effective Christian service.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Journals, and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols. v–viii; *Among the Mongols*, by James Gilmour; *James Gilmour of Mongolia*, by R. Lovett, M.A.]

CHAPTER XXVI

CHINA IN 1895

THE shrinkage of the globe has, in the course of the century, brought China very near to the Western world. Communication is now so rapid, and the combined pressure of Western commerce, thought, and Government action so great, that even the haughty self-containedness of China is fast giving way. Christian missions there stand on a footing very different from that which they occupy in India. The missionary has behind him none of the prestige and reserve power which his Indian brethren enjoy as members of the governing class. He gains no advantage or disadvantage in this respect. In China the struggle is with a proud heathenism, and a highly developed civilization and literature, which are all the more difficult to deal with because, mingled with their nobler qualities, there is so much in both that is puerile and absurd. A survey, such as that imperfectly attempted in this volume, of the work accomplished by the London Missionary Society in the course of the ninety years which have passed since Morrison landed in China, leads to the conviction that in most departments only the stage of rough apprenticeship has hitherto been passed.

In India the century closes with Christianity and Hinduism preparing for a more strenuous and deadly struggle than any that has yet taken place. In China Christianity and Chinese heathenism stand face to face.

is now able to exert undoubted and powerful influence upon Chinese policy. This result was brought about by commerce, by war, by a series of events many of which were abhorrent to the Christian man. But there the land lies, and it is for the Christian church of to-day to go in and occupy it for the Master. The Chinaman has been aroused from the self-satisfied composure of ages. He is beginning to take an interest in the ways, the business methods, the scientific achievements of the foreigner; the telegraph and the railway are beginning to appear. He is being somewhat rudely shaken out of his self-confidence. And even the religion of the foreigner is being considered with a candour and with an interest unknown before. In the light of these and of many other signs, all pointing the same way, it behoves the Church of Christ to gird herself for a strenuous second century of toil and self-sacrifice on behalf of China. She must be prepared to give freely of her substance, to lavish the best brain and heart of her sons and daughters upon what, with the conversion of India, constitutes the vastest undertaking ever contemplated by Christianity.

3. The land is open. In the darkness of China there are now an ever-increasing number of points of light. What then remains to be done? It is only with diffidence that any one can speak who studies the great missionary problem of the conversion of China, without first-hand knowledge of the people, the language, and without personal experience of the actual working of any one great mission centre. But as far as such a problem can be studied from the outside, the following seem to be some of the paths which true progress should follow:—

(1) A much more thorough and highly-developed system of Christian missionary *education* is necessary. The conditions of life in China are very different from those which obtain in India. The great extension of educational work carried on by Government aid, and with Government supervision, combined with the large number of missionary schools and high schools established all over India, have

brought the general education of large numbers of the people to a fairly high level. The spread of English, both as the speech of the rulers and as a means of Government employ, and the wide use of it in Anglo-vernacular education, have gone a long way towards overcoming the language difficulties. In China, with regard to all educational work, the influence of the Government and of the *literati* has been almost entirely hostile. And in no other country on the globe does the question of language present such formidable difficulties.

The native system of education has never produced, and can never produce, under existing conditions, satisfactory results. It is true that education in itself, notwithstanding the benefits which flow from it, is not a sufficient end for missionary effort. But, as a means to an end, experience all the world over is showing that it may and does become a most effective handmaid to the Gospel. A survey of missionary influence in China seems to show that it has not yet accomplished anything really substantial in educational achievement. The difficulties in the way have been enormous. The admission that it is an integral part of missionary work is not always forthcoming; but it may be questioned whether one cause of the comparative weakness of the Christian church in China does not lie in the fact that she has never yet set herself to grapple with this vital question. Reform in China is for the moment defeated, and quenched in blood. The extraordinary edicts of 1898—abolishing the essay system of examination which has obtained during the last 500 years; establishing a university for the study of Western science; encouraging the translation of books on Western learning—though repealed for the present, mark a step forward which can never be fully retraced. If the Church of Christ is to obtain the controlling influence over the Chinese mind which she holds to-day over the Western nations, she cannot afford to neglect the educational awakening which China is experiencing after the sleep of ages. No reflection is intended upon the educational work in which almost every missionary society

established in China has taken some part. Much has been attempted ; much has been done. But in comparison with the possibilities of extension in this field hardly anything has been accomplished.

(2) Closely allied with higher education is the training of native agents. The records of missionary life are rich in examples of noble types of Chinese men and women who have given themselves heart and soul to the service of Christ and their fellow countrymen. Much has been attempted from time to time in the way of training schools and institutions. And yet most of these attempts have been more or less spasmodic, largely dependent upon the individual missionary, and not carried out with scientific thoroughness. In no country more than in China are first-rate native evangelists and pastors needed. But no mission seems yet to have had the power of training in any large numbers the class of workers needed. Hankow, Amoy, Tientsin, and other great centres have all produced individual workers of a very high order. And yet the testimony of Jonathan Lees in 1890 was this: 'It is indeed matter for thankfulness that so large a proportion of what may be called the first generation of Chinese Christian preachers have been true men. But many even of these have sorely tried the patience of their foreign brethren, and some have done much to injure the cause they served.' The China of to-day needs an army of highly trained native preachers, their hearts under the power of the Gospel as an indispensable qualification, but with a larger outlook on life, with more solid intellectual attainments, and with more power intelligently to guide other minds than that possessed by the great bulk of the last and present generation of native teachers. The church of this generation in China will have to bend her energies seriously to the great task of training an efficient native ministry, if she is to grapple effectively with all the new responsibilities and wider opportunities which are now before her.

(3) China, no less than India, needs a much better native

Christian literature than she possesses. Christian literature is almost wholly an exotic, largely foreign in origin, in mental attitude, and even in expression. This is true—

(i) With regard to versions of Scripture. The origin of the Delegates' Version has been sketched in Chapter XXIII. This has held its ground for forty years, and done a service the value of which cannot be over-estimated. Yet those who know it best, and admire it most, are among the first to recognize its defects as the Chinese Bible. Into the bitter controversies which have raged in China over the rendering of Biblical terms, and over Bible translation work, we have no desire to enter. They are, perhaps, not even yet in the stage when they can pass out of the hands of experts with settled and final conclusions which may become the common property of all interested in the subject. It is, perhaps, too early to even forecast whether the High Wen-li, or the Easy Wen-li, or the Mandarin, or some colloquial version will in time become *the* Bible of China. The Shanghai Conference of 1890 not only debated the questions connected with this great matter, but ultimately in their resolutions came nearer unity and unanimity than any past gathering of Chinese scholars and missionary workers. And yet a careful study of the regulations laid down leads one to the conviction that while the new versions which are in process of production will doubtless be great improvements upon their predecessors, they will in their turn have to yield place, when the version prepared by thoroughly competent, educated, and enlightened Chinese translators for Chinese readers appears.

(ii) With regard to Christian literature generally, the same contention holds. The work of such vigorous and useful centres as the Hankow Tract Society, the North China Tract Society, and the many other agencies which are attempting to send throughout China a sound, healthy, attractive, Christian literature deserves ready sympathy and help. Aided by the generous contributions of the Religious Tract Society, by grants at times from the

respective missionary societies, by the proceeds of sales and skilful business management, by the donations of those who realize the power of Christian literature, they have done, and are doing, a great work. But here also one of the crying needs of the day is for competent, well-equipped native Christians who shall substitute for the translated or transverbated publications of the present, Christian tracts and books written by Chinese for the Chinese, in the form that will most powerfully appeal to their type of mind and training and social culture.

The rapid movement which China is making along the path of change, and, it is to be prayerfully hoped, along the path of true progress, renders every question which bears upon the better equipment of the Chinese Church for its weighty responsibilities and for its glorious opportunities a matter of the highest moment. How far China has moved since Morrison's day, how near she is to the substitution for her Confucianism and Taouism and Buddhism of the life-giving Gospel of Jesus Christ, there is no standard by which to measure. The certainty is that she is moving with accelerating velocity along a path which she can safely and happily traverse only in so far as the Gospel gains power over her best life and thought. The needs of China, and the immeasurable opportunities of China, have seized upon the imagination and heart of the Christian church in Great Britain and America in a manner which is quite phenomenal. To the London Missionary Society fell the honour of being the pioneer in this great movement. Inseparably associated with the religious history of China will abide the names of Robert Morrison, William Milne, W. H. Medhurst, Dr. Lockhart, Dr. Legge, James Gilmour, and their colleagues, who have with them passed on into the life beyond. The burden which fell from them has been worthily carried by William Muirhead, John Chalmers, Griffith John, Jonathan Lees, and their devoted fellow workers in the vast China field. The last ten years has seen a great accession of strength to all centres occupied by the Society. A large band of

devoted young men and women have been drawn to this great enterprise, and in their lives lies a considerable portion of the missionary history of the coming century. But if for every worker to-day in the field the Christian church were to send out ten filled with enthusiasm for men, with love to Christ, and with willingness to spend and to be spent for the perishing millions of China, these twelve or fifteen thousand workers would still be able to touch only the fringe of this great work. The Church needs more and more to fix its gaze upon China until some true conception of its magnitude and importance adequately impresses upon the imagination the utter insufficiency of the means yet put forth for its Christian conquest. 'Had I ten days,' said Dr. Williamson of Chefoo, on one occasion, 'and strength to speak day and night. I might hope to convey to your minds some idea of the field of missionary labour in China in all its magnitude.' Considered in its physical area it is equal to eighteen Great Britains. In population it contains a third of the whole human race. The natural qualities and characteristics of the Chinaman are of such a kind that, if Christianity seizes hold upon him, he must become one of the dominant forces in the future life of our globe.

'Here then we are face to face with a country whose resources are of infinite promise; a race possessing the most vigorous physical powers, unwearying patience, the most dogged perseverance, destined to domination over the East, and over the islands of the sea. A people whose intellect is, in all important aspects, quite equal to our own, and who are just awakening to life—like some mighty giant from a long sleep, arousing himself, shaking his hoary locks, rubbing his dim eyes, feeling he must act, but not knowing how. Not a giant! but three hundred millions of immortal spirits, made in the image of God, aroused from the dead past, and looking around for guidance. The Church of God all the world over has long prayed for the opening of China. God has more than answered these prayers. The evangelization of the empire

is thrown upon this generation. Gideon and his lamp-bearers; the priests marching round about Jericho; Jonathan and his armour-bearer before the Philistines—these represent the position of our missionary representatives. Yet we know that "He who is for us is more than all they who are against us."'

Such is the problem which China presents to the church of the twentieth century. It is, perhaps, the greatest opportunity which has occurred in the Christian centuries. If the church of to-day could devote to this inspiring task the zeal, the faith, the self-denial, the consecration of her best life and thought, she might change the face of the Eastern world. But the tendency is to pay a subscription, to send a missionary, to attend an occasional meeting, once now and again to fix the thoughts for a few minutes upon the overwhelming needs of China, and then allow the current of life to flow on again in its normal course. It is not so that China can be won for Christ.

When James Gilmour, lonely and depressed, was unable to see any of those signs of progress for which he longed with a passionate intensity, and for which he toiled with an energy that wasted his vital force, this was how he dealt with himself. 'One thing I am sure of. The thousands here need salvation; God is most anxious to give it to them; where, then, is the hindrance? In them? I hardly think so. In God? No. In me, then! The thing I am praying away at now is that He would remove that hindrance by whatever process is necessary. I shall not be astonished if He puts me through some fires, or some severe operations, nor shall I be sorry, if they only end by leaving me a channel through which His saving grace can flow unhindered to these needy people.'

It is in the spirit of these words and of this experience that the Christian people of this generation must devote themselves to the lofty enterprise, if in God's providence they are to become the channel through which His saving grace can flow unhindered to the heathen millions of China.

MISSIONS BEGUN AND ABANDONED DURING THE CENTURY

'Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters.'—Isa. xxxii. 20.

'The attention of the meeting being directed to the consideration of the places of the earth, which should engage their first exertions: It was unanimously resolved, that the first attempt of this Society, shall be to send missionaries to Otaheite, or some other of the islands of the South Sea; and also, that missions may be, as early as possible, attempted to the Coast of Africa, or to Tartary, by Astracan, or to Surat, on the Malabar Coast, or to Bengal, or the Coromandel Coast, or to the Island of Sumatra, or to the Pelew Islands. And it was resolved, that if the Directors can prepare a mission before the time of the next general meeting, in May, 1726, they are empowered to expend on it such a sum as may be necessary.'—Resolution passed at the First General Meeting of the Society.

'The actual state of the heathen world invites the efforts of Christians to attempt the introduction of the light of the Gospel. The more we examine this subject, the more the conviction impresses itself upon us, that it appears in a state of preparation and readiness for the admission of the religion of Christ. In Asia and in Africa they yield a patient and inquisitive attention to the message of the missionaries; they are not encompassed with inaccessible prejudices, nor shielded by impenetrable ignorance; they invite instruction, and in the latter continent especially, the triumphs of the cross have within a short period been considerable. In the western coast also thereof this blessed cross is about to be lifted up as an ensign upon the hills, to which we trust the nations will flow. The Mahometans, who are remote from the centre of their imposture, hold their errors with a loose and indifferent hand; and, at this moment, even the throne of the false prophet seems to feel the approach of its inevitable destiny, and trembles under the presages of dissolution; the distress and perplexity of nations is a signal for Christians to arouse themselves; the fields appear white for harvest, and our prayers should be without ceasing, that an abundance of labourers may be speedily thrust forth.'—Joseph Hardcastle's Paper read to the Directors in May, 1797.

CHAPTER XXVII

MISSIONS BEGUN AND ABANDONED DURING THE CENTURY

During the first twenty-five years of its corporate life the Society began a number of missionary enterprises which never took vigorous root, and some of which were barely more than experiments. The mission carried on for years in Ceylon is described under India on page 20; the work in Java, Amboyna, Malacca, Singapore, and Penang—the Ultra-Ganges Mission—is the subject of Chapter XX; and the deeply interesting account of the Siberian Mission is contained in Chapter XXIV.

I. North American Missions. Attempts were made very early in the Society's history to carry on missions. first in Newfoundland, and then on the mainland of British North America.

1. *Newfoundland*. The Report for 1799 states: 'We have lately complied with a request from Twillingate, a small island opposite Newfoundland, and Mr. Hillyard. son of the Rev. Mr. Hillyard of Olney, is now on his passage there. Inquiries also are making by us respecting a particular part of the north-west coast of America and the Bermudas. To other islands in the West Indies, and to Canada, we are looking, ready to embrace the first openings.' The Directors assign as their reason for undertaking this work, the fact that 'the religious state of many of our countrymen in distant colonies is known to be nearly as deplorable as that of the heathen. Equally destitute of the form as of the power of godliness, they are liable to lose all remembrance of its principles. This is especially the

case of many British inhabitants of Newfoundland.' The account they give of the origin of this mission is instructive:—

'At the town of St. John's, in Newfoundland, the Gospel had been faithfully preached for thirty years by the late Rev. John Jones, through whose hands the application from the people at Twillingate was communicated to the Directors. That venerable and useful servant of Christ died a few months after Mr. Hillyard's arrival.'

'The Rev. John Hillyard, then a student at the academy at Newport Pagnell, being informed of the urgent necessity and wishes of the people at Twillingate, offered his services to the Society for this mission, and they were gladly accepted for the term of three years. He arrived at Carbonear in Newfoundland, June 12, 1799, and repaired soon afterwards to his proposed station, on the north-east coast of that island. The Gospel had never been preached at Twillingate, but an elderly pious man who had been employed there in the cod-fishery, having practised family worship, some of his family and neighbours, having been impressed by his example, with a desire that the religious advantages they lost at his death might be replaced by the ministry of the Gospel, they joyfully received Mr. Hillyard, and built a small place for public worship, which became fully and seriously attended. The severity of the climate, the want of many accommodations common in our own country, and the uncivilized manners of the people were cheerfully endured by Mr. Hillyard, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ; and he laboured indefatigably, during the proposed period, for their spiritual welfare; his whole time being divided between his public ministry and the private instruction of children and grown persons in the knowledge of the Scriptures. It pleased God to make his strength as his day, and to crown his exertions with considerable spiritual success. About thirty persons afforded evidence of conversion, and were united together in religious communion; and about twenty others appeared to be earnestly concerned for salvation. Mr. Hillyard occasionally preached at a larger island in the vicinity

called New World, and at some settlements on the coast of Newfoundland, where the Gospel had formerly been introduced. He endeavoured to obtain a knowledge of the savages who dwell in the interior parts of that extensive country, but their extremely barbarous and hostile state has hitherto precluded the possibility of communication with them[1].'

At the close of his three years' term, Mr. Hillyard returned to England owing to the ill health of his wife. The church at Twillingate petitioned the Directors to send 'a serious, plain Christian, well-instructed in the Scriptures, who has the good of souls at heart, although he does not possess the advantages of learning, or very shining talents.' For such an one they offer to raise £80 per annum. In 1803 Mr. Hillyard returned for another term of service, intending to visit, as far as possible, 'many settlements where multitudes of souls, no less ignorant than the heathen, are totally destitute of religious instruction[2].' Twillingate continued to be his centre of work until 1805, when he was invited to the pastorate of the church at St. John's. His labours were beneficial mainly to the colonists, the Report for 1807 stating that 'although he has not had an opportunity to establish a mission among the heathen, he has contributed to the dissemination of the Gospel in several dark and destitute places of Newfoundland.' His second term was extended to four years, and in the course of 1807 Mr. Hillyard accepted an invitation to become pastor of a church at Yarmouth, in Nova Scotia, and his connection with the Society ceased. In 1813 the Society sent out, as minister of St. John's, the Rev. W. J. Hyde, who laboured there until 1816, when he returned to England, and the Society's connection with Christian work in Newfoundland ceased.

2. *Missions on the mainland of North America at Quebec and Montreal.* To readers of this history the plan of sending *missionaries* to Quebec and Montreal

[1] *Transactions of the Society*, ii. pp. 108, 107.
[2] Reports, 1795–1814, p. 192.

appears singular. But the Society's Report for 1800 states: 'The Directors have received letters from Quebec which contain very affecting representations of the deplorable state of the inhabitants of Canada, as to their ignorance and profligacy, arising from the almost total want of religious instruction.' To do what lay in their power to remedy this state of affairs, and also in the hope and expectation that religious work undertaken for the settlers would in time develop a mission among the Indians, the Directors sent out in 1800 two missionaries, the Rev. Clark Bentom and the Rev. John Mitchell. Both had been members of the party captured in the Duff. They reached Quebec on June 1, 1800. Shortly after their arrival it was decided that Bentom was to labour at Quebec, while Mitchell was to go to Montreal. A subscription for Bentom's support was raised, and the Report for 1801 presumes 'his residence at Quebec will occasion little or no expense to the Society.' In the Report for 1802 we read, 'His church and congregation increase,' and his position 'affords him opportunity of inquiry into the circumstances of the Indians in the vicinity with a view to their instruction and conversion.' He has also been 'solemnly charged to act with diligence and steadfastness in the performance of every duty connected with his station, and with his relation to this Society.' In 1803 we read, 'Mr. Bentom appears to maintain and defend boldly the principles of the Gospel, surrounded by those who reject and contemn them'; in 1804, 'Mr. Bentom has sustained considerable opposition from persons who bear the Christian name, and who have prevailed on some to withdraw from his ministry. He has not been able to extend his labours to the Indians, few of them residing within his reach. The obloquy of his enemies appears to have brought his usefulness to a stand.'

What happened was this: the faithful preaching of Mr. Bentom and the organization of an evangelical (Presbyterian) church under his care vexed the ecclesiastical authorities of the colony. These first spread reports that

his actions at marriages and burials, and his registry of births and baptisms were all illegal; then he was prosecuted as a criminal by the Attorney-General with the sanction of the Bishop of Quebec, on the ground that he was not 'of the Church of Rome, nor of the Church of England, nor of the Church of Scotland.' In 1805 Mr. Bentom returned to England, and the Society's connection with Quebec ceased. He petitioned the House of Commons against the high-handed action of the colonial authorities, but with what result is not recorded [1]. Mr. Bentom was succeeded by a Mr. Dick, sent out at the request of the Directors 'by some religious societies in Scotland.' In 1811 the Rev. George Spratt, who was on his way to India, fell so ill at Philadelphia that he was declared unfit for a warm climate. In these circumstances the Directors transferred him to Quebec in 1812. With Mr. Dick's co-operation he formed a church there, and, except for an occasional donation from the Board, was self-supporting.

Mr. Mitchell, on reaching Montreal, received such scanty encouragement, and also found the prospect of being able to aid the Indians so remote, that he accepted an invitation to New Carlisle, in the Bay of Chaleurs, New Brunswick, and settled there in 1802. His reports led the Directors to resolve on the appointment of two of the missionary students to labour among the settlers and the Indians at Restigouche and Meremichi. In 1804 Mr. Mitchell removed to a stronger church at Amherst, New Brunswick, and thus became self-supporting.

3. *Missionary Work in New Brunswick.* The Directors were not able to carry out their plan of sending two students, but in 1804 Mr. Edward Pidgeon was appointed to New Carlisle and Restigouche. The Report for that year thus defines his duties: 'As the ministration of the Gospel among persons already professing the Christian

[1] A full record of this piece of bigotry and intolerance is contained in a pamphlet in the Memorial Hall Library, entitled *A Statement of Facts and Law relative to the prosecution of the Rev. Clark Bentom, for the assumption of the office of a Dissenting Minister in Quebec, by the King's Attorney-General of Lower Canada*, 1804.

religion is not the direct or most prominent object of the Missionary Society, the Directors have recommended to Mr. Pidgeon not to devote more than half his time to the instruction of the Protestants at New Carlisle, but to extend his labours among the Catholics, who abound in that country; and among other persons not instructed in the true faith of the Gospel; and, if possible, among the Indians in the neighbourhood. They have been induced to give these directions to Mr. Pidgeon in consequence of letters received from Mr. Mitchell, from which it appears that in a journey of considerable extent which he took last summer, he visited a great number of settlements inhabited by highlanders, many of whom were Catholics, and by a variety of other people, most of whom gladly received the word from his lips. Whole towns and districts were totally destitute of all religious ordinances, and seemed in danger to lose the very forms of Christianity; many of them expressed strong desires for the means of religious instruction, and would rejoice even in the occasional visits of an itinerant minister. Among persons of this description Mr. Pidgeon is to labour as much as possible; and to collect as particular an account as he is able of the state of religion throughout the province of New Brunswick. Information of this kind cannot fail of being highly interesting to Christians in this country, and may ultimately lead to some active measures for the more general diffusion of evangelical light in that dark part of the earth. As a portion of the British Empire, inhabited by persons who have emigrated from hence, or are descendants of Britons, they have a strong claim on our compassion; and it may be hoped that a just and accurate representation of their pitiable state may induce our wealthy merchants and others to exert their benevolent and Christian endeavours in that quarter, upon a larger scale than may strictly comport with the precise object of the Missionary Society[1].'

[1] Reports, 1795–1814, p. 191.

Two years later we read: 'As Mr. Pidgeon's exertions are necessarily circumscribed in the winter, he employs his leisure in the acquisition of the French and Indian languages, in order that he may be able to preach to the French Catholics and Indians, the former being very numerous, and many of the latter also residing in the vicinity of those stations. The Directors are happy to receive this intelligence, as it tends to assimilate his views, and to direct his future exertions to objects which are directly suited to the patronage of this Society. And as Mr. Pidgeon has requested, and will certainly need, an assistant when he shall have entered on his labours among the French Catholics and the Indians, the Directors think it will be expedient to look out for a suitable person to take a part of the ministerial duties at Carlisle and at Restigouche[1].'

For some years New Carlisle contined to be Mr. Pidgeon's residence, but he itinerated over a large expanse of country. He visited Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island. He also travelled largely both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He spent the winter of 1809 in Prince Edward's Island, and in 1814 settled there. In 1818 he took charge of St. Peter's parish, and ceased to be upon the Society's staff.

Up to this point the history of the North American Mission in the case of each missionary has been identical. Without fuller knowledge and without entire concentration upon the work it was impossible to do anything for the Indians. Even with these their scattered state and the conditions of their life would have rendered mission-work among them exceedingly difficult. But the Society did a good work in supplying, so far as they could, the religious needs of some of the colonial settlements, and still more good by calling attention to the spiritual destitution of settlers in our colonies through the annual meetings and reports. But while the Society has done much splendid service on behalf of our colonies, service for which in South Africa and other parts it has sometimes received more

[1] Reports, 1795–1814, p. 221.

obloquy than gratitude, the Directors have never felt this to be the true field of labour. And so it was in British North America; one by one her agents found it impossible to get at the Indians; one by one they became ministers of colonial churches. This had been anticipated by the Directors, since the conviction that the Society would be required permanently to support its agents was not generally admitted until after 1820.

The story of what else was attempted in Canada further confirms this view. The Report for 1811 contains this paragraph: 'An application has been made to the Directors by a number of persons, chiefly British, who settled about the year 1784 in the district of Johnstown, in Upper Canada, near Lake Ontario, and whose principal residence bears the name of Elizabethtown; they have been enabled to surmount the difficulties which settlers in a wilderness generally encounter, but continue destitute of any stated Gospel ordinances. After applications for assistance to other bodies of Christians, in which, for many years, they have been painfully disappointed, they determined to apply to this Society. Their petition expresses a very earnest desire to enjoy the means of grace, and a dread of wholly losing that sense of religion which they took with them from this country. Their application was truly affecting, and was signed by more than a hundred names. The Directors could not hesitate a moment; and although the applicants were not heathen, they hoped they might claim regard as being part of "an unenlightened nation[1]."'

The Rev. William Smart sailed to fulfil this mission in June, 1811. He settled in due course at Elizabethtown, formed a church there, and about 1817 ceased to receive any support from the Directors.

In the same year, 1811, the Directors responded to an appeal from St. Mary's Fall, 'far in the interior of Canada, near Lake Superior,' and appointed to that station Mr. John Cox. Probably neither Directors nor missionary had any clear conception of what such a journey then involved. At

[1] Reports, 1795-1814, p. 391.

any rate Mr. Cox never reached St. Mary's Fall. He reached Elizabethtown in October, wintered at Matilda Town in that district, and finally settled at Augusta Town, 300 miles from Quebec. He also there became pastor of a colonial church. He received no stipend, but only occasional donations from the Society. All these brethren were sent out in the full expectation that those to whom they laboured would be able and willing to support them. After the issue of the twenty-fifth Report the name British North America drops out of the Society's annals.

II. South America. In the Report for 1807 the causes which led to the attempt to found a mission in South America are set out at length: 'When the Directors learnt that in the course of Divine Providence the populous and important town of Buenos Ayres had become a part of the British Empire, they were desirous of seizing the first opportunity of sending thither the invaluable treasure of the Gospel of Christ; they saw with what avidity the British merchants extended their commercial concerns to that country, and they felt anxious to communicate, with at least an equal zeal, the superior benefits of a pure religion. Mr. Creighton, one of the missionary students, was therefore dispatched in the ship Spring Grove to that station. It was not expected that he could immediately discharge all the duties of a missionary, as the prejudices and interests of the Catholic ecclesiastics might present a powerful obstacle; but it was hoped that while employed in learning the language of the country, he would be acquiring the most useful information of the state of religion, and of the way in which he might best employ himself, and others who might hereafter be sent among the native heathen; it was also hoped that he might be of essential use to the sick among our British soldiers, and be serviceable in the religious instruction of their children [1].'

Before Mr. Creighton reached Buenos Ayres at the end

[1] Reports, 1795–1814, p. 254.

of 1806, that town had reverted to the Spanish, and for a time he tried to establish himself at Monte Video, then for a very brief period under British sway. He was compelled to leave Monte Video after a stay of only a few months, returned to England in October, 1807, and in 1808 took up mission labour in Ireland under the Hibernian Society. Thus ended the only attempt made by the Society to gain a foothold in South America.

III. Malta and the Greek Islands. This mission was attractive to many supporters of the Society in early years, but, as in the case of others described in this section, time and experience were to confine it to the limits of one generation. It was one of the earliest projects urged upon the Directors, but it was not until 1808 that any action was taken. The object aimed at was 'the revival of pure religion in the Greek Church, among the inhabitants of Asia Minor and of the Greek Islands.' In 1808 John Frederick Weisinger was sent to Malta, as the Report for 1809 tells us, 'to improve himself in the knowledge of Modern Greek, and of Italian, with an ultimate view of proceeding to the Greek Islands, and also to the Continent, to circulate the Modern Greek Testament among the inhabitants.' A fact which had, doubtless, considerable influence upon this enterprise is mentioned in the same Report—that the Bible Society were at that time printing an edition of the New Testament in Modern Greek, and this, especially through Smyrna, might, it was hoped, be widely circulated. In 1809 Mr. Weisniger returned to Erlangen, there pursued his studies, and in 1810 accepted a church in Austria, neither Greece nor the Society receiving much benefit from his labours.

In 1811 Bezaleel Blomfield, who had been trained at Gosport, sailed for Malta, but died there July 6, 1813. In 1816 a man was sent out to succeed him who was to do considerable service, and for many years—Isaac Lowndes. He reached Malta November 6, 1816. He remained at Malta until 1819, and was there joined in January by

Mr. S. S. Wilson, who had been sent as his colleague. Mr. Lowndes shortly after left for Zante, while Mr. Wilson remained at Valetta. The question of continuance there was still in abeyance, 'the central situation of Malta, in respect of Europe, Asia and Africa, naturally pointed it out as a very eligible place for a permanent station.' Mr. Lowndes visited Cephalonia and Ithaca, but finally decided on Zante as the station. He reports that the Botopappas and others 'consider it very strange that a Christian Missionary should be sent to *Christians*!' and lays down the principle that he should not attempt 'to make converts *from* the Greek Church, but endeavour to revive the dormant principles of religion *in* it.' Very early in his residence at Zante he was offered by Sir Patrick Row, the governor, the post of superintendent of a school. The Senate of Corfu had decreed that schools should be established in all the Ionian Islands, and that English should be taught in them. Mr. Lowndes thought a post of this kind would aid him in his work.

The mission at Malta did not at first seem very hopeful. In 1822 Mr. Wilson was recalled to England, 'the Directors thinking it improper to incur the expense of more than one missionary in the Mediterranean'; but in 1823, 'the Directors having obtained a more perfect knowledge of the usefulness and importance of his labours in Malta,' he returned again to Valetta. In 1824 he visited the Ionian Islands, and from 1825 to 1830 laboured at Malta. In 1824 he printed 10,000 tracts at the American Mission Press[1], and translated into Modern Greek the *Pilgrim's Progress* and Burder's *Village Sermons*. A Religious Tract Society, which for some years had been in connection with the English Chapel, was much strengthened by Mr. Wilson's energy. In this same year, 1824, a mission press was sent out for Mr. Wilson's use. At this time and subsequently perhaps the most important part of the mission was the preparation and circulation of Christian literature. In 1825

[1] Missionaries of the A. B. F. C. M. were at this period in Malta, and very cordial relations susbisted with them.

the Committee of the London Religious Tract Society granted £50 for the printing of tracts in Albanian and Modern Greek. Mr. Wilson preached in English, in Italian, and in Modern Greek.

For the next few years the press was extremely active in producing books and tracts. In 1829 nearly 9,000 publications were distributed by the two missionaries. So sanguine did the Directors feel about their mission in the Levant at this time (1830) that in their Report they say: 'The Directors cannot close this part of their Report without gratefully recording the sense they entertain of the importance attaching to the labours of their missionaries in the Levant, in connection with the rapid developments of the plan of Divine Providence, in reference to Greece and the adjacent regions of the East. While political wisdom is exercised in settling the boundaries, and adapting the internal regulations of a regenerated empire, and the friends of humanity and science are lending their aid to the emancipation of the enslaved, and the instruction of the ignorant, the efforts of Christian philanthropy, collected from different countries, and put forth by different societies and different outward communions, are directed, with concentrated aim, to spread along the shores of the Mediterranean, and throughout Greece and Asia Minor, the pure light of that Gospel which, in the beginning, shed its rays on their inhabitants, and chased away the thick darkness of idolatry in which, for ages, they had been enveloped. Already the torch is again burning in various parts; and it is our privilege to hail the near approach of the period when every valley and every mountain-top shall be illuminated, the arm of Mohammedan power completely dried up, the diversified superstitions of corrupted Christianity abolished, and the beatifying influence of true religion substituted for the dreadful evils under which the people of those regions have so long groaned[1].' These glowing words have an almost pathetic interest in the light of later history.

[1] Report, 1830, p. 70.

The work of the press in 1831 was five tracts (9,500 copies in all), Scott's *Essays, Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Tutor's Guide*, in Modern Greek. The total distribution amounted to 29,869 books and tracts. These works, the Report tells us, were printed partly at the expense of the Society, and partly of the Religious Tract Society.

But the mission which had done such good service was soon to experience hard times. The pressure of financial trouble at home, combined with the fact that many of the Society's supporters held that all its missions should be to the heathen, led to its abandonment. In 1834 it was decided to close the Malta station. This decision was based upon the view that 'as the preparation and distribution of books is the chief labour performed at Malta, and this can be done as well elsewhere, it does not appear to the Directors desirable to continue this as one of the permanent stations [1].' Mr. Wilson finished the work of the press in June, 1835, returned to England, and ceased to be connected with the Society. He was for many years minister of the Congregational Church in Shepton Mallet, and died there in 1866.

In 1822 Mr. Lowndes, with the sanction of the Board, removed from Zante to Corfu. His plan of campaign was to make occasional journeys to the mainland, thus gaining opportunities to establish schools, converse with the people, distribute books and tracts, and by publishing accounts of these towns 'excite in Great Britain a livelier interest in the mission. This plan he endeavoured for many years to accomplish, and in the execution of it travelled far. In the Report for 1827 we read, 'The fall of Missolonghi closed up an important channel for the distribution of books in Greece,' and the political events, of which this event was a part, practically closed the mainland to the missionaries. Mr. Lowndes conducted English services at Corfu for many years, and also did much for education. Even more than in the case of Mr. Wilson, he was engaged in important literary tasks. From 1825 to 1828 he gave much time to seeing the Albanian New Testament through the press.

[1] Report, 1834, p. 80.

He had completed the Albanian alphabet. The book was printed at the Government Press. He prepared and printed a Lexicon of Modern Greek, and, in conjunction with Mr. Leeves and two Greek professors, he translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Modern Greek, which was published in 1838. He also translated Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon into Modern Greek, which was printed in 1842.

In 1835 he was appointed inspector-general of schools for the Ionian Islands, a post which he held until it was abolished in 1840, when he became a member of the Commission for Public Instruction. Difficulties in the execution of distinctively missionary work increased rather than diminished. Difficulties at home, of a kind which ended the Malta Mission, were also at work. In 1844 Mr. Lowndes visited England, and the Directors then decided to close the mission.

'Among the measures adopted by the Directors to reduce the expenses of the Society, without diminishing its labours for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen, has been the relinquishment of its mission in the Ionian Islands. The field is important and extensive, and the resources of the Society have been usefully employed for more than a quarter of a century in various operations to promote the best interests of the population: but, as the ground, strictly speaking, is not *missionary*, and as the claims of our existing stations in the heathen world have long exceeded the pecuniary resources of the Society, the Directors felt it was their duty to adopt the measure now stated.

'Our esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. Isaac Lowndes, has entered the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and will be usefully employed as the agent of that noble institution in the Mediterranean. Mr. Lowndes has changed his residence from Corfu to Malta. The Directors gladly take this opportunity to bear honourable testimony to the integrity of his character, the fidelity of his conduct, and the utility of his labours, especially in connection with education and the press, during the long

period of twenty-seven years, the term of his connection with the Society[1].'

IV. Mauritius. This mission, as noted in the Madagascar section, was begun in 1814 by the Rev. John Le Brun, who settled at Port Louis in that year. He there laboured until 1833, when Mr. Le Brun visited London, and the Directors gave up the mission for the following reasons:—'Mr. Le Brun's health had suffered much from the climate; and the state of the island was unfavourable to the successful prosecution of missionary labours[2].' Mr. Le Brun ultimately returned to Mauritius on his own account, and resumed the pastoral oversight of the people among whom he had lived. In 1841 Mr. Le Brun was reappointed as agent of the Society, and he died at Port Louis in 1865. In 1844 his son, J. J. Le Brun, began mission-work among the Malagasy refugees at Moka; in 1851 he removed to Port Louis and became assistant to his father. It was he who visited Antanànarivo with David Johns in 1861. In 1871 his connection with the Society ceased. His brother, Peter Le Brun, was appointed assistant missionary in 1851, and died in 1865. In 1871 Mauritius disappears from the Society's records.

V. In addition to the work described above, the Society in its early days tried several other experiments. Louis Cadoret, a French prisoner of war, was in 1801 accepted by the Society to do christian work among the French prisoners; and after his return to France in 1803 he was for some time assisted by the Society, and ultimately became a minister. In 1815 Philip Bellot was appointed to work in Naples; but not being allowed to stay there, was for a time employed in Paris, and in 1819 did itinerating work in Guernsey. In 1821 he became pastor of a church at Arras.

[1] Report, 1845, p. 98.

[2] Ibid. 1834, p. 100.

CHAPTER XXVIII

HOME AFFAIRS: 1821–1870

In completing the story of the home administration of the Society it is impossible to avoid passing over multitudes of details, many of them curious, many possessed of a strange fascination for the observer who looks beneath the surface, and all of them instructive. Reading the old time-worn minute-books is like scrutinizing while in active operation the complicated portions of a great machine full of force and energy. The minutes, alas! only briefly record the victory or defeat. What one would most like to possess—the reasons, the motives, the conflict of opinion underlying the sententious minute—have gone for ever, and too often we can but surmise what they were like.

By the year 1820 the Society had become a permanent agency, possessed of ever-growing resources, for preaching the Gospel 'to every creature' yet unevangelized in heathen darkness. It had passed through apprenticeships, and tasted both the bitter of adversity and the sweet of success. From tentative and temporary sources of income it had developed an organization destined to increase in contributing power year by year. By the year 1821 many of the pioneer workers had either passed away or become too old to render further effective service. But as the veterans fell, the faith and consecration of younger workers kept the flame of missionary zeal burning brightly, and

the half-century from 1820 to 1870 was one of steady and almost continuous progress.

On October 25, 1825, Dr. Bogue, the father and founder to whom, perhaps, the Society owed more than to any other single helper, died. The minute passed by the Directors on hearing of their loss notes that 'he was one of the very first projectors of the Missionary Society, towards the establishment of which he materially contributed, and for the extension and prosperity of which he has directed the best energies of his powerful and well-informed mind for the space of thirty years. By his prayers, his writings, his example, his journeys, and, above all, by his direction and superintendence of the Missionary Seminary at Gosport, he has been rendered, by the blessing of God, one of the chief instruments of the Society's prosperity. The loss of such an efficient and disinterested labourer cannot be calculated; yet whilst it is sincerely and deeply lamented, the Directors would return their devout thanks to God, who rendered his instrumentality so beneficial, and who continued him amongst them, in full activity, till he had reached the seventy-sixth year of his life.'

On May 7, 1827, Mr. Robert Steven, one of the many energetic laymen who from the first had given freely to the Society's work their thought and their time, died; then in quick succession, Dr. Waugh, Dec. 14, 1827; Mr. William Shrubsole, one of the first secretaries, Aug. 23, 1829, his colleague Dr. John Love having predeceased him, Dec. 17, 1825; Matthew Wilks, Jan. 29, 1828, and five years later his old friend and co-worker Rowland Hill. To the great abilities of Dr. Waugh and the services rendered by him at the origination of the Society reference has already been made. His biographers have left on record a pleasing picture of what he was as a Director of the Society. The language is quaint and characteristic of the time, but it is worth quoting for the sidelights which it throws upon the early methods of the Board:—

'For twenty-eight years Dr. Waugh sat, by the

unanimous appointment of his brethren, as chairman of the Examination Committee of the London Missionary Society, during which period he exhibited a rare combination of prudence, gentleness, acute discrimination, conscientious attention to business, and devoted attachment to the Missionary cause. To the whole of his clerical coadjutors, his mild and unassuming but dignified deportment rendered him an object of equal esteem and veneration. To his younger brethren in the direction he always acted with the condescension of a father; while with those of nearly the same standing with himself he was wont to indulge in a freedom and facetiousness of conversation to which none could listen without catching a measure of his kind and generous spirit.

'When differences of opinion arose upon any particular question, his constant aim was to check every symptom of personality and of unholy asperity; while by the wisdom of his counsels and the mildness of his reproofs, he often succeeded in restoring unanimity of opinion and harmony of feeling. Peace, by all means save the sacrifice of truth and purity, was the maxim upon which he himself acted, and which he frequently urged upon the attention of others. It would be easy indeed to particularize instances, in the history of the London Missionary Society, in which both in the Committee of Examination, and in the Board of direction, his Catholic spirit was the means of preventing the most serious misunderstandings. So much was he the object of general esteem, that parties the most adverse listened to his mild and persuasive advice. By some pertinent anecdote, or by some happy exhibition of the natural playfulness of his mind, or by some solemn appeal to great and acknowledged principles, he would often quench the violence of a most threatening debate, and restore the Christian tone of a meeting after it had been considerably impaired: and when in these holy efforts he failed in accomplishing the best wishes of his heart, he in general sat down in silence, evidently grieved at his want of success, but at the same time displaying nothing

of that chagrin which a mind less dignified would not have failed to express.

'He was a warm friend to the progressive education in the system of missionary education. He loathed the idea of sending forth ignorant men and novices to propagate the faith of Christ among the heathen. Highly did he estimate the claims of the missionary office; and he was ever anxious to secure for it all the honour to which it was entitled. He would not endure to hear anything said that tended to detract from that spiritual dignity with which Christ has invested it[1].'

Year by year gaps were made in the number of those connected with the founding and early work of the Society, and the opening paragraph of the Report for 1863 commemorates the death of the last survivor:—

'The Directors and friends of the Society are assembled to celebrate its sixty-ninth anniversary; and this fact is sufficient to remind us that its venerable Founders have passed away. The last survivor of those who actually co-operated in its formation—the Reverend Dr. Bennett—died in December last, at the advanced age of eighty-five. In 1795, the year in which the foundation of the Society was laid, our departed father commenced his ministry at Romsey. He entered on his office largely imbued with the Missionary spirit and energy of his venerable tutor, Dr. Bogue: with him and other fathers of the Society he was present at the sailing of the Duff from Spithead in 1796; and at the early age of thirty he was selected to preach the annual sermon of the society at Surrey Chapel. And as the early life of our venerable friend was marked by strong practical attachment to the Society in the season of its weakness, so to the close of his prolonged ministry he evinced for it a devotion equally ardent and enduring, and never failed to render it his active and generous support, till compelled to retire from public life by advancing age and growing infirmities. In the first years of the Society he shared its heavy trials and bitter disappointments; but

[1] *A Memoir of Alexander Waugh*, pp, 292, 293, 304. London, 1830.

throughout the night of toil, long and dreary though it proved, he was found at his post; and he lived to witness, beyond his brightest hopes, the Sun of Righteousness arise upon the dark lands of heathenism with healing beneath His wings.'

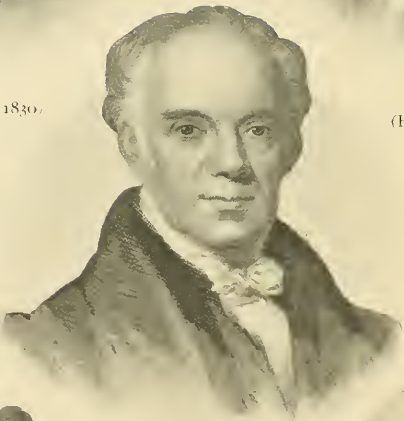
The changes in the chief posts on the official staff during the fifty years were as follows:—Alers Hankey was succeeded as Treasurer by Thomas Wilson, one of the founders of the Society and one of the ablest men ever connected with it, who filled the office till his death on June 17, 1843. He was followed by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., 1844–1863, and he in turn by Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., 1864–1875. The Rev. George Burder, owing to failing health, resigned his office as Foreign Secretary in 1828, and on May 29, 1833 he died. He was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable in the group of altogether exceptional men who organized the Society. In addition to his twenty-four years of incessant and devoted honorary service he was pastor of the important church in Fetter Lane, he was founder of the Religious Tract Society, for many years he was responsible editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, he was a capable and considerable writer, and it is hard to find a good work of the early part of this century with which he was not connected. Part of the minute recorded after his decease runs:—

'The Directors would further bless God for the example held out to themselves and to others, by the devotedness and manifold labours of his long and eminently useful life, in promoting the kingdom of the Redeemer in the world, particularly in the work of Missions to the heathen, and more especially in his relation to this Society, as one of its founders, and in the office of gratuitous Secretary which he zealously and effectively filled for nearly twenty-four years.'

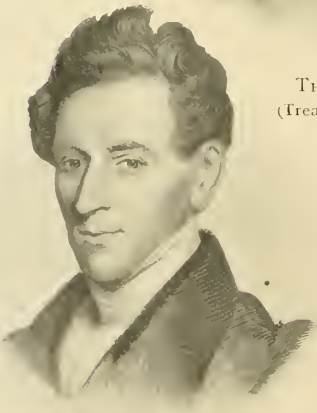
Dr. Burder was the last of the permanent officials to serve without salary. By 1820 the work had become so extensive and incessant as to demand the undivided time and attention of the officials responsible for its dis-

WILLIAM ORME
(Foreign Secretary, 1828 to 1830)

JOHN ARUNDEL
(Home Secretary, 1819 to 1846)



THOMAS WILSON
(Treasurer, 1832 to 1843)



ARTHUR TIDMAN
(Foreign Secretary, 1839 to 1868)

JOSEPH MULLENS
(Foreign Secretary, 1868 to 1879)

charge. His successor, the Rev. William Orme, had died before him, in 1830. From 1833 to 1841 William Ellis was Foreign Secretary, resigning from ill health in 1841. Dr. Tidman had been associated with Mr. Ellis from 1839 to 1841, and filled the office in conjunction with J. J. Freeman of Madagascar until 1846, and then as sole Secretary till 1865, when the late Dr. Mullens became his colleague. The home office work developed in importance more slowly than the foreign. But as the work abroad deepened and widened it became ever more and more needful to have a wise and strong administration of home affairs. The Rev. John Arundel, who became Home Secretary in 1819, held office until 1846. From 1846 to 1851 J. J. Freeman filled the post, and on his death, in 1852, the Rev. Ebenezer Prout succeeded. He resigned in 1865, and then the duties were divided between the Rev. Robert Robinson and the Rev. William Fairbrother.

From 1820 until 1845 the work in the different foreign fields grew steadily in efficiency, extent, and cost. The interest in the home administration centres in the method and means by which God enabled the Society to sustain the burden which had been placed upon it, and in the policy by which its manifold affairs were directed. The early views on finance, referred to in Vol. I, had now entirely changed. It was evident to every one that the steady maintenance of an adequate annual income was the prime requisite on the financial side. The chief methods employed were a large and rapid extension in the number of local auxiliaries, and an increased circulation of facts and appeals in public meetings and through the press. Thus in the Report for 1824 the Directors note that during the year no less than *forty-seven* auxiliaries have been formed, and that the income has reached the large sum of £34,002. The same Report contains two other important items: one, that the Directors have opened a fund 'for the establishment and support of Native Schools in immediate connection with the Society's missions, or under their superintendence';

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 80–88.

the other, that during the year a separate fund has been created to make provision 'for the widows and families of deceased missionaries.' The Report for 1825 states that neither fund had received the liberal encouragement desired. For the School Fund only £200 had been received, the whole sum being given specifically for 'the education of native females in India.' In 1827 the total income of the Society was £33,689, the expenditure £43,453, 'a disparity between these items of £9,764.' This is attributed largely to 'the late violent and unprecedented shock in the commercial world in the course of 1825 to 1826'; but at the same time the Directors point out that 'without a very considerably enlarged future income, instead of being able to avail themselves of favourable openings for new missions, or sending out reinforcements, they will find themselves under the necessity of abandoning some of the stations.' This is the first clear hint of a kind not unfrequently repeated, but happily never acted upon, although over seventy years have passed away. Stations have been abandoned, but not, so far as the evidence goes, merely on the ground of inability to find funds for their support. Nor did the Directors of 1827 really anticipate any such disaster, for they not only in this same year sent out *thirty* new missionaries, but they also issued a statement and appeal which have been repeated many times since, and always with success.

'Instead, however, of anticipating having to relinquish work already begun, the Directors cherish a steady confidence in the zeal, energy, and liberality at all times manifested by the members of the Society, and especially in seasons of exigency; with the hope that they will forthwith, in their respective vicinities, adopt such measures as may appear to them best adapted to increase its future income; such as reorganizing existing auxiliaries comparatively inefficient; forming new Societies or Associations where such measure can with propriety be recommended; or by extending the circulation of the intelligence of the foreign operations of the Society, particularly among

opulent and benevolent individuals resident in their respective vicinities who, it may be presumed, take an interest in the exertions now made to extend the light of Christianity and the benefits of education to the inhabitants of pagan nations. In reference to the ensuing year, it will not only be absolutely necessary to make provision for meeting the enlarged permanent expenditure of the Society, but also highly desirable to restore its Standing Resources to an amount approaching that of its expenditure for one year. This extent of reserved funds, in the opinion of the Directors, and in that of many others among those best qualified for forming a correct judgment on the subject, seems necessary to maintain the public credit and efficiency of the Society, in reference to its foreign relations, (which to a certain extent, unavoidably possess a mercantile character,) and also to be demanded by those obligations of prudence and foresight which every individual is under in regard to his own private affairs. While contemplating an increased permanent expenditure, it is peculiarly gratifying to the Directors to be enabled to present a list of new Auxiliary Institutions, which have been formed, during the past year, in connection with the Society, amounting in all to *Ninety-Two* [1].'

At a special meeting of Directors held at Surrey Chapel on June 9, 1829, although the deficiency announced at the annual meeting only a month before had been £6,854, Mark Wilks moved, Henry Townley seconded, and the assembly passed the following resolution:—

'That this meeting cannot contemplate the possibility of abandoning any of the Stations occupied by the Society on merely pecuniary grounds; but that it cherishes a confident expectation that Divine Providence will furnish the means of enabling the Directors to maintain the operations of the Society in the fullest vigour, and even to a much greater extent.'

In 1829 the Directors sum up the financial position in words whose accuracy and wisdom the history of the rest

[1] Annual Report, 1827, pp. 108, 109.

of the century only confirms, and which are even more telling in 1899 than in 1829:—

'On the subject of the Finances of the Society, the Directors would have been highly gratified to present a statement, not of deficiency, but of excess. Of the liberal manner in which they have been supported, they will continue to speak in the warmest terms of commendation, although the progress of usefulness, they will say, rather than expenditure, has been still greater than the Funds which they have been able to command. The liberality of many has been fully equal to their power; and beyond their power, not a few have been ready of themselves, praying us, with much entreaty, to receive the gift, and to take upon us the ministration of their bounty. Though the Directors are aware that they possess the confidence, and may depend on the support of their constituents, yet they are desirous of laying before them an explanation of the causes of the increased expenditure of latter years.

'The missions established in uncivilized countries, such as the South Sea Islands, Africa, and Madagascar, are necessarily expensive from the first; but when they begin to produce their effects, they must either be more powerfully aided than before, or the ultimate issue will be disappointment, if not entire failure. The process of civilization must either be aided and carried forward until the people be rendered independent of foreign assistance, or a return to their former state may be expected to take place, after some glimmerings of social happiness have been obtained, thereby rendering their lives more wretched than before.

'The Stations, again, which the Society occupies among civilized people, such as those which compose the population of the Ultra-Ganges Countries, and Northern and Southern India, are necessarily exceedingly expensive, for different reasons. Their distance from this country is great, and voyages to and from them are attended with very heavy expense. The countries in which they are situated are most expensive places of residence to Europeans. They are all more or less unhealthy; consequently the waste of

human life is very great, and the means necessary to repair that waste create constant and vast expense. In these countries, too, it is not by preaching only, but by various other means, that the missionaries have been operating upon their inhabitants;—by the establishment of schools;—by the institution of seminaries for the instruction of natives to be schoolmasters or teachers of religion;—by the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular languages;—by the translation and distribution of tracts and books;—and by the compilation of dictionaries, grammars, and other elementary works, to facilitate the acquisition of their languages to us, or promote their knowledge of ours. It is chiefly from the prosecution of these objects, all most important and useful in themselves, and most intimately connected with direct missionary labour, that the Funds of the Society have become inadequate to its great and multifarious engagements. It ought not to be overlooked, that the Missionary Society has been for many years, necessarily, and almost unavoidably, a Bible Society, a Tract and Book Society, a School Society, and a Civilization Society, as well as a Society for Preaching the Gospel. If doing the work of all these Societies, as well as its own, which it has done most efficiently, has occasioned some embarrassment to the Society, it has also constituted its honour, and the Directors doubt not will ensure its reward.

'Such are some of the causes from which the large and growing expenditure of the Society has arisen. Much of that expenditure could not have been anticipated, without an experience which it was impossible the Society could possess at the commencement of its undertaking, while there are large expenses continually occurring, which it is equally impossible to foresee and to control. As bounds, however, are set to all human efforts, the Directors are convinced of the necessity of keeping the expenditure of the Society within its income. The subject has engaged much of their attention during the past year; and should there not be such an increase of funds as to warrant their persevering on the scale of operation, which has hitherto

been pursued, they will be under the necessity, however painful to themselves, of imposing restrictions and limitations on some of their operations, which they would, most gladly, rather enlarge. But they trust this may not be necessary, as they are assured every member of the Society will deem it most undesirable. There are still resources untouched in the wealth of the opulent, in the energy of the middling class, and in the self-denial of all, which the Directors trust will be put in requisition, and cheerfully brought forward, rather than the cause of God should sustain any injury.

'The Directors most earnestly press on the attention of all the members of the Society the necessity of fervent and importunate prayer, for the blessing of God on the great work in which they are engaged. The obstacles in the way of success are such as no measures, however wisely formed, can obviate, and no labours, however resolutely prosecuted, can subdue. These nothing can overcome but the force of divine truth, and the omnipotent influence of the Holy Spirit. It is ours to send forth the messengers of the cross; it is their duty to exhibit its doctrines with simplicity, energy, and fidelity. It is the prerogative of God to bless, and that blessing He has engaged to bestow, in answer to the prayers of His church. Let us hearken to the reproof which our Lord addressed to His disciples, "Hitherto ye have asked nothing in My name." Let us feel this reproof; and let us also feel the encouragement with which it is accompanied, "Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full."'

In 1830 the custom was originated, which has been steadily maintained since that date, of having annual collections in all the London churches supporting the Society, at the period of the May anniversary. A circular dated December 26, 1829, states that on June 29, 1829, a meeting at the Mission House, attended by twenty of the leading ministers, passed the following resolution:—

'That the ministers present concur with the Directors of the London Missionary Society in considering it desirable

that the plan of having a collection in all the congregations connected with the Society in London and its vicinity, on the Sabbath subsequent to the annual meeting in May, be tried for one year, with the view of gathering up the fragments of the Society's annual meeting, and thus adding to the amount raised on such occasions.'

It appears to have taken some years to get this plan generally adopted, for it is not until May of the year 1842 that the *Evangelical Magazine* contained a list of churches where and by whom the annual missionary sermons would be preached [1]. That first list contains forty-four places of worship, and from that time until the present the annual sermons and collections on behalf of the Society in the vast majority of the Congregational churches in London has been a very prominent feature in the anniversary.

The courage and faith in which the home policy was conceived and directed at this period, notwithstanding the fact that a large annual deficit seemed to be chronic, are most remarkable. The Report for 1836 begins with words of great cheer and confidence:—

'Amidst the manifold objects which claim and receive the attention of the public, the disciples of Christ regard with holy gratitude the steady progress of the cause of Christian Missions. Whatever changes may affect the framework of civil society at home; and whatever fields abroad invite or exclude enterprise or action, in commerce, in politics, or in science; the range of missionary effort continues to extend; the streams of missionary benevolence deepen and widen as they flow; and the missionary operations of the Church become, by experience and trial, increasingly efficient and mature. *Onward* expresses the Will of the ascended Saviour, both as revealed in his Word and indicated by his Providence. *Onward* is a principal characteristic of the various movements of the agencies engaged; and *onward* is the motto of the friends and the supporters of this holy enterprise.'

In 1832 a special appeal had been issued on behalf of

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, May, 1842.

the work in India; in 1834 for the erection of the Union Chapel in Calcutta; and in the same year on behalf of the newly emancipated negroes of the West Indies, to whom the Society sent no less than *fourteen* new missionaries. In 1834 also Richard Knill became a travelling agent for the Society, set apart to deepen the zeal of the home churches. During 1836 and 1837 the visit of John Williams to England raised the enthusiasm of the circle already deeply concerned in the work of the Society to a white heat. He had a marvellous story to tell, and none of its force was wasted on his lips. The publication of his *Missionary Enterprises* greatly developed this enthusiasm. He himself interested in the evangelization of the South Seas men and sections of society who had never before paid any heed to missionary aims, from the nobles of the land to the members of the Common Council of London. He obtained the funds to purchase and equip the Camden, and at the meeting held in Exeter Hall on October 17, 1837, no less than *thirty-five* missionaries were commended to their work, the great majority of whom were going out for the first time. The abolition of slavery, the persecutions in Madagascar, the destruction of the monopoly in India of the East India Company, the extension of work in South Africa and Polynesia, all arrested the attention and called forth the liberality of a generation at the same time deeply agitated by movements of profound social and political reform.

Our fathers were, perhaps, not more fond of public meetings than we are, but they undoubtedly were willing to sit through assemblies at the length of which we marvel. It was not until 1831 that the great annual meeting was held in Exeter Hall. Prior to that date the annual business meeting had always assembled in one of the old historic places of worship, generally Surrey Chapel. But the *Missionary Chronicle* for April, 1831, contains the announcement that 'the Public Meeting for business will be at the newly erected and commodious building in the Strand, Exeter Hall.' From that date until 1891 Exeter

Hall was the scene of the meeting. From 1891 to 1895 the business meeting was held in Falcon Square Chapel, no purely formal business being transacted at the Exeter Hall meeting. In 1895 the annual meeting was fixed for Wednesday evening instead of Thursday morning, and held not in Exeter Hall but in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place.

Even fifty years ago protests were uttered and strictures passed upon the management against the length of the Exeter Hall meeting. The *Evangelical Magazine* for May, 1845, contains an article on 'the May Meetings,' which is of value because of the details it gives about the Society's early gatherings, and the way in which they were conducted:

'In the early days of the London Missionary Society, the Wednesday morning service at Surrey Chapel was the first meeting, not in point of time only, but of interest. The writer of this paper was taken, when a boy, to the first of these May meetings, in 1796. Now the Thursday morning meeting in Exeter Hall is the great attraction. Some of us remember when that meeting consisted of about a hundred people, and was held in Haberdashers' Hall. At first it was simply a meeting for business, and persons who were not members of the Society were rather permitted, than encouraged to attend. When it was found that several persons were inclined to be present, an address from the pulpit was added to the transaction of business. The address from the pulpit, in process of time, grew and multiplied into sundry speeches from the platform, and the hundred hearers multiplied into four, if not five thousand. The London Missionary Society was one of the first to set the fashion of such public meetings. Now almost all the larger societies adopt this method for advancing their interests; but the friends of those societies will generally agree with the writer, that no one of the many glorious gatherings in May excites, in their minds, an interest equal to that which is produced by the Thursday morning meeting.

'It may not be quite superfluous to suggest to committees

and sub-committees that the safety, health, and comfort of the assembled multitudes are entrusted, for the time being, to their care. To allow a meeting to last from ten o'clock till four, especially when it is known that many persons came two hours before the meeting began, is absurd. This cannot be prevented by the chairman urging brevity on the speakers. The most effectual remedy is to invite a smaller number of persons to speak. From three to four hours should be considered the maximum length of a morning meeting, and from two to three hours that of an evening meeting, and the resolutions to be submitted to the meeting should be proportionably few.

'It is extremely desirable that most of the speakers, especially the movers of resolutions, should be furnished, a day or two before the time, with copies of the resolutions they are designed to bring forward. Justice, both to the speakers and to the audience, requires that this should be done. One or two vacancies for eminent speakers, who may be unexpectedly present, will be sufficient. The style of speaking at our public meetings has, we think, on the whole, improved during the last twenty years. There are now fewer vulgar jokes than there used to be, fewer instances of fulsome flattery of "the ladies," and fewer instances of that excessive mirth which must surely be "not convenient," when the object before the meeting is the salvation of mankind. But some of our excellent friends from abroad, in their descriptions of pagan licentiousness and cruelty, occasionally pass the extreme delicacy and refinement of good English society. Some things may be fit for the appendix to a missionary report, which are not fit for the ear of a mixed audience.

'It has been already remarked, that the best preservation from the evil of a long meeting is to have but few speakers; but even this precaution will not be sufficient, unless speakers will resolve to confine themselves within moderate limits. Even a missionary, or an old friend of the Society, who is always heard with pleasure, should never, at a public meeting, exceed an hour, and the greater number of

speakers should consider half that time as the most that can be allowed them. Such speakers as find it difficult to know when to leave off, would do well to request some friend to give them a signal of the approaching expiration of the time.'

The Annual Meeting held in Exeter Hall on May 9, 1839, was certainly one of the longest ever held, but it was also one of the most important. Sir Culling Smith was in the chair, and the speakers were Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow, Dr. Fletcher of London. Dr. Patten of New York, Rev. David King of Glasgow, Dr. Leifchild of London, Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., of Leeds, Dr. Beman of New York, Dr. Raffles of Liverpool, John Angell James of Birmingham, Andrew White, Esq., M.P., Rev. Richard Knill, Thomas Wilson, Esq., and W. A. Hankey, Esq. The chief motion at this extraordinary meeting was No. iv, moved by Dr. Beman, seconded by Dr. Raffles, supported by John Angell James:—

'That this meeting considers it the solemn duty of the Society not only to augment their efforts, so as to sustain the present call of its operations, but to employ with prompt and untiring zeal all suitable means to raise the permanent income of the Society to one hundred thousand pounds, so that the Directors may be justified in sending forth labourers to various fields in India, China, South Africa, and the South Seas, from whence most affected, urgent, and reiterated calls for Missionaries have been made, but to which calls the Directors dare not respond, even by sending forth their present number of students, without adequately augmented pecuniary resources.'

'On no previous similar occasion,' runs the contemporary account of this meeting, 'it is believed have the holy and reviving influences, so needed by all who bear a part in the cause of Missions, been more abundantly shed abroad.' The Report fills fourteen closely printed double column pages of the *Evangelical Magazine*. Dr. Raffles began his speech by presenting to the treasurer the sum of £10,000 in the three per cents from the Rev. W. Garth-

waite of Wattisfield in Suffolk, 'principal and interest, to be the property of the Society after his decease.' He continued:—

'Mr. Bennet told us that at Otaheite, when a chief was anxious to express his sentiments with regard to any matter under discussion, he was accustomed to say, with all the gravity of a judge, "Let it stand." We are to raise £100,000 during next year, and I want to ask this meeting, "Shall it stand?" Cannot London—poor London—the metropolis of the world—raise its proportion? But shall it stand? It must stand! We have passed the Rubicon. We cannot return. We are accustomed to say, that in the personal experience of a Christian man there is no standing still—if he does not advance, he retrogades. So it is with this Society. You must close your schools, recall your missionaries, or you must be ready to go forth to the ends of the world. No; it must stand. We must awake to loftier enterprises and to nobler aims. "Expect great things—attempt great things."'

John Angell James then spoke, and his words might almost have been uttered at one of the great meetings in 1895:—

'This meeting shall hear what took place last Tuesday, in the room of the Directors, when town and country united their sapience to devise what would be best for the advancement of the cause. Financial matters were of course very early introduced. It was announced that the expenditure had very much exceeded the income. Well then, what was to be done? We sat in silence, and looked at each other "unutterable things." At length one Director called for one of last year's reports, and said that there must be a topographical examination of those parts of the country that had fallen most behind. A London Director asked, "Pray, has London done its duty?" Then a friend from the country said he thought that Middlesex should be the first county examined, and that London was the first place in that county over which the eyes of the Directors should range, for that it had so happened that

at a country meeting, where your excellent secretary took upon him very properly to lecture the country for coming short, he did happen to say, "Well, Mr. Ellis, there is a proposal in some quarters to send up delegates from the country to stir up the churches in London, for it is an undoubted fact that many of the churches there appear to be very much behind. Some of the country churches, who do not possess the affluence or numbers of those in London, do a great deal more for the Missionary Society." Well, we had a very good-humoured discussion between town and country as to who were doing the most: and, of course, the converse—who were doing the least. And how did we end? London had done too little, the country had not done enough, and both, therefore, must do a great deal more. Then came, of course, the question, How are they to do this? One pleaded for increase of agency; another for an increase of ministerial effort; a third said, each was good in its way, but both must be combined. At length, I certainly did venture to propose an imitation of the exertions of our Wesleyan brethren, which is, I am pretty sure, doing us all a great deal of good. I said, better not tell the country that you want more—it is true enough that you do—but we are much more moved by what is specific, than by what is vague—it is a poor thing to say "we want more"—but rather, said I, tell the people we want £100,000. Well, my proposal was gravely debated; many objected, of course—many timid minds were startled. Now, I have no doubt that this £100,000 can be raised. As Dr. Raffles has said, we must go on from units to tens, and from tens to hundreds, and from hundreds to thousands; and we must not stop there. We must let it stand! Labouring as my congregation are, under efforts that press heavily upon them at home, yet something shall be said to them on the subject; and while they are distributing with their right hand, their left hand shall not remain at rest. Shall it stand? as Dr. Raffles has asked. Yes; and the resolution will be our glory—the failure will be our disgrace.

Brethren, I was about to say that it rests with us whether the sum be raised or not. I make myself answerable to the extent of my own influence. Do you the same. I am no prophet; but upon the ministers present, I hesitate not to say, it depends, under God, whether the sum which is proposed as the future income of the Society shall be raised or not. Brethren, I turn from the people, and from the chair, for one moment, and I ask you, Shall it stand?'

Although the desired result was not to be secured for long years, the immediate influence of this appeal was satisfactory. The total income from *all* sources in 1840 amounted to £91,119, an increase on the year before of 25,629, the expenditure being £82,197; the Society thus. the first time for many years, being in the dangerous position of having a balance on the right side. The Report for 1841 gives the following analysis of income:—

London and vicinity	£17,791	10	1
Counties of England	39,486	15	0
Scotland	3,110	10	4
Wales	3,024	12	9
Ireland	682	12	7
Missionary Stations and Societies abroad	11,874	15	8
Legacies, &c.	3,215	10	10
Dividends	914	5	8
	£80,100	12	11
The expenditure was	92,809	17	7
Leaving an adverse balance . . .	£12,709	4	8

This state of affairs compelled the Directors in the same year to reaffirm the statements of previous years.

On the most careful and mature deliberation, they say, it must be obvious that, *with their present resources*, the Directors in future will not only be compelled to decline candidates ready to devote their lives to the glory of Christ and the salvation of the heathen, to decline venturing upon new fields of labour, how great so ever be their destitution, or how promising so ever the prospects they afford: but that without a considerable permanent augmentation of the

Society's annual income, some of the labourers already in the work must be recalled, and some of the fields now in cultivation must be abandoned. But, although the Directors, from a sense of duty, are constrained thus explicitly to state the inevitable consequences of a continued deficiency in the annual income, they cannot adopt the painful conclusion that the necessity of such a measure will be suffered to arise. They cannot believe that the churches of Christ, who have at His command entreated the Lord of the harvest to send forth more labourers, will refuse to support those whom He has employed in answer to their prayers[1].

Powerful as this and similar appeals were it was long before the desired result came. And when the permanent income passed beyond £100,000, there was no diminution of the financial pressure. The Kingdom of Heaven is like the mustard seed which when it is sown *grows*, and if ever the day comes when the annual income is £500,000, there is little doubt that for 'the regions beyond' there will still be need of increased liberality. But we must now turn for a moment to other departments of the work.

During this period of growing work and opportunity and of ever-increasing financial strain, the Directors, anxious as they have always been to avoid political complications, were not completely successful. They have never believed that the arm of political power can exert any good or effective influence upon the course of missionary work. A Gospel urged upon the attention and sympathy of men by sword or diplomacy is almost worse than no Gospel. But missionaries are citizens, and have their rights; communities of native Christians may be oppressed and have just the same claim to protection. Political action may often hinder the Gospel, throw obstacles in its way, and cherish some of its deadliest foes. At such times even the Christian missionary and Boards of Directors may find it imperatively needful to appeal to Caesar, and sometimes to instruct Caesar in the way he should go.

The relations between the Board and Government on

[1] Annual Report, 1841, pp. 23, 24.

the questions of slavery and emancipation are dealt with in the section describing the work done in the West Indies.

This history has already noted how obstinately the East India Company attempted to exclude Christian teachers from India. Compelled by the strong arm of Parliament to withdraw their bar, it was long before they cordially accepted the new condition of affairs. At first for every missionary sent to India a bond for £500 had to be given. And although Christian teachers had free access to all parts of that vast country under British control, the temper of the Indian Government towards Christianity, and some of the practices of that Government, still left much to be desired. The East India Company aided the support of Hindu idolatry in many ways. Their officers, who were at least nominal Christians, in many parts administered the affairs of Hindu temples, attended the great idol feasts *as Government officials*, farmed, for the benefit of the Company, the offerings to idols, signed the appointment of all officials connected with temple-worship, including those of the dancing girls, employed the Company's troops as idol guards, allowed their soldiers to compel natives to drag the idol cars, and levied taxes upon pilgrims attending idol festivals, which taxes went into the Company's treasury. A dispatch dated Feb. 20, 1833, condemned this countenance and support given to idolatrous rites, but a petition to Parliament furthered by the Directors in 1838 affirms that 'after a lapse of five years no measures have been taken to carry the order into effect.' In this petition the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist Societies also joined. A carefully drawn up statement, signed by W. Alers Hankey, and entitled 'Idolatry in India as countenanced by British Authorities,' is a document that holds a permanent place in the history of the Society's work. It is probably entirely unknown to the present generation, and it forms at once an authoritative and a complete account of a notable episode in which missionary influence was legitimately and powerfully used so as to induce Government action.

'It is well known to those who are acquainted with the

state of Christian Missions in India, that the encouragement given by the East India Company to the false religions of the natives forms one of the chief obstacles to the progress of Christianity in that part of the world. The Brahmins and others are accustomed to repel the arguments of the missionaries against their idolatrous practices, by alleging the support given to them by the British authorities. "Why," say they, "do you find fault with our religion, when your own Government openly supports it?" The Mahometan rebuke is still more pungent: "You may pile up your arguments from earth to heaven, they will never make me a Christian. You are idolaters, and we hate idolatry. We serve one God: you pretend to serve one God, and yet support idolatry. Since you ruled this country you have always *paid for the support of idolatry.* We never did; and you can support idolatry, *and yet be Christians.*"

'A common feeling, therefore, of their obligations to the cause of the Gospel in our Indian territories, led the committees of the several missionary societies to introduce into their proceedings, at their late anniversaries, resolutions strongly condemnatory of that unhappy connection which still prevails between the British Government in India and the idolatry and other modes of false worship practised by the natives.

'During the parliamentary investigations preliminary to the cessation of the East India Company's Charter, the friends of the propagation of Christianity in India employed their influence with the Government to obtain an enlargement of the very limited liberties which were till then enjoyed. To this the Directors of the Company were most reluctant; and as the Government was more favourable, the measure was taken into the hands of the President of the Board of Control, now Lord Glenelg, who prepared a Dispatch to the Supreme Government in India, on the value of which, as it regards the religious liberty of all classes of subjects, too much can hardly be said. This dispatch was transmitted to India, signed by the majority of the Directors, under date February 20, 1833, and it forms

the groundwork of all the appeals which have since been made to the Government and the Court of Directors of the Company.

'A further dispatch was consequently sent out to India, dated February 27, 1837; but when its contents were suffered to transpire, it was found—to call it by no stronger name—to be an evasive document, perfectly intelligible—notwithstanding some seeming compliance with the resolution of the Court—to those to whom it was transmitted, as saying, "put all the formal impediments you can in the way." Such was the result, after the proprietors had, for nearly four years, left in the hands of the Directors—to adopt their own terms—"the *time*, the *degree*, the *manner*. the *gradation*, and the *precautions* necessary to be observed" in carrying into effect their orders of February 20, 1833! In the Quarterly Court of Proprietors of June, 1837, this ill-omened dispatch was taken into consideration, and a motion made for the transmission to India of a supplementary one, more in accordance with the resolution of December, 1836. The motion was lost; and the Directors have, in consequence, been enabled, in the face of remonstrances from their own Court of Proprietors, the Christian Knowledge Society, and the missionary societies of the several denominations, virtually to nullify their own act of February 20, 1833.

'During the progress of these transactions in England, circumstances of a still more striking character were taking place in India. The attention of that part of the public who take an interest in the propagation of Christianity, and especially of the civil and military servants of the Company who looked to it for their own liberation from those violations of conscience forced on them by the personal share which their offices obliged them to take, sometimes even on the Christian Sabbath, in the religious rites and ceremonies of the natives, had long been fixed on the dispatch of February 20, 1833. To give expression to these feelings, a large body of residents in the Presidency of Madras united in presenting a respectful memorial to the

Governor in Council founded on that dispatch. It went only to entreat his Excellency "to afford to the utmost of his power, to Christianity and to themselves, as members of the Protestant community, the same *toleration* and exemption from requirements contrary to their consciences as were enjoyed by members of all other persuasions"—Roman Catholic, Mahometan, and Pagan. It was signed by the Archdeacon of Madras, thirteen chaplains of the Company, thirty-seven missionaries, and one hundred and fifty-two civil and military officers of various ranks, and was forwarded to the Governor, on August 6, 1836, by the Bishop of Madras, who expressed his own concurrence in its purport.

'This memorial was most ungraciously received by the Governor at Madras, and by the Supreme Government at Calcutta. The Bishop was warmly rebuked by the Governor for his interference, and the document was sent to England. The feelings with which it was regarded by the Directors of the Company may readily be inferred, when it is stated that on October 18, 1837, they, in return, sent a dispatch to India containing the following peremptory passage: "We now desire that no customary salutes, or marks of respect to native festivals, be discontinued at any of the Presidencies; that no *protection*"—a plausible term for the attendance of the British troops upon them—"be withdrawn, and that no change whatever be made in any matter," viz. offerings, &c., &c., "relating to the native religion, except under the authority of the Supreme Government." It would indeed be difficult to find two documents more discordant in tenor and spirit than the dispatches of February 20, 1833, and of October 18, 1837; and yet, while the Directors insist that they have not departed from the real intention of the former, they will not allow their servants to act upon its obvious import. On this point two, one civil, the other military, have resigned their appointments.

'On this footing does the matter stand, down to the period of the latest intelligence.

'Let it here be distinctly stated, in refutation of the imputations often cast upon those who have *endeavoured to obtain toleration*, and maintain *the rights of conscience* on behalf of their *fellow Christians* in India, that they have never wished to infringe the same rights in regard to the natives of that country. They disclaim all means whatever, beyond those of argument and persuasion, even of opposing idolatry itself. They have pleaded and asked for nothing more than what is contained in the often-referred-to dispatch of February 20, 1833, viz. "That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our *native subjects be left entirely to themselves*."

'If the question be put, What reason can be given for the resistance of the Directors to the execution of their own dispatch? it may be answered by stating, that it is in harmony with the adverse disposition which, with a few honourable exceptions, the Directors of the Company have ever evinced towards all measures for propagating Christianity in their territories. The history of our own Society is replete with proofs of their strong reluctance to the admission into British India of any one bearing the character of a Christian missionary. The feeling remains, though the power of enforcing it has happily been lost by the expiration of the Charter. As to often alleged political pleas for the countenance so given to religions, which we profess to regard as false, there is no act of our government which equally lowers us in the estimation of the intelligent natives, whether Mahometan or Hindoo.

'The dispatch of February, 1833, emanating from the President of the Board of Control, was in entire opposition to all their long fostered maxims. Various causes unite in forbidding them openly to revoke it; but in private intercourse some will not hesitate to acknowledge that it was forced upon them, and therefore it is only to be expected that they should resist its progress as long as possible. They feel however that they must yield to public opinion, which now, happily, influences the affairs of our distant

possessions, as well as of our own country. Suttees, infanticide, the forced services of the natives in dragging the car of Juggernaut, and a few other idolatrous customs have, in some Presidencies, been relinquished, and there is reason to believe that the tax on pilgrims attending the great idol-anniversaries has also to a great extent been abandoned. At the same time, justice to the characters of a few eminent official individuals in India here requires it to be stated that in some important instances the cause of religion and humanity has been more indebted for such advances to them than it has to the home authorities. To the memory of the late Lord William Bentinck it is especially due, to ascribe to his firmness and decision, in taking upon himself the responsibilities of the measure which the Directors refused to incur, that India owes the abolition of Suttees.'

At the annual Meeting of 1840—memorable because then a resolution on the death of John Williams was passed, and a speech made by Robert Moffat, who had been ordained with John Williams, and was then home on his first furlough—a resolution was passed deploring and condemning 'the countenance and support still generally afforded by the British authorities in India to the abominable idolatries of the natives.' The report for the same year states, 'All that our missionaries seek from the Government of India is a strict and honourable neutrality in the conflict between Christianity and Paganism; and this, by the help of God, we are determined, in a Christian spirit and by all honourable means, to seek, and to seek until it is obtained.' In the course of 1841 these exertions were crowned with success, and the evils denounced were finally abolished by the action of Lord Melville's Government.

The other important matters upon which the Directors came into any close touch with Government, viz. the French oppression in Tahiti, and the opening up of China after the war in 1841, are dealt with in the history of those missions.

The question how best to train missionary students for

their arduous life-work engaged the most serious attention of the Directors from time to time. On the death of Dr. Bogue, the temporary superintendence of the seminary at Gosport was undertaken by Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, who later accepted the offer made to him of the post of resident and theological tutor. The conviction had forced itself upon the Directors that their college ought to be in or near London. The premises which for some time had been known as Hoxton College becoming vacant, the Board acquired them, and thither in 1826 they transferred their students. But in 1830 the Directors again changed their plan. They resolved to discontinue their own college on account of 'the disproportionate expense in reference to the number of students, and the increasing facilities afforded for the education of missionary candidates at colleges and seminaries, both in the metropolis and various parts of the country.' Next year, 1831, the sixteen students accepted by the Society were placed at the following colleges:—Homerton, Highbury, Newport Pagnell, Rowell, and Turvey. This was the beginning of a new and wiser educational policy. In later years institutions for elementary training, prior to sending the men to any of the recognized theological colleges, were set up at Bedford and at Weston-super-Mare. In 1861 an institution was founded at Farquhar House, Highgate, and in 1863 the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, M.A., afterwards Doctor of Divinity, became its president. It was intended to give the finishing touch to a missionary's training. After his college course was completed, he was to devote a year to studies intended in a definite and specific manner to equip him for the field of labour to which he had been appointed. But although Dr. Wardlaw possessed many exceptional qualifications, and although much most useful and valuable work was done at Farquhar House, the experiment never justified itself in the minds either of many supporters of the Society, or of many of the students who were sent there. The total cost of educating missionary students in the year 1865–1866 was £3,632. Of this sum Farquhar House, with ten

students, cost £1,074; Bedford, nine students, £456; Weston-super-Mare, five students, £251. During the same time it cost only £100 to educate four students at Cheshunt College, and £75 for three at Hackney College. This disproportion in cost, coupled with the fact that the education given at the theological colleges was much more effective than it could possibly be at Bedford, Weston, or Farquhar House, led the Board to refer the whole matter to the Funds and Agency Committee. They considered it carefully at two meetings, one on June 6, the other on June 17, 1867. The resolutions then adopted have controlled the educational policy of the Society ever since, although some details of very great importance have been modified during the last thirty years.

After reaffirming how desirable it was that all the Society's students should receive 'a sound and complete education,' the Committee resolved 'that, as any plan for the formation of a separate Missionary Institution, and of affiliating it with any existing college, is found to be impracticable; and as existing colleges have shown themselves so ready and anxious on favourable terms to welcome the Society's students, it is desirable that our students should be placed in those institutions in various parts of the country.' In future, the Committee judged, 'it will be sufficient to have but one place in which a preparatory class may be maintained for the few students who need it,' and Bedford was selected. They thought it 'most desirable' to maintain the final year's class, but as Farquhar House was 'needlessly expensive,' they recommended its removal to some less costly locality.

The death of the Rev. W. Alliott, the Principal of Bedford, only a few weeks after the resolutions were passed, brought that institution to an end; it had already been decided that Weston should cease, and shortly before Dr. Wardlaw's death in 1872, the institution over which he presided, which had been removed from Highgate to St. John's Wood, was closed. In 1868 the 28 students under the care of the Society were thus distributed:—

Cheshunt College, 7; New College, 2; Hackney, 3; Western, 4; Nottingham Institute, 1; Spring Hill, 3; Lancashire, 3; Airedale, 2; Rotherham, 2; Cotton End, 1.

The practice at that date was for a candidate, after he had fully answered special questions, and supplied satisfactory testimonials to character, ability, and religious life, to appear before the Examination Committee. If he passed that ordeal successfully, and was recommended to the Board for acceptance, he was almost invariably accepted. From that date the Society became responsible for the cost of his education, and for his maintenance while at college. The full course was usually four years, sometimes five, and in 1895 was generally six years. In 1888 the practice of the Society was further modified. No payments were to be made until a man had passed through *half* of the full course of study in the college to which he belonged. If then accepted by the Society, it became responsible for the cost of the remaining portion of the college expenses—usually three years devoted to special theological training. By a resolution passed in 1897 the Society affirmed that it will for the future not accept any monetary responsibility for students until their collegiate training is completed.

There is now a practical consensus of opinion that the efficient missionary needs the very best attainable training upon both the intellectual and the spiritual side. Discussion to some limited extent continues on what constitutes the best intellectual training, but none deny that this is what he needs. The century's experience has gone all against the view that 'godly men with a knowledge of the mechanical arts' are, by virtue of that particular knowledge, specially suited for missionary work. There is no question that ability to use one's hands and a practical acquaintance with tools are often of very great service. But the special cases where such gifts are of very great value are now met by the appointment of artisan missionaries and lay evangelists. The former are engineers, masons, carpenters, &c., who can do skilled work and who have had sufficient training in the Scriptures and in Christian work to render

them also of service in the ordinary departments of missionary routine.

From an early date the importance of keeping the home authorities in closer touch with the work on the field than was possible by correspondence, and the return on furlough of the missionaries, was recognized. From time to time special deputations were appointed, which form important landmarks in the development of the work. The first of these was the visit of the Rev. John Campbell to South Africa in the years 1812 to 1814, followed by a second visit, this time accompanied by the Rev. John Philips, extending from 1818 to 1821. The rapid growth of the work all over the world, and the extraordinary progress in the South Seas, led, in 1821, to the appointment of George Bennet, Esq., and the Rev. Daniel Tyerman. They were charged with the duty of visiting all the stations occupied by the missionaries of the Society, a labour which occupied them *eight years*, Mr. Tyerman finding a grave in Madagascar just before his task was completed. In 1842 to 1843 the Rev. J. J. Freeman visited the West Indies to see how emancipation had modified the conditions of the work, and how best the new and numerous claims upon the Society could be met. His report was very favourable and encouraging, although his anticipation that the churches in Guiana and Jamaica would be 'in a position to support themselves ere long, without pressing on the funds of the parent society,' has not even yet been fully realized. In 1848 to 1851 Mr. Freeman visited South Africa and Madagascar; Mr. Ellis, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Jones attempted in vain to secure a footing in Madagascar in 1853 to 1854, and in 1855 Mr. Ellis visited South Africa. In 1856 to 1857 Ellis, Cameron, and Jones a second time in vain attempted Madagascar, but in 1861 that island became once again open to Christian workers, and Mr. Ellis joyously entered in. As we shall see, in later years, increased facilities for rapid and safe travel, and the wide extension of work, have rendered it more imperative than ever to keep in close touch with the foreign field.

The permanent housing of the Society became a pressing practical matter in 1835. We have already described the meetings at Mr. Hardcastle's and at No. 8, Old Jewry. In 1823 a house in Austin Friars was leased; but in 1834, after several unsuccessful attempts to secure suitable premises, the Directors determined to build a Mission House adequate to and suitable for all the needs of the work. A lease, with 90 years to run, of the site on which the present Mission House stands was secured, and the original contract for the building was £3,105. But the total expenditure, including £484 for redemption of the land tax, and £1,250 for fittings and furniture, amounted to £5,078. The new building was dedicated on Monday, October 5, 1835. A special address was delivered by Dr. John Pye Smith; prayers were offered by the Rev. George Collison, Dr. Bennett, and Thomas Lewis; and the large company of missionaries about to proceed to new stations in the South Seas were addressed by John Williams. In the year 1874–1875 a third story was added to the building, at a cost of £4,000, and the premises assumed the form in which they are familiar to this generation.

The Jubilee of the Society began on September 22, 1844. The Report for that year, in anticipation, rejoicingly and trustfully recounts some of the chief reasons for joy and thankfulness presented by the retrospect of fifty years, and thus struck the keynote of the celebration. The same Report contains two paragraphs of exceptional moment. One reveals the power which the children were becoming in the home work of the Society:—

'In the month of July last, on the return of the Camden from her five years' voyage, it was ascertained that the expenses of necessary repairs and outfit, to prepare her for another protracted voyage, would be so large, as to render it desirable rather to attempt the purchase of a new vessel. An appeal was made to the young in the hope that they might assist in carrying out this design; and within a few weeks they presented the noble offering of £6,237, and thus effected the object *alone*. The cheerfulness with which

the effort was put forth, and the real sacrifices which, on the part of many, it involved, give to this juvenile offering additional value and importance. The John Williams, a new, and strong, and beautiful vessel, of two hundred and eighty tons, purchased and equipped with their contributions, will within another month leave the port of London for the South Pacific Ocean, bearing a goodly company of faithful Missionaries to the perishing Heathen.'

The other gives a concise statement of the funds. In 1795 a few thousands of pounds were contributed by a small but devoted circle of friends intent upon sending the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the remotest and most degraded children of men; in 1844 the total income was £81,812. And these figures were of value only in so far as they can be translated into the love and zeal and faithful work of friends at home and missionaries and helpers abroad. No wonder the Directors of 1844 could thus close the account of their stewardships:—

'In concluding this brief sketch of the Society's operations, the Directors perform their last *public* duty in the Forty-ninth year of its existence; and the privilege awaits their Successors in office, to commence its Year of Jubilee on the 22nd of September next. On that day, in the year 1795, its venerable Fathers and Founders, feeble in numbers but strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, laid its broad basis in the spirit of humble faith and universal love. Superstition, formalism, and infidelity united to oppose the hallowed undertaking: the Samaritan joined with the Ammonite and the Arabian to defame and to oppose; and, covering their fears with mockery and scorn, they cried, "Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall break down their stone wall;" but the labourers worked hard, and prayed fervently, and the walls of Zion were built in those troublous times. Few of these honoured servants of God remain this day; but the glorious superstructure which they commenced their children have seen rise; and it is still rising in its fair proportions and unshaken strength.

'One of the first messengers of mercy sent forth by their united efforts, to make known the way of life in India, within eight and forty hours of his landing in Madras, was commanded to re-embark; and on his homeward voyage he sickened and died. *Now* India, with her more than one hundred millions of souls, is open to our mercy; and the Missionary may pass through the length and breadth of that vast empire, proclaiming redemption—none forbidding—none making afraid; and, by multitudes, he is honoured, aided, and beloved. Who that, in the year 1823, wept for the martyr Smith, as he lay in the dungeon of Demerara, waiting an ignominious death as the penalty of his compassion to the slave, would have ventured to anticipate that, within fifteen years, Slavery should exist no more throughout the dominions of Britain; or that the Missionary, then feared, suspected, hated, murdered, should now command the respect and admiration of his persecutors? "I doubt not," said the venerable David Bogue, "that I shall live to see the day when the income of the Society will be £20,000 a year." *Now* the Contributions of the Mission-Churches approach nearly to that amount. "These are the Lord's doings, and they are *wondrous* in our eyes."

'But the Directors glance only at the labours and results of former years as a stimulus to present and prospective duty. If, within half a century, from beginnings so small—with resources so limited—amidst obstacles so gigantic—such glorious progress has been made; then, with hindrances constantly diminishing and means of advance as constantly accumulating, and with the promised blessing of an unchanging Saviour, what may not be anticipated, and what should not be attempted in years to come?'

The Jubilee Meeting at Exeter Hall on May 15, 1845, was an occasion for triumphant retrospect, and hopeful and confident onlook. Dr. Tidman pointed out that the founders of the Baptist and London Missionary Societies gave a new character to the times, and that whereas the religious

society of the eighteenth century was marked by 'the total want of a Missionary spirit,' by the middle of the nineteenth 'the Missionary spirit had become the characteristic feature of religion.' He indicates the 'ignorance and gross misconception which prevailed as to the real condition, social and moral, of Pagan nations,' and asks, 'Where are now the advocates of Paganism or the apologists for Idolatry?' The Society began work in the South Seas not entirely from choice, but because it was the only field to which there was then a free access. India was closed, and even the Bishop of St. Asaph could write, 'It was in the fatal year 1793 that Mr. Wilberforce proposed free schools throughout India, and the free admission of Christian missionaries. These propositions could not have been listened to in 1781, when it was a fixed principle of the legislature that we ought never to interfere with the religious laws or native customs of the people of India—a principle consonant both to justice and policy.' This prelate asserted —and in this he did not stand alone—'the command of the Saviour to preach the Gospel to all nations did not apply to us.' In the West Indies slavery was a deadly foe to all missionary effort, and after first struggling fiercely to crush missionary work it was itself destroyed by the new spirit developed at home. South Africa, under Dutch dominion at the beginning of the century, had by passing under British rule become an available field of missionary enterprise, and China, which at the beginning was almost impenetrably closed against Christian teachers, had, by the time the jubilee was celebrated, become easy of access to all who wished to carry thither the joy and the liberty of the Gospel. 'Of the Christian missionary then, so lately proscribed in the East and in the West, excluded from the deserts of Africa and the cities of China, it may now be said, "The world is all before him where to choose, and Providence his guide." Our prayer is no longer for fields to cultivate, but for labourers to gather the harvest of the earth.' If true in 1846, how much more in 1896 was this statement: 'Distance is no longer calculated by space but

by time; oceans are traversed in weeks that once could scarcely be navigated in as many months.'

But the fifty years had experienced the tempest no less than the sunshine, and even in the year of jubilee dark clouds lowered over portions of the field. Madagascar, opened so courageously, enlightened by steadfast faithfulness unto death, was in the grasp of a murderous tyranny intent upon the entire exclusion of the Gospel; Tahiti, the first and dearly loved field, was being grievously harassed by so-called Christians, who thought it more acceptable to Him they professed to serve to enter into and destroy other men's labours than to seek to bring the light of truth to isles yet dwelling in darkness; and from Siberia faithful labourers had been excluded by the fiat of an irresponsible despot. But notwithstanding these grievous trials and sore hindrances our fathers felt fifty years ago, as we in 1895 with even greater reason for the conviction, that the King of Glory whom we follow shall advance from conquering to conquer, 'until all His enemies are put beneath His feet.'

The great assembly at Exeter Hall to which Dr. Tidman presented his report met under the presidency of W. Hunter, Esq., Alderman and Sheriff of London, and the various resolutions were moved and supported by the Rev. Josias Wilson (Presbyterian), Geo. Smith (Congregational), R. C. Mather (Mirzapur), Dr. Cumming (Scotch Church), Dr. Halley (Congregational), Ebenezer Davies (Berbice), Rev. Charles Best (Wesleyan), and Dr. Codman (United States). At the meeting held on the evening of the same day the speakers were the Rev. John Jukes (Bedford), J. T. Jesson (Tahiti), W. Brock (Baptist), Andrew Reed (Congregational), W. C. Milne (China), W. H. Drew (Madras), J. J. Freeman and Dr. Barth (Germany).

In the face of the wonderful history of the past, and the undoubted zeal, vigour, and consecration of the constantly enlarging constituency of the Society, the financial history of the jubilee year was not wholly encouraging. The total normal income was only £65,214; the expenditure £82,876,

leaving a balance on the wrong side of no less than £17,662. On the other hand, the special Jubilee Fund amounted to £21,500—a fact which lends countenance to the view that a society can rarely make a great and continuous appeal for special financial aid without depreciating to a considerable extent the normal contributions.

In the administration of so extensive and complex an organization as the London Missionary Society, the difficulties and defects are often much more obvious than their remedies. Secretaries and officials, boards of directors, subscribers and co-workers are after all very human, endowed only in varying degrees with faith, zeal, enthusiasm, common sense, and practical wisdom in the conduct of affairs. The fact, moreover, that the support is voluntary on the part of the subscribers and donors who find the bulk of the income tends at times to render criticism more ready, and places upon the permanent officials a somewhat heavier burden. The fierce light that beats upon a secretary renders it desirable that he should be nearer perfection than the bulk of his fellows; this necessity unfortunately does not always secure the desired result. And yet if it be true—and who knowing the facts can dispute this?—that the missionaries of all the great Societies are men and women of whom any nation may well be proud, it is also true that the men who have administered the home affairs —those who have made it their sole business, and those who have given such unselfish and continuous voluntary service, have in the vast majority of instances been men of great gifts, of sound practical wisdom, and of unquenchable faith.

Criticism of the policy of the Society, and sometimes of the personnel of those paid to administer it, has never been wanting. Nor should it be. No reasonable man objects to criticism which has for its object the more effective working of a great society. And the criticism which not unfrequently arises from ignorance, or failure to adequately comprehend either what is being done, or the reasons upon which specific action is based, yet serves

a very useful purpose in bringing out these reasons, and in enabling the officials to make clear points not otherwise plain. Speaking generally, criticism concerns itself mainly with the economical and effective use of the funds supplied, and with the maintenance of just and helpful relations on the part of the home authorities with the missionaries abroad, and with the native churches which they found and extend. In all these respects the first fifty years in the Society's life were a period of apprenticeship.

At first all the official work was unpaid. Slowly the Directors came to realize that a work of such magnitude could only be efficiently superintended by men who could give their undivided time, thought, and labour to its concerns. From either mistaken views on economy, or from inability to grasp the true position even after the need for adequate payment of officials had been admitted, some of the chief officials were allowed to combine with such an arduous post as that of Foreign Secretary the care of a church. Very slowly also has the conviction been reached that efficient secretaries are not obtained by merely wishing for them. If the result has not always been satisfactory, it is at least an open question whether the blame does not rest largely with the churches who form the constituency of the Society. It must be freely admitted that in the course of the century mistakes have been made even in some of the chief appointments. Men have been chosen for accidental reasons rather than because they possessed the gifts by which first-rate officials are distinguished. It must not be understood that any reflection is here cast upon the men who have held the various official posts during the century. They on the whole deserve the gratitude of the Society in no less degree than the noble army of foreign workers. The contention rather is, that the churches as a whole have never through their representatives given themselves sufficiently to the work of the Board. Had half the trouble been given, prior to an appointment, in seeing that the best possible man was chosen, which was afterwards spent in criticising his action,

the Society might have been spared one or two unsatisfactory experiments.

During the fifty years now under review, from time to time criticisms were levelled against either portions of or the whole policy of the Society. These were met by what experience seemed to indicate as the wisest method of dealing with them—the appointment of independent Special Committees to investigate and report upon the points at issue.

In the year 1849 the Rev. J. S. Miall, of Bradford, was instrumental in securing the appointment of a very strong Special Committee 'to inquire whether any modification of the constitution or mode of administration of the Society be practicable, which may promote the stronger attachment of its constituents or increase its efficacy.' The Committee, numbering thirty, and composed of very able and representative men, met under the presidency of Dr. Raffles. The points submitted by Mr. Miall for its close scrutiny were—

'1. The careful investigation, whether it would be, on a large consideration, an advantage or a disadvantage to the Society to maintain its Fundamental Law.

'2. The importance of recognizing, under well-defined circumstances, the possible Independency of Foreign Churches, and of defining the powers of the Society's Representatives abroad.

'3. The question as to the best means of promoting a more cordial understanding between Missionaries abroad and the Society at home.

'4. The desirableness of inquiry into the extent and operation of Government Grants for Colonial Education.

'5. The possibility and propriety of constituting the Quarterly Meetings of the Town and Country Directors the supreme legislative body in the London Missionary Society.

'6. The inquiry, Whether anything further can be done to promote the more complete organization of the Society.'

Upon these points, after giving 'more than ten hours each

day' upon October 16 and 17, 1849, to their consideration, the Committee reached the following conclusions:—

'1. That, having given their careful and lengthened attention to the moral and religious considerations involved in the Fundamental Law of this Society, and having endeavoured to ascertain the operation of that law upon its interests, its labours, and its Missionaries, the Committee are convinced that, irrespective of any legal question involved in a change, such change would be inexpedient and injurious, and ought not, therefore, to be made.

'2. Anxious to ascertain whether any, and, if any, what grounds exist for an investigation, which appeared to imply, that some Mission-Churches connected with the Society were not possessed of that perfect Independency which is required by its Fundamental Law, the Committee, at considerable length, inquired into the practice of the Society and the actual position of the Churches which had been formed by its instrumentality; and, upon these points, they were supplied with ample information, which satisfied them, that, although few Mission-Churches were as yet *self-supported*, their dependence on the Society for pecuniary aid did not affect their freedom and self-government, and that, in all ecclesiastical matters, their liberty had been most scrupulously respected by the Directors, and held as inviolate as that of any Churches in this country. The Committee were conducted to this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of several Missionaries, who, in terms the most unqualified, declared, that, to their knowledge and belief, no instance had occurred in which the Directors had interfered in the slightest degree with the Independence of the Churches over which they presided, or of those of the Brethren with whom they had been associated. This statement was confirmed by various important facts, which, in the view of the Committee, clearly evinced the honour and integrity with which the Directors had respected the rights and recognized the freedom of the several Mission-Churches.

'To prove that provision had also been made for recog-

nizing, not only the Independency of those Churches, but their entire separation from the Society, should they desire it, the following Regulation of the Directors, together with evidence that it had been acted upon, was laid before the Committee:—

'"Assuming the numbers and pecuniary resources of any Church and Congregation to be adequate for the maintenance of the Ministry, and all other purposes of self-support, the Society most readily recognizes the right of such Church and Congregation to form its own constitution, and conduct its own affairs. It must, however, be understood, that in the event of any Church and Congregation wishing to be separated from the Society, such desire must be formally expressed by the Members assembled for that purpose; at which Meeting at least two Agents or Representatives of the Society, nominated by the Directors, shall be present, for the purpose of giving friendly counsel and reporting the proceedings to the Board; and, in case the Society has made pecuniary advances for such Church and Congregation, by way of loan or otherwise, the same shall be the subject of equitable adjustment."

'Whereupon it was resolved, that, from the information now given, this Committee is convinced that the Society does not interfere, and, in consistency with its fundamental principle, never can interfere in any way, with the self-government of the Mission-Churches.

'3. That this Committee sympathizes with the Directors in cases of difficulty which must occasionally occur in their correspondence and intercourse with the Missionaries, and, after the statements which have been made, are convinced that their course has been distinguished by justice and Christian kindness, and that the plans they have devised are well adapted to settle satisfactorily any matter of dispute.

'4. That while the Society has not sought to restrict its Missionaries in the use of that freedom which is claimed by Christian brethren at home in reference to Government Aid for Education, it has never, as a Society, received such aid.

but, on the contrary, has repeatedly declined it—a course to which the Committee feel perfectly assured the Board of Directors will inviolably adhere.

'5. That this Meeting deems it desirable to call the attention of the Country Directors, and of the Auxiliaries generally, to the Quarterly Meetings of the Society, for the purpose of securing at them an increased and continuous attendance, as on those occasions the most important business of the Society is usually transacted.

'6. That, deeming the subject of Organization to be, in the present circumstances of the Society, of special and peculiar importance, this Meeting urges upon all County and other Auxiliaries to meet, at as early a time as possible, for the express purpose of fully considering the whole subject, and of inquiring what alterations they may make so as best to secure the great object.'

How to maintain and to deepen the interest of the home churches in missionary work is one of the standing difficulties in the way of missionary progress. It has come, at the end of the nineteenth century, to be a somewhat firmly held conclusion among Christian people, that success or failure in support of the great missionary enterprise is one great mark of a standing or a falling church. Too much, perhaps, in the past the temptation to consider foreign missions as an optional and not an integral part of Christian work has proved a snare to the churches. From the beginning the London Missionary Society adopted the plan of sending out able and well-informed deputations to arouse the interest of the home churches in the missionary enterprise. Originally these consisted of leading ministers, deeply attached to the work, and with great reputations as preachers and speakers, men like Dr. Bogue, Dr. Waugh, Rowland Hill, and Matthew Wilks. Then, as the staff of missionaries increased, the practice sprang up of sending them to tell their wondrous story of work done, of obstacles yet to be overcome, of needs, sorrows, and sins crying out for salvation. And this method has proved satisfactory in many ways, but its success has been purchased at one very

great cost. It has tended in many cases to weaken rather than strengthen the direct interest of the home minister in the missionary anniversary, and for a very obvious reason. Home ministers rarely suffer from insufficiency of work. Burdened, harassed, over-worked, as many of them are, it is little wonder if the missionary anniversary came to be, to some extent, a minister's holiday. His pulpit being supplied for him at the Society's expense, it was only natural that he should avail himself of the welcome opportunity for rest and change. But this habit has often reacted disadvantageously upon the church. The absence of the minister can hardly fail to lessen in the eyes of the church the importance of the missionary anniversary.

From time to time this important practical question of home support occupied the earnest attention of the Board. In 1855 the Rev. Wm. Fairbrother, who had been appointed to Shanghai in 1845, but who, owing to the death of his wife, and the failure of his own health, returned to England in 1846, was appointed Secretary for Funds. His special work was in every possible way to excite a deeper and more practical interest in the work on the part of the churches. On April 22, 1856, the Quarterly Meeting of London and Country Directors adopted a report from a Special Committee dealing with this matter, and the bulk of their conclusions are as pertinent in 1896 as they were in 1856. They outline their plan in the following words:—

'It is doubtless natural that those who sustain Christian Missions, should desire to hear from the lips of the men who have laboured in promoting them the results of those labours. And within reasonable limits this desire should be met. But such limits are not unfrequently exceeded. During a large portion of each year, the services of returned Missionaries are not only sought, but expected and required. Nor will it always suffice that they attend a public meeting and report what God has wrought among the heathen through their instrumentality. They are expected to preach as well as speak. Twice, and sometimes thrice,

must they appear in the pulpit on the Sabbath, and four or five evenings through the ensuing week they must take a prominent part on the platform. And these exhausting services are often continued for a protracted period.

'Now, while it is gratifying to witness a desire for the information which Missionaries possess, the demand thus made upon their time and strength is cause of serious regret. In the first place, it generally happens, when a Missionary returns to this country, that he does so with wasted strength and shattered health. Exhausted by climate, labour, or disease, he is compelled to seek rest and restoration on his native shores. But no sooner does he arrive here, than he is called upon to take long journeys, and to sustain heavy labours as a deputation from the Society. The consequences, in many cases, are most painful. They are deprived of much-needed rest, and restricted in the use of remedial measures. Their restoration is thus retarded, their personal comfort destroyed, and their sojourn in this country unduly extended. These consequences indeed are not suffered by all returned Missionaries, but doubtless they are by many.

'But this is not the only evil resulting from the practice. Not seldom it occasions dissatisfaction and disappointment to the supporters, while it produces positive injury to the cause of Missions. There are instances, undoubtedly, in which, both from the pulpit and the platform, Missionaries prove the most efficient advocates of Missions: but these are the exceptions, not the rule. Generally it is otherwise. Invaluable Missionaries sometimes prove inefficient deputations. Nor will this surprise those who consider how different the labours to which they have been accustomed are from those to which, on their return to this country, they are called.

'The Committee would now therefore suggest the change which, in their judgment, would mitigate the evils they have indicated, and augment the spirit and resources of Christian Missions. The following recommendation was adopted by the Special Delegates from Country Auxiliaries

at a numerously attended Meeting of the Town and Country Directors, held on October 23, 1855:—

'"On the subject of Missionary Deputations, the Delegates are of opinion that in general it will be found to be beneficial to the Pastors themselves, and to the Churches over which they preside, as well as to the immediate interests of the Society, that the Missionary sermons be preached by ministers in their own places of worship on the Lord's Day, thus economizing the time and expenses of our Missionary brethren, who could still render their assistance at a meeting held on a week evening; they suggest, moreover, that if the hearty co-operation which is afforded by some of our ministerial brethren to meetings on behalf of the Society held in their respective localities were more generally extended, the result would be in a high degree favourable."'

Although more than fifty years have rolled away since this report was penned, only a slight approximation to its conclusions has been attained. One of the best signs of the home work to-day is the increasing amount of time and labour and prayer given to missions by pastors of churches, and the increasing number of pastors who recognize this as an important part of their duty. In 1896 no less than in 1856 was it true that 'the interests of the Society depend mainly, under God, upon the Pastors of our Churches.'

The attempt thus to link the churches into ever closer touch with the Society was vigorously prosecuted, and with growing success. This threw constantly increasing responsibility upon the Home Office. Early in 1865 the Rev. Ebenezer Prout, being no longer equal on physical grounds to the strain of the work, resigned the office of Home Secretary, which he had held for thirteen years. This led to a reconsideration of the whole Home Service and Administration, and the Directors appointed two Home Secretaries, constituting Mr. Fairbrother one of these, and requesting the Rev. Robert Robinson to become his colleague. During these negotiations Dr. Tidman, who had been Foreign Secretary since 1839, expressed his conviction that the time had come for the appointment of a colleague

and successor. This important suggestion having been duly considered at the same meeting, March 8, 1865, the Directors resolved—'That Dr. Mullens be invited to return to this country for the purpose of being associated with the Rev. Dr. Tidman in the office of the Foreign Secretaryship.' In the same year the Rev. J. P. Sunderland was appointed the Society's agent in Australia.

Dr. Mullens, who was born in London in 1820, had been admitted in 1836 a member of Dr. Tidman's church, Barbican Chapel. He was educated at Coward and University Colleges, London, and at Edinburgh University. In 1844 he was appointed to India, taking part in the work of the Bhowanipore Institution, and the Cooly Bazaar Chapel, Calcutta. After twenty-one years' service in India he received the invitation to become Dr. Tidman's colleague, which he accepted. At the request of the Board, in preparation for his future work, he visited the Society's stations in both South India and China, reaching England April 22, 1866. On March 8, 1868, upon the death of Dr. Tidman, he became sole Foreign Secretary.

Dr. Tidman was a man of undoubted power. He had clear and strong views on the policy and administration of the Society, and he had the ability to enforce them for many years, and to carry the bulk of the Directors with him. But it is not surprising that towards the close of the long period during which his influence was paramount, criticism, which compelled a careful hearing, made itself felt. 'Representations made by more than one auxiliary, seriously affecting the administration of the Society,' led the Directors on May 7, 1866, to appoint a strong committee from both London and the country, consisting of twenty-four members, to go carefully into all the matters thus raised. Among those who took a prominent part in these discussions were R. W. Dale, Henry Allon and Henry Lee of Manchester, while Alfred Rooker of Plymouth was chairman, and J. S. Miall[1] of Bradford secretary of the Special Committee. The committee, after full and careful consideration of the

[1] Mr. Miall died in 1896 at the advanced age of ninety.

statements which had been made, selected three subjects for special inquiry:—

1. Whether, comparing 1866 with 1840, the general progress of the Society had been satisfactory, and especially whether its ordinary home income had kept pace with the growth of our churches[1] and the increased demands of the present time.

2. Whether the number of missionaries employed by the Society had of late years been satisfactorily increased.

3. Whether the funds specially contributed for the establishment or extension of particular missions had in all cases been applied so as to effect the object for which they were intended.

The committee of that year, and in this respect so far as we are aware they resembled all special committees appointed from time to time, did not regard the representations which led to their assembling 'as implying any hostile feeling towards the Society, at the same time they endeavoured to deal with them in such a way as to test their real value.'

This committee was composed of very able and competent men, familiar with the working of the Society, sympathetic. and yet keen to note any defects in administration. This they did not from any love for such work, but because they were jealous for the honour of the Society, and for the work of the Master. Their investigation came at one of the most critical periods in the Society's history. It was so thorough that practically every part of the work connected with the great questions of home policy and administration was most closely and carefully scrutinized. All the official documents and resources were placed at their disposal, and their report is one of the most important papers in the archives of the Society. Those who give the careful attention they deserve to the considerable extracts here presented, will find that they amply repay the time and trouble devoted to them.

Upon the question of annual income a most exhaustive

[1] That is, more especially, the Congregational churches.

inquiry was instituted. They found that financially 1840 was an exceptional year in relation to both those which preceded and succeeded. The total of £91,120 raised in that year, included legacies £16,831, and contributions from foreign stations £15,485. It exceeded 1839 by £25,629 and 1841 by £11,019. The *average* income for periods of ten years, *excluding* foreign station contributions, worked out—1837–1846 inclusive, £64,467; 1847–1856, £56,852; 1857–1866, £66,976: *including* native contributions—£77,898; £70,980; £84,226. These foreign contributions came from those who best know the Society's work—native churches, English residents in foreign lands, and fees paid to mission schools. Looking at the same three periods of ten years from the point of view of annual contributions apart from all monies given for special work—that is, the contributions to what is now known as the General Purposes Fund—the result was less satisfactory. From 1837–1846 it was £51,051; 1847–1856, £44,630; 1857–1866, £47,876. The passage in the committee's report referring to this is instructive:—

'After considering the history of the Home Income for the last thirty years, the Committee, though unable to suggest a sufficient explanation, think that it may be partially accounted for in its unsatisfactory aspects in the following manner:—

'i. By the large amount of £52,426 received in 1840 as the result of the extra effort to increase the Society's income to £100,000, which exceptionally raises the average of the first decade. During this period, also, the visits of Williams, Moffat, and the Malagasy converts excited great interest, and led to corresponding results.

'ii. By the fact that during the last thirty years the Society has been gradually becoming, and is now almost absolutely become, restricted for its support to the Congregational body, though at its origin it embraced a much wider area. Established on the widest basis of Evangelical Catholicity, it derived a portion of its income from English Episcopalians; from the Scottish Presbyterian bodies

(especially from the large and powerful body of the United Presbyterians); also from Irish Presbyterians, and from the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales. The growing influence of the Church Missionary Society in England, and the organization of Missionary institutions by the Established and other Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, accounts for the gradual secession of many former supporters of the London Missionary Society. Though these changes might not affect existing contributors, it is obvious, under ordinary circumstances, that, when they died, their places would only be supplied by Congregationalists. It speaks well for the zeal of that body in Scotland and Wales that, notwithstanding the reduced area of operations in those countries, their contributions to the Society have actually increased. But it will be clearly seen, as a consequence, that the efforts which would have tended, under other conditions, to augment ordinary income, have been in a large degree absorbed in maintaining it.

'iii. The last twenty-five years have witnessed a steady and almost uniform decline in the amounts contributed by the villages and smaller towns of the kingdom. It may aid in accounting for this to remember that (especially in some districts) the larger towns have, it is alleged, of late years absorbed much of the population and energy of the smaller ones; and the fact must not therefore be regarded as decisively indicating a corresponding diminution of regard for the London Missionary Society. In those counties where there are important manufacturing centres, the deficiency of the rural districts is usually made up by increased contributions from the larger Churches, or by the formation of new Auxiliaries. But, where no such centres exist, the returns of the Counties exhibit a steady decline.

'iv. Looking at the contributions of the Churches in London, and taking the postal district (a radius of twelve miles round the Post Office) as the area under consideration, a very considerable variation is strikingly apparent. In 1841 London raised, in the form of ordinary income, no less a sum than £14,110; and, though this was a very

exceptional year, it is surely fair to suppose that, with the large number of new and prosperous churches founded within the postal district during the last quarter of a century, the average contributions might by this time have reached that exceptional level. It appears, however, that since 1841 the annual contributions from London have only in two instances (1848 and 1860) reached £10,000.'

On the second question an equally searching investigation showed the ten-year average to be as follows:—

1. Ordained missionaries, 1837–1846, 150, and 2 medical missionaries; 1847–1856, 150, and 3 medical; 1857–1866, 140, and 4 medical.

2. European agents, ordained and unordained (schoolmasters, artisans, and printers), 1837–1846, 182; 1847–1856, 162; 1857–1866, 151.

On this state of affairs, which at first sight appears the reverse of satisfactory, the Report points out that—

'During the last two Decades there has been a uniform and considerable decline in the number of European Assistant Missionaries, Schoolmasters, &c. This has doubtless arisen from the gradual development of a Native Agency, which has rendered it unnecessary to employ Europeans in the less responsible forms of Missionary work. In the meantime, the number of Native Pastors has greatly increased. In 1837 there was but one Native Pastor among the Society's agents; and the annual average for the Decade 1837–1846 was only 1·5. This average rose, in the next ten years, to 4·3; and in 1847–1856 the annual average was 10·4. Instead of the solitary Native Pastor reported in 1837, there are 20 in 1866.

'Not less remarkable has been the development of a Native Agency, to which it is difficult to give an exact name. In connection with our Missions in every part of the world there are Native Evangelists, Native Teachers, Natives in charge of outlying districts visited periodically by the European Missionary. These agents, as reported in 1837, numbered 451; in 1846, 700 are reported; and the Committee are assured by Dr. Mullens that if the Returns could be made complete, there is reason to

believe that the number would be found now to have risen to thirteen or fifteen hundred.

'In considering the serious decline in the number of European Missionaries, it must be remembered that during the last ten or twelve years the cost of living has greatly increased in nearly every part of the world, especially in India and China. Servants' wages, the price of provisions, and the rent of houses, have all risen. This has necessitated an increase of salaries. The expenditure in India alone, for the last eight years (1859–1866), exceeds by nearly £20,000 the expenditure during the preceding eight years, an amount considerably in excess of what would have been occasioned by the increase of agency.

'While the Committee believe that too great attention cannot be given to raising up an educated and efficient Native Ministry, and greatly rejoice that in this direction the Society's efforts have of late years been singularly successful, they desire to give emphatic expression to their conviction that the time has not yet arrived when the number of the European Missionaries of the Society can be safely diminished.'

On the third point no question arose concerning the Jubilee Fund, which amounted when closed to £32,331, and was appropriated to 'general income,' the sums collected for the missionary ships, and for building churches in Madagascar. The case was different with regard to special funds connected with the work in India and China. The experience is now practically universal that special funds can only be maintained at the expense of some adverse influence upon the general funds. This may be sometimes hardly perceptible; not unfrequently it is so strong as to appear almost a rival to the ordinary income. The section of this report which deals with this question is full of information of great value to all who have the management of such funds:—

'It will be remembered that, as one effect of the great excitement produced in this country by the Indian Mutiny, there was an earnest desire on the part of the constituents and Directors of the London Missionary Society to extend

their Indian Missions. In a resolution passed at a meeting of the Board, November 19, 1857, and adopted at a public meeting in February, 1858, the Directors proposed that special funds should be raised "to enable them to send forth, within the next two years, at the least twenty additional missionaries." This scheme, it was stated, "would involve the expenditure of £5,000 on the passage and outfits of agents, and a regular increase in the Society's expenditure of more than £6,000 per annum." An appeal was therefore made to the zeal and generosity of the Society's constituents "to enable the Directors to meet the first two years' outlay, and also for a permanently enlarged liberality to render the Society's income equal to this increase in its expenditure."

'In the course of the next four years the contributions in response to this appeal amounted to £21.500. Additional sums, consisting apparently of interest from the invested funds, have since been reported, amounting to £4,062, making a total of £25,562. It appears that the actual number of European Ordained Missionaries in India at the beginning of 1858 was forty-three. Estimating the average term of Missionary life in India at twenty years, there should have been sent out, between 1859 and 1866, independently of the Special Fund, about *twenty* additional Men, in order to maintain undiminished the number of Agents who were in the field at the time the Special Appeal was made. But, during these eight years, no fewer than *thirty* additional men have been sent out to India, of whom *two* have died, and *three* have resigned their connection with the Society, leaving *twenty-five* of their number in the missionary field. Of the *forty-three* who were in India in 1858, *twenty-one* have ceased to be in the Society's service, *six* having died, and *fifteen* retired (chiefly from ill health), so that the net gain is only *four*.

'Your Committee, therefore, cannot but express their regret that the proposal to secure a clear and permanent addition of *twenty* men to the staff of Missionaries in India has not yet been carried out. They are, however, glad to know that before the end of the present year *seven*

additional Missionaries will be appointed, who, estimating for average losses, will raise the whole number of European Missionaries to about *fifty-two*—an increase of *eleven* on the staff of 1858.

'Without making any estimate for the additional expense incurred for Native Agency, the *extension* of Missions in India has cost the Society, during the last eight years, in round numbers, about £13,000—the amount which has been drawn, at various times, from the Special Indian Fund. This sum has not been expended in making a clear addition to the class of European Missionaries, according to the terms of the proposal which originated the scheme; but it is believed that, considering the strong opinions so often expressed by the friends of the Society in favour of the development of Native Agency, the actual form which the extension has assumed will not be regarded as unsatisfactory. It is also important to remark that the gross expenditure of the Society in India, during the last eight years, exceeds the gross expenditure of the previous eight years by nearly £20,000.

'The China Fund, the application of which has also been the object of inquiry, was raised in consequence of the wide extension of missionary operations rendered possible by Lord Elgin's treaty in 1859. The appeal of the Directors stated that they had "commenced endeavours to double, at the least, the present number of their Chinese labourers." A balance of £10,538 remained from the former Special Fund, but it was urged that "such are the unavoidable expenses connected with the establishment of new Stations, that this amount would be insufficient to defray the cost of the proposed enlargement." There was also a sum of £13,850 lying in China, at Shanghai, Amoy, and Hong Kong, arising from the advantageous sale of lands belonging to the Society and not needed for the use of the Mission. The result of this appeal, including the balance from the former fund, was £34,713 2*s.* 11*d.*, which, added to the £13,850, makes a total of £48,563 available for the extension of the China Mission.

'At the beginning of 1859 there were, not including

the Native Pastor at Hong Kong, *twelve* Missionaries on the China staff. During the past eight years there have been sent out *seventeen* men. Of the original *twelve*, *four* have returned. Of the *seventeen*, *three* have died, *two* have returned through illness, and *one* has retired from the Mission. The net increase therefore is *seven*, and at the beginning of the current year the Society's European Missionaries in China numbered *nineteen*.

'This extension has been effected at a cost of £21,400, but if the expense of educating the twelve additional missionaries (£3,000) be credited to the China Fund, £3,000 more might be fairly transferred from that fund to the general income of the Society. The whole amount, therefore, expended on extension has been about £24,400, while the amount drawn from the London portion of the China Fund is only £14,567. Adding to this sum the £7,385 paid from the China portion of the Fund, it is clear that about £25,000 have come from the general income of the Society and ought to be repaid.

'The Committee considered the distribution of the Funds of the Society among the various Fields of Missionary Labour hitherto occupied by its agents. They have grouped together (A) the average expenditure for periods of five years in the South Seas, South Africa, and the West Indies; and (B) the average Annual Expenditure for the same periods in India and China. The result is presented in the following tabulated statement:—

For the years	(A)	(B)
1836—1840	£27,993	£27,991
1841—1845	42,055 [1]	29,604
1846—1850	27,119	32,364
1851—1855	24,189	32,924
1856—1860	23,741	31,495
1861—1865	25,021	36,336
	£170,118	£190,714

[1] The high expenditure of this quinquennial period is largely explained by the special efforts occasioned by Emancipation. There was also a considerable temporary increase of expenditure in the South Seas, accounted for by special causes.

'It will be seen that there has been a gradual increase of expenditure in those countries the vastness of whose populations justly demands the chief attention of the Church; and the Committee think that, though it may not be possible suddenly to reduce the expenditure in other directions, the efforts of the Society should be increasingly directed to the development of its Missions in the East.

'One question which forced itself upon the attention of the Committee was—What had been the *influence* of the *various special efforts* for increasing the funds of the Society? Much was to be said on both sides. It was admitted that all such movements possessed an educating power, and that the prominence they gave to particular branches of operation tended to maintain the interest taken by our Churches in Missionary progress; whilst these appeals quicken and nurse the Missionary feeling by prominently directing the attention of our Churches to new and important fields of labour. Yet it was felt that the multiplication of Special Exertions had possibly tended to the detriment of Ordinary Income, besides producing an impression on many individuals that when a surplus revenue was thus created there was the less need for subsequent effort—at least until that surplus revenue should be exhausted. Moreover, all such extra contributions for particular purposes, should they fail to stimulate to persistent exertion, derange the management of the Society by leading (as in the case of Madagascar) to the opening up of wider fields of labour than the ordinary resources of the Society can cover.'

As the final result of this, the most complete and searching investigation yet made into the practical working of the Society, the Committee affirmed that 'nothing had transpired in the slightest degree affecting the honour of the Institution or of those officially employed in its management. They suggested that no effort be spared to increase the income at least £10,000 a year, that certain new departmental regulations be put into force, that more attention be paid to the preparation and the circulation of the

Society's literature, and they ended with the following resolution:—

'After an anxious and deliberate investigation (extending over several days) of every question which appeared important to the character and operations of the London Missionary Society, the Committee are unanimously of opinion that it is in every way worthy of the confidence and support of the Churches. Its history during the past is the record of remarkable triumphs of the Gospel abroad, and of a great quickening of religion at home. Its Directors and Officers (though, of course, not infallible) have conducted its affairs, on the whole, with a fidelity, wisdom, and success for which they deserve the thanks and confidence of the Christian Churches whose affairs they have administered. "The Committee are, however, impressed with the strong conviction that the Society *does not receive from many of our Churches the support which it may fairly claim*, and they most earnestly commend it to their increased affection and liberality. The catholicity of its constitution, the noble character and illustrious achievements of its Missionaries, the success of its enterprises, and the general efficiency of its administration, give it a high and honourable place among similar Institutions. And the Committee hope that, amidst the multiplying and legitimate claims of our home population, which are so nobly responded to, the Churches will not be forgetful of the high object of this Society, hitherto so honoured of God, 'to carry the Gospel into the regions beyond.'"'

With the issues arising out of this investigation begins the latest stage of the home administration. The Report naturally formed the chief topic at the annual meeting in Exeter Hall on Thursday, May 9, 1867. This great assembly, like the one held in the same place in May, 1839, marks a distinct stage in the Society's progress. Exeter Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. George Leeman, Esq., M.P. for York, presided. Dr. Mullens on this occasion read the first of those annual reports for which he became so famous at these gatherings. We take one page from it

because it photographs for us a large portion of the field occupied and the work in progress in 1867.

'During 1865–6 there were, carrying on the Society's work, 167 English Missionaries. On March 1, 1867, so far as we can ascertain, there were 169. Of the whole number fifty-eight have been missionaries for more than twenty years, and twenty-six for more than thirty. Two of our veterans, Mr. Moffat and Mr. Brownlee, on January 13, completed a fifty years' service in South Africa. It is impossible to describe in detail, and with full justice, the varied labours in which these brethren are engaged. Not only on the Sabbath but through the week, not only in the pulpit but in the school, the market, the private house, in a boat, under a spreading tree, our brethren expound and enforce that Gospel which shall sanctify and govern the hearts of many nations. In the cities of China and India, in the villages of Africa, among the swamps of Guiana, beneath the palm groves of Samoa, they seek to be instant in season and out of season. Some are pastors of churches, others preach almost entirely to the heathen. Some are training students in seminaries. Some superintend a range of simple schools; others, in Indian cities, give large time and effort to the important Institutions taught in the English and native languages. A few are revising translations of the Bible; others are preparing commentaries, school-books, and other Christian literature. All have to share in building; and, besides our Medical Missionaries, a great number constantly give medicine to the sick.

'Here we see Dr. Turner, in the admirable seminary at Malua, training the Native Teachers; Mr. Edkins and Mr. Muirhead penetrate the Mongolian desert, to inquire into the place and prospects of a Mission among the Tartar tribes; while Mr. John, after completing the Hankow Hospital, is isolated within a vast sea, the overflowings of the mighty Yangtze, which has drowned half the streets of Hankow. We see Mr. Storrow and Mr. Johnson, Mr. Coles and Mr. Blake, Mr. Hall and Mr. Rice, surrounded by the hundreds of their students and scholars,

diligent in their daily English studies. We see the Travancore brethren in the midst of their many agents, advising pastors, instructing catechists, reading evangelists' journals, examining candidates, and auditing accounts; while, in their midst, Dr. Lowe and his seven students administer to their crowd of patients in the hospital that medicine which shall relieve their pain. Dr. Mather re-edits the Hindustani Scriptures. The brothers Stronach, fellow-labourers indeed in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, still watch over the prosperous churches of Amoy, which they were honoured to found. In the midst of barbarism, Mr. Moffat carefully revises that Sechuana Bible of which he was the first translator; in the midst of civilization, after reading the proofs of the Chinese New Testament, Dr. Legge, consulting his learned pundits, dives deep into the ancient Chinese classics, and strives, by an erudite commentary, to make plain the early history of China. While Mr. Lawes, who describes himself as the "poet laureate" of Savage Island, after completing the New Testament, prepares the first Christian hymn-book, for the use of the converts he has brought to Christ. Mr. Thompson, visiting the Missions in Cape Colony, drives with hard toil across the fiery dust of the Karroo desert; Mr. Jansen and Mr. Munro, in their long canoe, traverse the gorgeous and silent forests of Guiana, to visit the little Mission among the Indians below the rapids of Berbice. Mr. Murray, opportunely arriving in a screw steamer, prevents war among the Christians of Manua; Mr. Chalmers, voluntary leader of the band of converts who keep the John Williams afloat, sticks by the vessel to the last, and, with his brave wife, refuses to quit the ship till she is anchored safe in Sydney harbour. While Mr. Philip, pastor and schoolmaster, doctor and lawyer, engineer and magistrate, of the flourishing Hottentot Christians of Hankey, whom he did not quit for twenty years, when overturned in a ravine on a visit to his out-station, preaches to his people with a broken arm, rather than deprive them of that bread of heaven which they had come many miles to hear.'

The financial statement at this great meeting, as at so many of its successors, was far from satisfactory. In November, 1866, the Board had instructed its committees to decline all applications that led to any extension whatever of work. The expenditure for the year 1866–7, apart from that appropriated at the foreign stations, was £90,072. To meet this only £76,912 had been contributed to the General Purposes Account, and in order to come within a reasonable distance of balance no less than £16,244 had to be withdrawn from the Special Funds. Even this left an adverse balance of £5,000 against the Society.

The foreign field was represented by addresses from the Rev. T. Durant Philip of Hankey, Dr. Legge of Hong Kong, and E. Storrow of Calcutta. The chief speakers representing the home churches were the Rev. Alexander Hannay of Croydon, and the Rev. R. W. Dale of Birmingham. Both were men of consummate practical wisdom, of deep and true missionary spirit, of undaunted faith and zeal. The consciousness that they were speaking under a very heavy responsibility, and at a very critical period in the Society's history, gave a weight to their utterances far beyond that usually attaching to such addresses. They spoke with a full realization of their position, they had evidently bestowed unusual care upon the arrangement and the expression of their thoughts, and hence their speeches possess permanent value. The deliberate judgment of two such keen and cultured minds upon the Society's position a generation ago, delivered as they then gave it, has become an abiding possession for the organization they both loved so well, and did so much to forward.

Mr. Hannay, speaking to the resolution that the Report for the year be adopted and published, after noting that 'there are no tests of the soundness of the principles on which any institution is based, or of the wisdom and honesty displayed in the management of any institution, like that which is yielded by the use and experience of years,' went on to say:—

'We found the nations to which we have taken the Gospel made children by their several idolatries; it will not do for us to take the Gospel to them in such forms as shall leave them children still. I do not believe that those Christianized countries, which are the trophies of the London Missionary Society, can ever have the religious life they have received through this Society's agency, fully developed in a complete, natural, and symmetrical form, by foreign teachers. It is true God has made all the nations of the earth of one blood; but it is also true that He has made them of different types of mind—some in whom a keen. clear, hard, intellectual power preponderates; some whose minds are almost altogether a thing of the imagination: and some whose minds lie hid in a coil of emotions; and I for one believe that no one of those types of mind, or the races by whom those types of mind are represented, can ultimately become the common and exclusive teachers of the rest without cramping their growth and denying to them something of their nature, strength, and native grace. Men whose minds are made in England and America cannot ultimately be the teachers, the final teachers, of Hindoos, and Kaffirs, and Sandwich Islanders. It is a great vocation that we have had—to break in upon their darkness and their ignorance with the Word of Truth, and to speak to them of the mystery of godliness and of that Divine Father who is above us all as He is revealed to us in Christ Jesus, in terms, however imperfectly soever, adapted to their mental condition. We have, at least, had this honour—of giving them a new starting-point—a starting-point for a new history. But if that history is to go on with a steady and continuous impetus; if Christianity is to enter as a cleansing and healing agent into their whole life; if it is to pervade their social relations; if it is to become the basis of their civil institutions; if it is to be the life of their civilization; if it is to make them fit for a place in the great compact of nationalities such as God meant them to occupy;—they must be taught and led by their own best minds. These will need, no doubt, for some

time, oversight—the tutorship and counsel of European agents; but the fact that they exist is evidence of the healthy operations of the Society's Missions hitherto; and the fact that this Society is placing those men in their true position as teachers is to me an earnest of higher and worthier progress than we have yet seen.

'But a fact of great gravity which, I think, I am bound to notice, is that the liberality of the churches has not continued to enlarge with the enlarging needs of the Society; and the alternative is fairly before the constituents of the Society—contraction of operations or enlarged income. I doubt not that there are many of this assembly whose hearts to-day say. "Contracted operations! Let us not name the shameful word." There can be no one on this platform who can have any interest in putting a shameful word in the mouth of the London Missionary Society, but there is no one who does not believe that it were less shameful to contract operations than to go on accumulating debt. And there are some of us who believe it were even less shameful to contract operations than to live in the delusive and unhealthy excitement of constant special appeals. We need the steady, sustaining power of principle rather than the spasmodic tribute of passing impulse of this kind. This question must be remitted from this meeting to our churches, to our families, to our individual consciences as Christian men. Not here can a grave matter of this kind be settled; but there it may, in the prayer-meeting, in the fellowship gathering, at the domestic table, which ought to be sacred in all our households as the very altar of God; and in our closets, where we go to ask God's forgiveness of sins, and review our responsibilities for Him who shed His blood for us.'

The Rev. R. W. Dale, addressing the meeting as the spokesman of the Special Committee, after describing the investigations undertaken, and their results, continued:—

'I remember that throughout all the ages of Christendom, from the day of Pentecost until now, it has not been under the lash of conscience merely that men have done great

and heroic work for Christ, but under the inspiration, and enthusiasm, and passion which the Spirit of God kindles in human souls; and I cannot but feel that something of the heroic temper which characterized the devotion of our fathers has begun to disappear among us. I cannot but fear that something of the romance and poetry which there should be in our piety has begun to disappear. I do not believe in a cold, heartless, intellectual religious life. Such a religious life will never solve the great social questions which wait for their solution in our own country. Such a religious life will never produce such men as those whose names year after year are heard from this platform, who have been our apostles in the countries far away.

'I believe the first duty of the Directors—I will speak of them first—is to consider most seriously whether they cannot reduce our expenditure in those parts of the world where our Missions have already done their proper work. The London Missionary Society was not intended to provide subsidies for the maintenance of Christian churches already firmly established, and surrounded by a nominally Christian population. The duty of withdrawing European agency from native churches that have gained strength is very distinctly and emphatically recognized in a part of the Report. It will be necessary to make these reductions with the utmost caution and delicacy, and with the utmost consideration for the position of the native churches whom they will affect; but, for the sake of the native churches themselves, and not merely as an economical measure, these reductions must be made; and I ask you, the constituents of the Society, to sustain with your confidence your Directors in a policy of this order. You may have special associations with a station here and there, which, it may be thought, has grown strong enough to stand alone; you may be the personal friend of missionaries who have laboured there in past years, of missionaries who are labouring there now, who may be withdrawn. You must sustain the Directors in working out this principle—that when people

have been brought to Christ they may have to be trusted to Christ, and to the Spirit of Christ, and they are not to be perpetually sustained in religious worship and action by support derived from this country.

'But save what you will in that way; diminish your expenditure in Jamaica and in British Guiana; diminish your expenditure in the South Seas, your expenditure in Southern Africa; reduce your expenditure by the exercise of a most rigorous economy, in China and the East; and it is impossible to save more than £10,000 a year, if you can do that. Do you intend to extinguish your China Mission in order to get out of debt? Are you prepared to go to Madagascar, and terminate at once your connection with Missions in that land? No matter how earnestly your Directors may deal with this great question, they cannot, without extinguishing a Mission like that in China, without extinguishing a Mission like that in Northern India, bring their income and their expenditure together. What, then, is the issue? Why, that the meeting should pass and hold to a resolution like this: "That this meeting desires to express its unabated and most cordial confidence in the Directors and officers of the London Missionary Society, and that, having learned from the Report that the expenditure for the year exceeds by £20,000 the ordinary income, the meeting pledges itself to sustain the Directors in their efforts to reduce the expenditure, and immediately to increase the home income of the Society by at least £10,000 per annum." Ah, it is all very well for you to applaud; but when you are written to for your collections on behalf of the London Missionary Society, do you intend to write back and say you have a chapel debt to deal with, and cannot make your collection this year? Do you mean to write back and say you are making a great effort in connection with the county association, and cannot have the Missionary collection this year? Do you mean to write back and say you belong to a new church only just settled in the outskirts of a great town, and that you must get things in order before you can

venture upon your Missionary collection? We know the kind of letters that come to the Mission House from different parts of the country from time to time. If you mean to pass this resolution, you must resolve that every church throughout the country represented at this meeting shall have its Missionary collection without fail. You must resolve that in every congregation there shall be, in wind and in sunshine, under financial pressure and in financial success, the steady work of the Missionary collector bringing the results of the liberality of your people to our Society. You must resolve that in every town, and in every considerable village, there shall not only be the annual sermons, but there shall be an annual meeting on behalf of the London Missionary Society. I believe we have the thing in our own hands, and we can do it; you and I, my brethren, if we like, can do it.'

In the closing words of this, one of the greatest speeches Mr. Dale ever delivered on behalf of the Society, he laid down the one abiding and fundamental condition of all true missionary service. The circumstances of 1867 were curiously reproduced in 1897. Upon a larger basis, with wider work, after the experience of another generation's history, the Society again found itself more than £20,000 behind. At all similar crises what was said in 1867 has a direct and practical issue. Mr. Dale concluded with these memorable words:—

'I quite concur with what has been said by Mr. Hannay in regard to the influence which the spirit of the secular press has begun to assert in the minds of so many connected with our own churches in different parts of the country. There has been a sort of half-confessed scepticism and suspicion with regard to these Missionary enterprises altogether. It is manifested here and there by men whose Christian lives and character one cannot but confide in. But if the Gospel is not a Gospel for the people of China, of India, and of Africa, it is no Gospel for you. It is just as true or just as false with regard to every inhabitant of Canton and Peking as it is with regard to every inhabitant of Birmingham, Manchester,

Liverpool, and London, that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should have everlasting life." If you have any doubt as to whether it is an obligation to send this Gospel to the heathen, you ought to doubt whether it is your duty to preach it to the people of your own country, and you ought to leave your pulpits until that question is settled. It is impossible to believe in the Gospel for yourselves with a whole heart without preaching it to the whole of the human race. Included in the same act of faith—implicated necessarily in that—with which I repose in Christ as my Saviour, there is the recognition of Him as the Saviour of mankind the wide world over. There is a great deal of criticism about the result of our work, and we have stories from wandering gentlemen who have been seeking their pleasure in the South Seas and in certain parts of Africa about the imperfections of our converts. No doubt they can find imperfections in them. Suppose some Pharisee had happened to wander down to Corinth a few years after the Corinthian church had been established, what a story he might have come back and told in Jerusalem about the people that belonged to the Christian churches that this apostate Paul was founding in different parts of the world! Can you show us anything worse than the Corinthian church could show, in any part of the Mission-field that we are occupying? Yet we know that in that Corinthian church, spite of all its imperfections, there were working those great and mighty forces which regenerated the dying empire, which have built up the civilization of modern Europe, which have created our literature, our laws, our social life, which gave existence to our majestic cathedrals, inspired our noblest artists and poets, and have brought peace and purity into ten thousand homes in this country—the same forces which are working now in India, in China, and wherever our Gospel is preached. And whatever imperfections there may be in the character and actions of our people as yet, they are in God's hands —every Christian is His workmanship, and He will shape

them all in His own good time into forms of majestic strength and transcendent beauty.'

The energetic and authoritative appeal for renewed and more liberal help, based upon the searching and practical considerations given above, was not the only method followed at this time. The home efforts were partly supplemented, and partly stimulated, by a considerable reorganization of work in all the mission-fields. The reader who has followed the story of the various missions knows that from the first very large discretion had been left to the missionaries on the spot in the choice of plans of work, in the training of converts, and in all the details connected with their daily routine of labour. They were hampered by few rules, and they were untrammelled by tradition. They were all aware of the fundamental principle of the Society, and they freely availed themselves of the liberty it gave. Gradually considerable bodies of converts from heathenism were gathered into churches, schools were built, and numerous native agents were employed. The methods of work adopted by the missionaries exhibited considerable variety, but two things were changed. The workers in each field recognized more and more the importance of their own special work, and the calls of this work upon the Society's exchequer became ever larger and louder.

During the long secretariat of Dr. Tidman, growth, expansion, and prosperity characterized almost every mission field. The weak point was that the articulation of the organization had not, during the same period, developed with the work, and in course of time it had become too weak to bear the constantly increasing strain. Large and prosperous native communities cannot be managed by primitive methods. The very success of the work partly broke down the system by means of which the success had been won. Knowledge had grown, men of long experience in the field had increased, and missions had passed through the tentative into the settled stage. It was no longer possible to deal with each mission as though it stood alone. All

had to be correlated and adjusted to a strong centre of administration, caring justly and equally for all.

Amid the criticisms passed upon this state of affairs three weighty suggestions attracted attention and support. To this generation they have become so familiar as to make it hard to realize the fact that they were first put into force in the years 1867 to 1869. These were:—

1. That all large and prosperous native churches should cease to look to the Society for aid in maintaining their religious life and work, beyond the help afforded by a resident superintendent missionary. In other words, the native church was to pay all cost of working except the salary of the missionary.

2. The initiative in all work involving extra outlay, especially the extension of old agencies or the occupation of new ground, was to rest not with the missionaries but with the Directors.

3. The missionaries were no longer to act as individuals, but to form themselves into District Committees, whose recommendations would necessarily have greater weight with the Board than the suggestions of individuals.

These developments of policy were first incorporated into the system of administration which now obtains, during the years 1867 to 1869. The two great points achieved were, first, the control of funds by the system of annual estimates and warrants; and secondly, the management of missionary work by the establishment of District Committees, without whose recommendation the Board refused to act. By this means, each year the probable cost of each station and field is carefully estimated, and the Society is responsible only for such expenditure as its own warrants, annually issued, permit. The details of the work are carefully considered by the missionaries in committee on the spot, who are the men best qualified to judge, and their recommendations are either accepted, modified, or rejected by the Board.

But the reasons for change, weighty and convincing as they may be, are not always evident to those most closely

concerned. The pressure of the new regulations varied much with the different fields, and in every field there were susceptibilities requiring consideration, difficulties and frictions that had to be adjusted, and new principles of action to be laid down clearly and authoritatively. The burden of all this work fell upon Dr. Mullens in the earliest years of his service as Foreign Secretary. He drew up, submitted to the Board, and after their approval sent to the different fields of work a series of letters, known afterwards as Budget Dispatches.

The first of these, dated Oct. 15, 1867, was sent to the missionaries in the West Indies. The town and country Directors, in May, 1867, had urged the Board, on the ground that 'the sole object of the Society is to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the heathen,' to reduce expenditure first in this field. Recognizing fully the claims of the West Indies upon their sympathy and help, yet in view of the fact that with a native population of only half a million, 300 Christian ministers were at work there, and that to a very large extent those regions had been already evangelized. the Directors resolved to limit the staff of English missionaries to thirteen, the number then in the field—eight in British Guiana, and five in Jamaica; and they urged the appointment, wherever possible, of native pastors. They also requested the native churches to pay all the local and incidental expenses of the mission, and resolved to limit the Society's grants in future to the salaries of the English missionaries. The missionaries were to constitute themselves into two District Committees, one for Guiana, the other for Jamaica. These were 'to have local charge of all the interests of the Society; of the Society's property; the character and proceedings of their own members; sick leave; temporary appointments; and all plans for advancement of the mission.' They were to meet *at least* once a year. The Board further suggested that strenuous efforts should be made to train a native ministry, and that it would be well to form a Union, of which missionaries, their assistants, native pastors, deacons,

and the better catechists and evangelists should be members, to forward everything connected with the spiritual and financial prosperity of the churches.

The second Dispatch dealt with Travancore, limiting its grant, strengthening the power of the District Committees, suggesting greater economy in the payment of native agents, and more reliance for support upon local effort.

The other missions in India and those in China were dealt with in the third Dispatch. The Directors pointed out that economies must be effected, not by closing a single station or recalling a single missionary, but by 'careful revision of all mission establishments, by closing a few small expensive out-stations, the better management of local resources, greater liberality on the part of native converts and by throwing the cost of education more fully upon localities.' The Dispatch conveyed these suggestions to the missionaries in India and China in detail; and with regard to Government grants in aid of education in India, the Directors reaffirmed their past policy of remaining neutral, and allowing their missionaries to apply or not for these as seemed best in their judgment.

The fourth Dispatch dealt with Madagascar, and emphasized the fact that on themselves must fall the burden of their native pastors and churches, the Society empowering the District Committees to make annual grants as occasion arose for schools, chapel-building, and evangelistic work.

The fifth Dispatch, sent to the missionaries in South Africa, suggested the far-reaching reforms and economies that will be found narrated in some detail in the history of that second oldest field of the Society's work.

The sixth Dispatch in like fashion dealt with the South Seas, the chief suggestion being that from the good work done as a base, strenuous efforts should be made to push out further 'into the dark north-west.'

At the time when these Dispatches were under the consideration of the Board, the question of the relation of individual missionaries to the Society was also carefully considered, and the full code of regulations adopted which

has been acted upon, with but little modification, ever since.

At the Annual Meeting in 1868 the following summary of work achieved was given :—

'With the close of the year the Directors have almost brought to a completion that careful revision of their various agencies upon which they were called to enter two years ago. This revision has furnished materials for exhibiting, in a more complete form than usual, the present agencies of the Society, and some of the results with which its labours have been blessed. The number of chief stations in all the Missions is 130. The Native churches of the Society are 150 in number; they contain 35,400 members, in a community of nominal Christians, young and old, amounting to 191,700 persons. Of these, nearly 13,000 are in Polynesia; nearly 5,000 in the West Indies; over 5,000 in South Africa; and 3,400 in India. The converts under the Society's care speak altogether twenty-six languages. The Native agency employed by the Society has for several years been growing large. In certain Missions, especially in India, a large proportion of the male members of Native churches have found employment as teachers; and of late years the missionaries of various Societies have been weeding their agency, and retaining only its superior elements. Altogether the Society has fifteen institutions for training them, which now contain 170 students. The total number of Native assistants is above 1,200, of whom 81 are ordained pastors and missionaries. The English missionaries of the Society are now 156 in number.

'The educational agencies of the Society are more varied, and of a higher character than ever before. The institutions and high schools in India are very efficient, and are full of scholars. The general scope of the Society's efforts, so far as figures can show it, shows a total of 35,487 church members, and 191,798 native adherents, 589 schools for boys, with 23,756 scholars, and 356 for girls, with 13,426 scholars. But statistical tables cannot show the real character of the Society's work, or the breadth of influence which

that work has attained. The hundred and fifty-six English missionaries of the Society in foreign lands constitute the central force and stimulus of a wider agency, numbering twelve hundred persons, gathered among people once heathen, now Christian; an agency adopting the same aims, ruled by the same Christian spirit, and fulfilling the same Divine command.'

This thorough-going revision of methods and resources reacted favourably upon the extension of foreign work. It directly prepared the way for the later and speedy extension of work in Africa, Mongolia, and New Guinea; and it also enabled the Board to consolidate and strengthen the work already begun in such centres as Tien-tsin, Wuchang, Benares, South India, and the Betsilèo province of Madagascar.

At the Annual Meeting of 1870 a revised constitution was adopted. In this the principles laid down during the early years of the Society were unaffected, although many of the administrative details were revised. For comparison with the original 'Plan' given in Vol. I[1], for purposes of reference, this revised Constitution is printed in the Appendix to this volume. The same year, 1870, is memorable for the gift, by Sir Francis Crossley, M.P., of the largest single donation the Society had so far received. He handed over to the Trustees United States Government bonds to the value of £20,081, yielding £1,225 per annum, suggesting its preservation as a permanent fund, but not prohibiting 'the Directors, in case of urgent necessity, at any time after the bonds fall due, and at their discretion from time to time,' from applying 'any portion of the capital fund to the general purposes of the Society.'

[1] Page 36.

CHAPTER XXIX

HOME ADMINISTRATION: 1870–1895

By the year 1870 the Society had attained to what the most competent judges believed to be a sound and settled policy, based upon the working experience of more than fifty years. In the conduct of such an organization no wise man expects finality, and none but faddists dream that perfection of method has been attained. As in the past the London Missionary Society has been one of the most flexible and progressive organizations, so to-day she stands willing to receive what fresh light the Master reveals to her—more than willing to solve the problems of the present by the experience of the past. Applying the lofty test, 'by their fruits ye shall know them,' to the methods she has hitherto followed, she has no fear. The last quarter of her first century had need to shrink from no comparison with the first. Steady growth of income, constant and intelligent deepening of the missionary spirit among her supporters, further carrying of Gospel light into the dark places of the earth—these, and more than these, she legitimately claimed. Amid all the enormous increase of missionary zeal, interest, consecration, and work she more than held her own. The impartial student of missions has to allot to her no unimportant part in the development of many modern missionary enterprises wholly unconnected with her administration. Upon foundations she has laid others have built, into fields which she has opened other labourers have entered, and in this all her supporters

rejoice, and will rejoice. And at the close of the century, in God's own providence, she stood with a larger army than ever of noble men and women in the field, with more powerful resources than she ever before enjoyed, and with opportunities of service far greater than she could overtake.

In missionary work the foreign and home fields act and react upon each other. The reforms sketched in the last chapter stimulated foreign work. This in turn called for more liberal home support. To obtain this once again the question how best to keep in touch with, and to develop the zeal of, the home churches was raised.

In 1874 the methods of the Deputation Department of the Society were carefully re-examined with a view to greater efficiency in their exercise and greater economy in their management. At the time of Mr. Fairbrother's appointment in 1855 it was the custom to send home ministers at considerable cost to many of the auxiliary anniversaries. In 1873 a sub committee of the Funds and Agency Committee examined very closely and at a great expenditure of time this whole subject. The drift of thought and desire on the part of the churches was to have more and more the presence of men from the field. The Committee recognized this, but urged upon the churches and pastors the need of voluntary help in this matter. The report of this sub-committee led in 1874 to the resignation of Mr. Fairbrother, and to the appointment as Deputation Secretary in 1875 of the Rev. E. H. Jones, then of Trevor Chapel, Brompton, and formerly of Bridgwater. In 1885, on the death of the Rev. Robert Robinson, Mr. Jones became Home Secretary.

The working under Mr. Jones of the Deputation Department was rendered much more systematic and complete. More local help than ever was obtained, and more hearty and self-denying service given by large numbers of home pastors. The staff of missionaries had so largely increased that a greater number on furlough at any one time were available for this service. But the churches

became more imperative than ever in asking that the work might be urged upon their sympathy and liberality by the men and women who were actually taking part in it. Possibly one of the early developments of work in the second century will be the placing of Missionary Deputation work more completely under modern scientific methods for raising money and for deepening interest. The two chief hindrances to the growth of missionary power at home are, first, the lamentable and widespread ignorance of missionary work, common alike to *all* sections of the Church of Christians; and secondly, the imperfect realization by home-staying Christians of the imperative nature of the Master's command, 'Go ye and disciple all nations.' Scientific home administration, interpenetrated by ardent love to Christians and to man for His sake, has yet a large field open before it.

Three great developments of work in the foreign field have taken place since 1870. The first was the New Guinea Mission, the legitimate and necessary outcome of the previous marvellous success in Polynesia.

The second great movement was the development and organization of female work in the foreign field. At a meeting of town and country Directors held on March 24, 1875, the following very important resolutions were adopted:—

'1. That it is desirable that suitable English and Native Christian women should be employed more largely than at present in connection with our missions in India and China, to supplement the efforts already made by the voices of our missionaries to promote the education and spiritual enlightenment of the female population of the districts where they are located, who, from the social customs of those countries, are to a large extent inaccessible to ordinary missionary efforts.

'2. That a Committee, consisting of fifteen ladies resident in London, be appointed annually, to act as an examining Committee of candidates for employment as female missionaries, to superintend the preparatory training (when

needed) of those who are accepted by the Board, to maintain regular correspondence with them after their arrival at their spheres of labour in reference to their work, and generally to advise and assist the Board in the management and extension of this branch of missionary effort.'

These resolutions were confirmed by the Annual Meeting on May 13, 1875, and the members appointed to serve on the first Ladies' Committee were—Mrs. W. Blomfield, Mrs. S. Figgis, Mrs. W. Gill, Miss Hebditch, Mrs. T. H. Hitchens, Miss MacLean, Mrs. Martindale, Miss Moffat, Mrs. S. R. Scott, Mrs. H. Spicer, junr., Miss G. Stoughton, Mrs. W. Urwick, Mrs. Wardlaw, with Miss Bennett as Secretary. The first lady workers appointed were Miss Heward to the Calcutta Mission, Miss Tubbs to Mirzapore, and Miss Bear to Shanghai, all three beginning work in 1875. The Report for 1879 notes that twelve ladies had reached their stations in India, China, and Madagascar. The results of this most important movement are set forth under the sections dealing with India and China. The objects aimed at in the beginning of the movement were thus described in 1879:—

'It is now four years since the Society established its Female Mission as a distinct branch of its organization. In former years, much had been done for the education and general benefit of the women of India and other lands by the wives and daughters of missionaries, and by others enlisted into this good work, who, recognizing this as their mission of God, felt that a high necessity was laid upon them to contribute to the general weal of the country and to the glory of Christ, by efforts of various kinds put forth perseveringly to educate the mothers and daughters of the people, first for their own good, and next that they might beneficially employ the broad, subtle, and important domestic and social influence which woman is designed, and should feel bound, to exert. But, as years rolled on, changes slowly, but really, came over native society, and the range of these earlier efforts was found to be too narrow for the widening fields which presented themselves, and the

necessity was felt for bringing into this important service a larger number of earnest hearts and hands who, specially trained, should devote their whole energies to this work.

'The views of the Directors, in commencing, in a more definitely organized form, their Female Education Department of effort, are well expressed by Professor Monier Williams as follows:—"The missionary band must carry their ark persistently round the Indian home, till its walls are made to fall, and its inner life exposed to the fresh air of God's day, and all its surroundings moulded after the pattern of a pure, healthy, well-ordered Christian household, whose influences leaven the life of the family and the nation from the cradle to the grave. My belief is that until a way is opened for the free intercourse of the educated mothers and women of Europe, who understand the Indian vernaculars, with the mothers and women of India, in their own homes, Christianity, at least its purer forms, will make little progress either among Hindus or Mohammedans."'

From that time the value and importance of women's work in the mission-field have been more and more felt, and their labours have been richly blessed. In India alone the consequences of this new departure have been of very great moment, and constitute one of the most hopeful features in that most difficult field of work. The Report for 1883 notes that whereas in 1871 the total number of female pupils in India under the Society's care was 2,937, of whom 97 were in zenanas, the total in 1881, only six years after the new departure, was 5,804, of whom 610 were zenana pupils. In 1883 the Training and Zenana Home in Calcutta was opened 'to provide a residence for teachers of the Society's girls' schools, and for zenana visitors; to accommodate a normal class of girls training to become teachers; and to provide a residence for the Society's lady missionaries.' So rapid has been the growth of this department of service that the Report for 1895 contains the names of no less than sixty-five lady members of the permanent staff.

The third great achievement was the establishment of the Central African Mission. We are here concerned with

this only so far as it affects the home administration. An exceptional feature in this mission is the fact that it formed part of a great African enterprise in which three powerful societies acted in combination. The needs and the sorrows of Africa, as narrated by Livingstone's journeys, discoveries, and death, H. M. Stanley's travels, and the constantly increasing mass of information about the centre of the Dark Continent, had touched popular imagination and deeply stirred many hearts. The Free Church of Scotland undertook a mission to Lake Nyassa, and founded Livingstonia; the Church Missionary Society undertook the Uganda Mission on the Victoria Nyanza; and to the London Missionary Society fell Lake Tanganyika, situated midway between the two. Early in 1876 R. Arthington, Esq., a wealthy citizen of Leeds, offered the Society £5,000 'towards the purchase of a suitable steamer, and the establishment of a missionary station at some eligible place on the shores of Lake Tanganyika.' In consequence of this, on March 15, 1876, the Directors passed the following resolution:—

'That this Board gratefully accept the generous offer made by Mr. Robert Arthington to join them in a new effort for the evangelization of Central Africa, and to contribute £5,000 for that purpose; and gladly, and with devout thankfulness to God for the opportunity He has given them, they resolve to establish the proposed Mission on Lake Tanganyika.'

Although no one foresaw clearly the troublous days in store for this, the latest great new departure of the century, all concerned felt it was a task likely to press heavily upon the Society's resources. The Society put forth its strength, and from that day to this the mission has been prosecuted, although the results so far have fallen far short of the hopes of its sanguine projectors, and it has been fatal to many consecrated lives. There have not been wanting friendly critics who have affirmed, in regard to this and other similar enterprises, that they involve a consumption of the Society's resources in men and in money which could

be more usefully employed in fields easier to reach and more fruitful in result. It is hard to judge spiritual results, and to measure spiritual gain and loss. Whatever it has been in other respects, Central Africa has given thrilling and inspiring object-lessons in complete consecration and in faithfulness even unto death. Stony places in the great mission-field of the world, like Mongolia and Central Africa, seem to need sowing with the heart's blood of many a faithful worker before the good seed can take root there.

At the same time in this case, and in such instances as the New Guinea Mission, although it may seem a little ungracious to mark the fact, it has undoubtedly been the case that large contributions for special purposes tend, by removing too easily the difficulties lying on the threshold of a new enterprise, to involve the Society in a heavy permanent annual outlay, in order to sustain such new enterprises before any adequate forecast of the cost has been and possibly can be made. So consistently has this been the experience of all the great societies that it is probably more common now to decline large contributions saddled with conditions involving great extensions of work than to accept them, unless accompanied with some preparation for their annual support.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century facilities for travel have so greatly increased that managing boards have felt it to be of supreme importance to enable their permanent officials to come into close touch with the foreign fields and become accurately acquainted with their important details and chief characteristics. Consequently, official visits abroad have become very frequent, and only misdirected economy, and a failure to appreciate the real facts of the situation, can sustain opposition to the wise practice. In July, 1874, Dr. Mullens and the Rev. John Pillans paid a lengthened visit to Madagascar; in 1879 Dr. Mullens started on the visit to the Central African Mission from which he never returned: in 1882 the Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson visited, in company with Mr. Albert Spicer, the

Society's stations in India, whence he went on to China and South Africa. In 1887 and 1888 Mr. Spicer, with the Rev. Joseph King, visited Samoa. In 1883 Mr. Alexander Hubbard visited the West Indies, accompanied by the Rev. Philip Colborne, who went as the representative of the Congregational Union. In 1888 Mr. Thompson visited Hankey, and in 1892 Phalapye. In 1897 Mr. Thompson, with W. Crosfield, Esq., visited New Guinea and the South Sea Missions; and with Mr. Evan Spicer as his colleague visited Madagascar. The results of visits like these are often of the highest possible value in enabling the Directors justly to appreciate and rightly to decide perplexing and difficult questions of policy and action, concerning which they constitute the ultimate appeal.

Among the new regulations affecting the missionaries in the field, and intended to consolidate and to harmonize the work of the various districts, introduced in 1870, was this: 'At intervals of ten years the Annual Reports, whether of Committees or of individual missionaries, should contain a general review of the progress made in the Society's missions during the ten years preceding.' This regulation has been of great service to those who wish to study missionary methods and operations on a large scale. It enables both the general reader and the student to appreciate the condition of affairs over the whole field of operations of the Society at a given time. A digest of the first of these decennial reviews is given in the Annual Report for 1881, and is a document of great value. We extract here a few paragraphs from it:—

'It would be idle to deny that the adoption of such a complete system of rules has been distasteful to some of those who have had to work under them. The difficulty of carrying on work in accordance with rules laid down for general guidance is far greater to some men than to others. And it cannot be wondered at, therefore, if some complain of, and perhaps go so far as to withdraw from, a system which does not permit them to have all the freedom they desire in carrying out their own methods of work. Possibly

some of the losses the Society has sustained during the past decade in the ranks of its workers are to be attributed mainly to this feeling. But such objections are the exception, and not the rule. The missionaries as a whole have accepted the new arrangements loyally, have worked under them most heartily, and appear to find the system sound and helpful.'

'In 1871 there were 160 European missionaries in the field. Of this number, twenty-five have since died, and forty-nine have withdrawn from missionary work in connection with the Society. During the decade, seventy have been sent forth to various fields, and, of these, *eight* have been removed by death and *nine* have already withdrawn from the work. Of the fifty-eight who, though still alive, no longer appear on the list of our missionaries, nineteen have retired to enjoy much-needed and well-deserved rest, after long periods of faithful labour; six are still carrying on their work, though no longer dependent on the funds of the Society; three have special connection with mission-work in this country; one has completed the special work for which he went abroad; one has joined another Missionary Society; and the remaining twenty-eight have withdrawn from the mission-field altogether, and have settled in this country or the colonies—all of them being men in the prime of life. The causes which have produced the withdrawal of so large a number from the ranks have been, in most cases, quite sufficient to justify their action. Failure of health, either of the missionary or his wife, is a thing to be deplored, but which cannot be complained of. And it is difficult to blame those who feel that their parental responsibility requires them to be where they can personally superintend their children's training. But none the less do the Directors feel that the loss of so many comparatively young missionaries is to be deeply regretted.

'The result of the heavy losses of the past ten years has been to reduce the staff of European missionaries from 160 to 139. When it is remembered that in 1867 the number was 175, the reduction will be seen to have been very great

R. Wardlaw Thompson
(Foreign Secretary)

1895

Albert Spicer
(Treasurer)

A. N. Johnson
(Home Secretary)

George Cousins
(Editorial Secretary)

and continuous for some time. It would be a mistake to infer that this has necessitated a corresponding contraction of the Society's sphere of labour. Fortunately, this has not been the case, though the Directors feel that some parts of the field are at present much more slenderly supplied with workers than is at all expedient. But the principles of self-support have become so well understood, and have been so loyally carried out of late in many of our older stations, that the Society has been relieved entirely of the burden of supporting the ministers of these churches. During the past decade, ten churches in South Africa and eleven in the West Indies have thus become entirely independent of the Society's aid. To this extent, therefore, the reduction in the number of missionaries has been an evidence of Christian progress among those who have received the Gospel at their hands, and this result is a cause for thanksgiving.

'It is extremely satisfactory to find that there has been during the whole of the period now under review a steady and marked increase in the number of native workers in connection with our missions. Comparing 1870 with 1880 the results are as follows:—

	Native Ordained Pastors.		Native Preachers.	
	1870.	1880.	1870.	1880.
China	3	8	45	54
India	28	30	296	239
Madagascar	20	60	935	3,907
Africa	1	—	93	18
West Indies . . .	3	—	20	—
South Seas . . .	51	273	255	311
Totals	106	371	1,644	4,529

'The condition of our Indian Missions alone, it must be admitted, is, in this respect, disappointing. Instead of that progress which might reasonably have been expected, there seems to be a tendency to retrogression. And the missionaries say that, as the older evangelists and pastors die, it becomes difficult to obtain young men to fill their places. Various reasons have been assigned as the explanation of this state of things. One of the most serious

difficulties in the way of such provision of late years has been the great expense involved in the maintenance of efficient training institutions. If the Society is to provide such training as shall fit men to be missionaries or ministers in India, it must be of such a quality as shall enable them to take their place without difficulty among the ever-increasing number of their countrymen who are being educated in Government schools and colleges. This involves an expenditure which was altogether beyond our means, so long as special efforts were required to meet the exceptional needs of Madagascar and Central Africa. It is evident, however, that it cannot be much longer delayed without imperilling our position in some parts of India. We *must* provide a suitably educated native ministry for the churches which have been gathered from heathenism by the labours of our missionaries, unless we are content to see the result of those labours gathered by other Missionary Societies, or dissipated again through neglect of proper care. And, if we would reach the teeming population of the great Indian plains, we must be prepared to use a much larger number of native evangelists and missionaries, who will also require to be trained for their work.'

During the past ten years a new and special effort has been made to provide female missionaries for work among the women and children in various parts of the mission-field; and especially to meet the needs of those countries in which, by social custom, women have been specially secluded from the world, and have thus been prevented from hearing the glad tidings of salvation. Fourteen ladies have been sent out since 1876, of whom eleven are still engaged in the work, two being in Madagascar, three in China and six in India.

The next few years were a period of financial stress and difficulty throughout Great Britain, and for a time even missionary enthusiasm seemed to wane. This led to much further trenchant criticism of methods and means, and this in turn resulted in further administrative developments. The Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, who during

1880 had been appointed to succeed Dr. Mullens, entered upon his new duties Jan. 1, 1881. The next few years saw a constant growth of work and of opportunity, and at the same time an income not at all expansive in proportion to the steadily increasing demands upon it. The result was a chronic and very large deficit. The burden and anxiety of this state of affairs led to an accentuation of two very diverse views of duty within the Board. One section held that the Board was simply an executive, that it could and should deal only with such funds as the churches and subscribers placed in its hands, and that it ought seldom or never to open new work, or to continue to carry burdens unless it clearly saw its way to making both ends meet financially. The other section held that, while the Board was mainly an executive and administrative body, and that while it ought most scrupulously and carefully and economically to expend the moneys entrusted to it, the churches were entitled to look to it for guidance and inspiration; and that at critical seasons, like the years 1884 to 1890. the churches might reasonably expect it to take the initiative boldly with regard to the development of work abroad, and also to the dissemination of information and the raising of funds at home. They believed that business capacity, economy, and prudence were all of the first importance; but they believed also that faith in God's promises entitled them both to take risks and to assume responsibilities when His own guidance appeared definite and clear.

The discussions resulting from this state of opinion at head quarters made the last ten years of the century among the most remarkable in the home administration. It was during this period that the deputations already referred to visited India, China, South Africa, the West Indies, and Samoa. In 1883 the Rev. George Cousins was appointed to the great task of endeavouring to arouse the London churches to an adequate discharge of their responsibilities towards the Society's work. In 1885 the Rev. W. J. Wilkins was appointed Deputation Agent for

the North of England, and in 1887 Dr. Macfarlane for the Midlands. In December, 1886, the Young Men's Missionary Band was founded in London, to increase the knowledge and to strengthen the zeal of the youth of the churches in missionary work, and to enlist some of them in active foreign service.

Notwithstanding all this energy in the home administration, the adverse balance, year by year, remained persistent. In January, 1889, as the result of searching examination by a strong committee of the Board, considerable changes were introduced into some departments. Investigation showed that while the cost of administration had increased from £8,000 to £11,500 per annum, and the cost of the foreign work from £85,000 to £92,000 per annum, the total income for general purposes during 1879 to 1889 had been practically stationary, and that there was a persistent deficit of £10,000 a year. Close scrutiny, however, revealed only two departments in which any economy worth consideration could be secured, save at the cost of crippling useful work. The Society's literature, which in 1880 had cost £2,671 over and above any returns it brought in, cost in 1887–1888 £4,532. A large part of this increase was due to the *free* circulation among the Society's constituents of the *Chronicle*. This plan had been adopted seven years before in the hope of arresting the attention of a wider number, and hence securing increased support for the work. This result not having been obtained, the Board decided in future to send the *Chronicle* free only to ministers who were in the pastorate of churches. By this means about £1,000 a year was saved.

With regard to the foreign work, the increased facilities for the speed, comfort, and safety of passengers led the Board to resolve 'that, except in cases of absolute necessity, the Directors will in future provide for the transport of missionaries to and from their fields of labour on all main lines of ocean route as second-class passengers.' This regulation has resulted in a net annual saving to the Society of about £1,200. It was also cordially accepted by those

most closely concerned. Among the other suggestions were—(1) Retiring from some of the fields of labour; (2) reducing salaries and allowances all over the field by a fixed percentage; (3) obtaining from the missionaries and native churches voluntary assistance in the way of contributions to the funds.

The first and second of these were never acted upon. The only withdrawals from any considerable fields have been from the Society and Loyalty Islands, and in both cases from other than financial reasons. Although to the third there was a prompt and ready response in a noble spirit of self-sacrifice from many workers, it was felt to be laying altogether too heavy a burden upon those already weighted with as much as they could carry.

It still being needful either to raise a further £12,000 a year, or to retire from some of the costly and important fields, the committees concerned addressed themselves to the uncongenial task of indicating where, if retrenchment *must* be made, it might be made to the best advantage. The fields selected were the Loyalty Islands; the Betsilèo district of Madagascar; Matabeleland and Central Africa; Chung King, China; Berhampur, Mirzapur, Almora, Ranee Khet, North India; and Vizianagram and Vizagapatam, South India. Happily, up to 1897 the only place on this list where the Society ceased work was the Loyalty Islands, and that entirely because of French influence.

So deeply stirred was the anxiety of the Society's friends and supporters by its difficulties, that in 1890 a strong committee, composed for the most part of leading ministers and laymen not on the Board, reviewed afresh the whole field of its home and foreign work. Their report, dated June 1, 1890, led to some highly important changes, affecting both the constitution and the administration of the Board. The committee could make no recommendation on the education of missionary students. They were strongly opposed to the plan of sending out *celibate* missionaries; and they as strongly approved of the sending out of *lay evangelists*. They carefully considered the

question of education in India, and while not prepared to recommend the discontinuance of this work, emphasized the need for strengthening wherever possible the Christian character of the instruction given, and the employment of Christian teachers.

This committee next turned their attention to the all-important matter of finance. After a close survey of all departments, their testimony was summed up thus: 'With regard to the expenditure in general, their investigation has convinced the committee that it has been wise, and in the best sense economical. The increased out-goings, and consequent financial pressure, have been the result, not of waste, but of the success which God has granted to our work. The committee confidently trust that the churches will cheerfully respond to the larger calls made on them, not by the Society, but by the Master whose we are, and whom we serve.' The rest of the report dealt with plans for securing deeper and more wide-spread concern for the work in the churches.

During 1890 the Board very carefully considered the matters thus influentially brought under their attention, and in consequence a complete reorganization of that body took place. The number of Directors in future was limited to three hundred, but *ladies became eligible* for membership. A strenuous effort was made to secure that the great majority of the three hundred chosen should be genuine representatives of churches or groups of churches. For this purpose the following bodies were invited each to appoint annually one Director: The Congregational Unions of England and Wales, London, Scotland, and Ireland; the Union of Welsh Independents; each County Congregational Union of England and Wales; the English Congregational Union of North Wales, and the Evangelical Union of Scotland; the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, Free Church of Scotland, Presbyterian Church of Ireland, and the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church. The churches and auxiliaries beyond 'Larger London' were to nominate annually 'in such pro-

portions as shall be determined by the Directors from time to time.' The churches in 'Larger London' contributing to the Society to nominate forty-five. And to secure 'continuity in the work of the Board,' that body annually nominates seventy-five Directors, of whom not more than thirty shall be resident within 'Larger London.'

The Standing Committees of the Board are selected from fifty London and fifty provincial Directors, consisting as far as possible of equal numbers of lay and ministerial members, and the ladies chosen into the hundred constitute the Ladies' Committee. The Standing Committees are seven in number: Funds and Agency, Examination of Female Candidates, Examination of Male Candidates, Finance, Southern Committee (Africa, Madagascar, and South Seas), Eastern Committee (India and China), and Committee for Literature and Records.

Side by side with this reconstruction of the Board there had been deepening in those circles already interested in missions a sense of dependence upon God, a spirit of fervent prayer, a strong desire more adequately to grapple with the sorrows and needs of heathendom, and a keener relish for all good missionary literature. The outcome of this development was that deepening of the missionary religious life and interest among the Congregational churches which has since been known as 'The Forward Movement.' It is popularly supposed that this began with the publication of a letter and of an appeal signed by four prominent Congregational ministers. In reality it was part of a much larger movement than the work of any one Society. The Church Missionary Society had taken, in 1888, that memorable resolution not to refuse any suitable offer of service on financial grounds, which has nearly doubled both their staff and their income in the last eight years. The Baptist Missionary Society was approaching its centenary, and putting forth increased energy and realizing deeper blessing. These great movements acted and reacted upon circles beyond their own, and the Forward Movement was the natural and almost

necessary outcome of the searching inquiry into the condition and the management of the Society carried on from 1886 to 1890. The letter referred to above was but the occasion for taking definite steps to develop action and movements which had begun long before.

A very noteworthy feature of the last quarter of the nineteenth century has been this wide-spread revival of interest in missionary work. It has become manifest in many ways: Contributions have largely increased, missionary literature has enormously developed, and it has become in many cases profitable to publish good and authentic missionary books. The ever-deepening conviction is being more and more borne in upon Christians all over the world that only feeble and intermittent attempts have yet been made to carry out the Master's last and great commandment.

The Second Decennial Review, published in 1891, by the facts which it brought to light, contributed its quota of influence to the rising tide of feeling and enthusiasm. During the ten years the income for General Purposes, which in 1881 had been £65,996, in 1890 was £76,155, and yet so pressing were the claims that could not be resisted that 1890 closed with an adverse balance of £14,597. During the decade the foreign staff had increased by forty-four, twenty-four of whom were ladies. Medical missionaries had increased from six in 1880 to fourteen in 1890. Notwithstanding this progress, although in 1890 there were twelve more ordained missionaries on the staff than in 1880, there were still actually *ten less* than in 1871. These facts led to great searchings of heart, and many were the suggestions urged upon the Board, all intended to fill up rapidly the only too obvious gaps in the ranks of the workers. The Directors again very carefully scrutinized the education of their students, but their decision was that, so far as they could judge, the methods followed hitherto should be adhered to. Lay evangelists and artisan missionaries they were only too thankful to accept when suitable, and to employ where

useful work could be found for them. But with regard to the rank and file of ordained missionaries, the Board declined to sanction the least departure from their requirement that their students should enjoy the best collegiate training which the Board could secure, and that they should show evidence before going out of their having been able to profit by such opportunities.

From the foreign field there came constant encouragement. The Report for 1891 states:—

'Abounding thanks to God, and renewed confidence in God, must be the outcome of this review of the past decade. What anxiety pressed upon the Society at its opening! The staff of workers was reduced, the funds were apparently decreasing. The decade closes with larger contributions than were ever received before, a more numerous staff of workers, a great increase in the number of converts, and responsibilities heavier and more urgent than ever for the people to whom God has permitted the Society to minister. Again and again it has seemed as though the work must be curtailed. Again, and yet again, workers have been wanted, and apparently were not to be found. Yet the men and women have been called by the Master, and have come forward just when He needed them, and the funds have been forthcoming in the successive seasons of emergency.

'Surely He who has thus continually provided is teaching His servants by the experience of these years that He will never fail. More emphatically, more imperatively, more heart-searchingly comes the claim of service. The more thoroughly the heathen world is known the more deep and urgent do its spiritual needs appear. We are distressed perpetually by the utter inadequacy of our means and the slowness of our friends to come to our aid. But the Master says as of old, "Give ye them to eat." If we have but the faith which will bring to Him our few barley loaves, our eyes shall see, as His Church has so often seen before, the wonders of that power with which He is able to meet all our need. The Society enters upon the decade which will

see its centenary stronger in resources, richer in experience, with greater promise of blessing than in all its past history. And it has as its Leader and Lord One who has never failed, nor been discouraged. Asking His servants, through the mute appeal of the hungering multitudes, "Whence are we to buy bread that these may eat?" our eyes turn to Him, our hands bring their meagre resources to His feet. He Himself knows what He will do.'

The annual meetings in May, 1891, were characterized by unusual prayerfulness, expectancy, and consecration. The attempt to link the London churches into a more effective whole had been made by the establishment of the Metropolitan Auxiliary Council. At the Board Meeting held on Tuesday, June 23, 1891, the Eastern Committee laid before the Directors a statement of the most pressing needs and most important developments of work in India and China, requesting instructions as to what expenditure they might incur in the way of increasing the staff and the number of mission stations. The Foreign Secretary, the Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, met this request by a now famous motion:—

'That it is desirable that the Society should, notwithstanding the adverse balance with which the year closed, at once proceed to provide for the pressing needs which have already been recognized by the Board; and should further, without hesitation, enter upon the enlarged openings for work presented in connection with several of the great mission-fields in which the Society is labouring. And that an attempt be made to add one hundred additional missionaries to the Society's staff before the Society's Centenary is celebrated in 1895.'

This notice of motion deeply stirred the whole constituency of the Society. A special meeting of the Board was held on Monday, July 6, 1891, and after an animated discussion Mr. Thompson's resolution was carried. The decision was not unanimous. A few old and valued friends felt so strongly on the matter as to be constrained to relinquish further service on the Board. But the vast

majority cordially adopted the resolution, and, so far as the present imperfect methods of representation allow, the representatives of the churches throughout the country cordially accepted it.

In the light of the extraordinary outburst of enthusiasm which followed the adoption of this resolution, the very large amount of financial support which it at first received, the number of workers it added to the staff, the partial check it sustained, even in the centenary year itself, and the keen criticisms in some quarters of the action taken by the Directors, it may be well to put on permanent record what actually was said and done officially with regard to this new departure. The following is the official account issued immediately after the decision:—

'The resolution of the Directors to add within the next *four* years *one hundred* missionaries, male and female, to the existing staff of the Society's agents, is the most important step which has been taken by the Board for many years. It means, if successfully carried out, the *increase of the staff from* 200 *to* 300—i. e. the addition of fully half as many again as are now at work. It involves an increase in the Society's expenditure of not less than £25,000 per annum, and it pledges the Society to a policy of large extension, in the face of the experience that the annual income is not yet sufficient, even with the aid of legacies and occasional special efforts, to meet the liabilities.

'The principle whose recognition has brought the Directors to their present decision is simply this—*if God gives work, God is prepared to give power to do it*; obedient faith will act in expectation of such provision. The work in which the Society is engaged is no mere human enterprise, taken up by the Directors in the legitimate exercise of their own energy for their own advantage, and dependent on their own personal resources. Neither is it an enterprise of the churches for the attainment of some human purpose, however laudable, and whose capital consists of the amount contributed to its funds by a body of subscribers. It is the work of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is a commission laid

upon the Society by Him. It relates to that supreme object of His Incarnation and Passion, the Salvation of the World. The *resources* available for the work are *all the treasures of Christ*, not simply so much of those resources of Christ as the Church has hitherto parted with, but all the resources in money and talent and heart which Christ, the King of the Church, has the right to control. Those to whom Christ entrusts a commission in His work have a right to go to Him for the means to do it, and are expected to undertake all the responsibilities connected with it, in the assurance that He will provide all needful means for meeting those responsibilities. There can be no failure in His power; there will be no failure in His response, if His servants do not fail to draw upon His word of promise.

'This is no new principle in the history of the Society; it is no strange doctrine in the teaching of the Church. Yet there has been a danger of waiting for the response of the churches before proceeding to meet the demands of the work, instead of confidently meeting the needs of the work in the belief that Christ will command the heart and the purse of His Church. The Society has been in danger of walking by sight instead of by faith. The Directors have now been led by their Lord, through the pressure of the needs of the great mission-field, to reaffirm their belief that it is their duty to go forward to meet those needs, expecting that workers and funds will be given them by Him.

'A careful consideration of the present and immediately prospective needs of these mission-fields has resulted in the conviction that *one hundred additional European workers are required.* The Directors, therefore, propose to send out this number, if the Lord calls out true-hearted and suitable men and women who are prepared to go out at His bidding.

'It is evident that the realization of this resolution can only be obtained as the result of an awakening of the spirit of stewardship, of consecration, and of Christ-like love for the sinful and the degraded, which will stir the hearts of the supporters of the Society as a new life from God. Is not such an awakening needed? Is it not longed for by many?

Is there not in every direction a sense of dissatisfaction with the present spiritual state, and a painful sense of lack of spiritual power? When the people of God are willing to surrender themselves to God and God's service, God's blessing of spiritual life and power and gladness will be poured out on them. The churches that give themselves to the world's salvation will be saved and blessed.'

The issue of this circular helped to arouse still further the faith and zeal of the churches; the memorable meetings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales at Southport in October, 1891, fanned the flame; the institution of a 'Self-denial Week' made it a matter of prayer and Christian self-sacrifice in a multitude of homes.

The most remarkable feature connected with the Forward Movement was the spirit of earnest prayer out of which it sprang and in which it was undertaken. The Society in 1795 was cradled in prayer; and in 1891 and 1892, when taking the greatest stride forward it has yet made, the same spirit of fervent, continuous prayer was most evident. To sustain and to develop this spirit in all the churches connected with the Society, the Prayer Union, called by the now widely known name of the Watchers' Band, was formed in 1892. As in the case of many other spiritual movements that have grown to be great powers it is not easy to trace the origin of this movement. Towards the close of 1891 the Rev. Stanley Rogers, of Liverpool, drew up, in the first instance for the use of his own people, a 'Missionary Prayer Union Calendar.' In the Preface he says, 'Let those who are of one mind and one accord in desiring the progress of Christ's kingdom form themselves into a Prayer Union, first, to deal with the work of missions in a direct and definite manner; secondly, to bring the missionaries by name before God; thirdly, to record answers in order to further stimulate to prayer.' The subject of a Prayer Union had also been occupying the thoughts of the Mission House authorities. They partly took over and adapted to their needs Mr. Roger's Calendar, and in the course of 1892 steps were taken to

form a Prayer Union. It was found that many had been longing for an association of this kind. The blessing attending the Gleaners' Union of the Church Missionary Society had been noted by them. A scheme was drawn up, and formally adopted by the Board on February 23, 1892, naming the new union 'The Watchers' Band,' arranging for the organization of a Central Union and of Branch Unions, and appointing Miss Hebditch, a lady who had been very active in all the preliminary steps, honorary secretary. The following pledge was taken by all the members: 'Recognizing that I am called to fellowship with Christ in making known His Gospel to all the world, I will endeavour to pray each week for the work of the London Missionary Society, and, as far as lies in my power, to further its interests.' Since its foundation the growth of the Watchers' Band has been very rapid. Miss Hebditch became the wife of Mr. J. E. Liddiard, a gentleman who had visited many of the foreign stations of the Society, and who was able to give largely of his time and labour to the interests of the Society. Mr. Liddiard became honorary secretary of the Watchers' Band in 1893,[1] and at the close of the Society's year, March 31, 1895, the membership of the Union, apart from the branches in the colonies and mission-fields, amounted to 18,000.

As a result of all this movement and effort, the hearts of the Directors in April, 1892, were cheered by a balance-sheet showing far the largest income ever raised in one year for the Society's work. The moneys received amounted in all to £148,620, of which the General Purposes Account showed £104.422. The adverse balance at the close of 1891 had been reduced by the sale of investments to £7,600. £15,000 additional were required to pay the Society's way. £4,000 more were necessary fully to meet all calls. So full was the treasury that the £19,000 was paid, the debt swept away, and a balance in hand of £9.544 was carried forward to 1893. The very success of the new

[1] He resigned his seat on the Board in 1897.

development tended in some measure to check it. Nothing is harder in the practical conduct of religious work than to *permanently* increase annual income; *nothing* is so certain to diminish it as a balance in hand.

For a time all went well. Offers of service flowed in after the generous gifts which filled the treasury, and by 1895, the century year, no less than *sixty-seven* of the one hundred additional workers had been sent forth. But even in 1893 there were signs of difficulty in store. The year commenced with a balance of £9,500 in hand; it closed with a deficit of £5,197. At the close of the next year, 1894, this deficit amounted to no less than £28,902. This was due to several causes. In the first place, the cost of the great extension of work had been seriously under-estimated. Instead of adding £25,000 to the annual expenditure, it was found that the hundred additional workers involved an outlay of £40,000. Then the larger gifts of 1891 and 1892 were not, in many cases, repeated. The friends of the Society often failed to note that *annual subscriptions* and *not* donations were what the work required. Further, the law of action and reaction appears to hold in the spiritual no less than in the material world, and the great onward wave of 1891 and 1892 was succeeded by something very like spiritual retrogression during 1893 and 1894. The constant presence, not only on the Board, but also in many circles of the Society's constituents, of those who held firmly to the rigid 'business' view of missionary finance and method told strongly and adversely the moment the first enthusiasm began to wane. The consequence of this state of affairs was that during 1894 the financial strain once again became very severe. The accounts for the year ending March 31, 1894, were further complicated by the outlay of £17,000 for the construction of the new steamer, the fourth John Williams. At this date the adverse balance was no less a sum than £33,000. In consequence of this it was resolved to open at once the Centenary Fund, intended to raise the annual income for General Purposes to *at least* £125,000, and in addition,

as a thank-offering to God for the marvellous blessings vouchsafed by Him to the Society during the century, the sum of *one hundred thousand pounds*. This sum it was resolved to devote partly to the extinction of debt, and partly to the provision of the needful buildings and equipment essential to the adequate performance of the work in many parts of the foreign field. By the close of the centenary year, March 31, 1896, the whole of this sum had been received.

The Board, recognizing the impossibility of continuing the Forward Movement unless more vigorously sustained by the faith, zeal, and liberality of the churches, in July, 1894, suspended all further appointments to work abroad save such as were required to fill gaps made in the ranks of the workers by death or sickness. To this extent the centenary year was over-clouded. But signs of increasing development both in zeal for the work and increased liberality were not wanting, and those who have most closely studied the history of the century believe that when the story of the second hundred years is told it will reveal the same steady progress in results achieved and in ever-growing power for work which have marked the first century.

We have now scanned as closely and completely as the plan of this work allows the home administration of the London Missionary Society during a century's work. We have followed it through infancy and youth to the vigour and power of manhood. The day of apprenticeship is over. The period of preparatory labour has ended. The victories achieved are but the earnest of still greater triumphs to come. It is for succeeding generations, availing themselves wisely of the experience of the past, to make this Society, which God has so richly blessed, ever more and more effective in concentrating the faith and zeal and energy of Christian workers at home, and in reaping ever larger and richer harvests in the great field of heathendom.

APPENDIX I

A Complete List of the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society who have Laboured in India, the West Indies, Ultra-Ganges, China, North and South America, and other Countries.

The list is intended to show the year of arrival of missionaries at each mission-field or station, and the length of service. The *death* of a missionary at his station is indicated by italicized figures in the third column. Figures in parentheses, after a name, indicate other sections of the same main division, and Roman numerals other main divisions, in which the name will also be found.

I.

INDIA.

	Mission Field *Arr.*	*Left.*
(1) North India:		
Chinsurah, Calcutta, Benares, Perhampur, Mirzapur, &c.		
Forsyth, Nathanael... ...	1798	*1816*
May, Robert...	1812	*1818*
Keith, James	1816	*1822*
Townley[1], Henry	1816	1822
Pearson, John David ...	1817	*1831*
Harle, John	1817	1821
Hampson, John	1819	*1820*
Trawin, Samuel	1819	*1827*
Gogerly, George (printer, afterwards missionary) ...	1819	1841
Adam, Matthew Thomson ...	1820	1830
Mundy, George (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	1820	*1853*
Ray, Edward	1820	1831
Bankhead, William Hugh ...	1821	*1822*
Brown, Thomas (printer) ...	1822	*1822*
Hill, James	1822	1833
Hill, Micaiah	1822	*1849*
Warden, Joseph Bradley ...	1822	*1826*
Edmonds, John	1824	1826
Piffard, Charles	1825	*1840*
Robertson, James	1826	*1833*
Lacroix, Alphonse François	1827	*1859*
Adam, John...	1828	*1831*
Christie[2], George	1830	1832
Higgs, Thomas Kilpin ...	1830	*1832*
Buyers, William	1831	1863
Dobbin, Orlando Thomas ...	1832	1832
Paterson, James	1832	*1854*
Campbell, John	1833	1846
Mather, A.M., LL.D., Robert Cotton	1833	1873
Shurman, John Adam ...	1833	*1852*

[1] Became a Director of the Society in 1827.
[2] Appointed to South Africa in 1849 (Appendix I, Vol. I).

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
Boaz, LL.D., Thomas ...	1834	1858
Bradbury, James	1837	1870
Lessel, Thomas L. ...	1837	1852
...	1861	1868
Lyon, A.B., William Penman	1837	1839
Morton, William	1837	1845
Rodt, Rudolphe de	1838	*1843*
Kennedy, A.M., James ...	1839	1877
Roer, Ph.D., M.D., J. H. Edward Van	1839	1841
Sommer, Ph.D., M.D., Ferdinand Van	1839	1841
Glen, M.R.C.S., William	1840	1844
	1848	1854
Budden, John Henry ...	1848	1887
Watt, A.M., David Gilkinson	1841	1848
Wollaston, Matthew William	1843	*1851*
Mullens[1], B.A., D.D., Joseph	1844	1865
Parker, John Henry ...	1844	*1858*
Ullman, Julius	1844	1847
Artopé, T.	1845	1854
Droese, C.	1846	1847
Hill, William Henry ...	1848	1860
Storrow, Edward	1848	1866
Buch, Ph.D., Carl	1849	1850
Evans, B.A., Edward Josiah (2)	1852	1856
Hill, Samuel John	1852	*1891*
Sherring, M.A., LL.B., Matthew Atmore	1853	*1880*
Blake, William Moody ...	1858	1870
Jones, William	1858	*1870*
Dick[2], John Crichton ...		
Johnson, B.A., William ...	1859	1889
Payne, James Edward ...	1860	*1886*
Shrewsbury, George ...	1860	1868
Asbury, B.A., S. R. ...	1862	1864
Bright, Frederick J. ...	1862	1864
Hewlett, M.A., John ...	1862	*1892*
Ashton, M.A., John Perkins (2)	1866	
Hutton, David	1866	
Lambert, Joseph Arthur ...	1866	
Naylor, B.A., John	1866	1875
Slater, Thomas Ebenezer (2)	1866	1870
Wilkins, William Joseph ...	1866	1884
Insell, Thomas	1873	
Bullock, George McCallum	1874	
Phillips, William Benjamin	1875	*1896*
Coley, Henry	1877	1889
Strachan, B.A., Alexander...	1877	*1878*
Phillips, B.A., Edward A....	1878	1883
Taylor, B.A., Joseph Field	1879	1888
Greaves, Edwin	1881	
Begg, M.A., Andrew Paton	1884	
Brockway, B.A., William George	1886	
Le Quesne, Winter Richard	1886	
Parker, Arthur	1887	
Oakley, Edward Sherman ...	1888	
Longman, Francis Frederick	1889	
Farquhar, M.A., John Nicol	1890	
Ashton, B.A., M.B., C.M., Robert Johnston (medical)	1891	
Joyce, John Alfred	1892	
Sims, Andrew	1892	
Theobald, Horace Hamby...	1892	
Cutting, William	1893	
Levitt, James	1893	
Young, Arthur Willifer ...	1894	

(1A) Lady Missionaries (North India).

	Arr.	Left.
Heward, Mary Anne ...	1875	1882
Tubbs[3], Edith Annie ...	1875	1876
Linley, Lucy	1878	
Mather[4], Elizabeth... ...	1878	*1879*
McMicking[5], Agnes Hutton	1878	1882
Billing, Sara Elizabeth ...	1881	1889
Blomfield, Emily	1882	1893
Marris, Ada Jane	1882	
Marris, Rose Barrington ...	1882	1887
Fletcher, Mary Edith ...	1884	
Horton, Ellen Hulme (2A)	1885	1889
Sherring, Jessie Margaret ...	1885	1888
Gill, Alice Elizabeth ...	1887	
Robinson, Leila Gertrude ...	1887	
Budden, Mary	1888	
Hewlett, Jessie	1888	
Meachen, Louisa Elizabeth...	1888	
Robinson, Louisa Jane ...	1888	
Waitt, Albania	1888	
Stevens, Ellen (honorary missionary)	1891	
Tuck, Mary Newell... ...	1891	
MacLean[6], Margaret Jane ...	1892	1895

[1] Appointed joint Foreign Secretary of the Society with Dr. Tidman in 1865, and sole Foreign Secretary in 1868. Visited Canada on behalf of the Society in 1870, and Madagascar in 1873. Accompanied reinforcements for Central Africa, and died near Mpwapwa, 1879.

[2] Died on his voyage to India, 1859.

[3] Married, 1876, Rev. T. Insell, of the Mirzapur Mission. Died 1877.

[4] Widow of the Rev. Dr. Mather, of the Mirzapur Mission.

[5] Married, 1883, the Rev. J. F. Taylor, B.A., of the Calcutta Mission.

[6] Married, 1895, the Rev. J. W. Gillies, of the Tuilon Mission.

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
Theobald, Rose Matilda ...	1892	
Cockerton, Mary Jane ...	1893	
Nicholas, M.D. (Brussels), &c., Edith Lucy (medical)	1893	
Spence, B.A., Mary Hodgens	1894	
Webster, Alice Buchan ...	1894	
Stephenson, Annie Elizabeth	1895	

(2) South India:

Madras, Vizagapatam, Bellary, Belgaum, Cuddapah, Salem, Bangalore, Coimbatoor, Gooty, &c.

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
Cran, George	1804	*1809*
Des Granges, Augustus ...	1804	*1810*
Ringeltaube, William Tobias (4)	1804	1806
Loveless, William Charles...	1805	1824
Taylor, M.D., John... ...	1805	1806
Lee, William	1809	1817
Gordon, John	1810	*1828*
Hands, John...	1810	1841
Pritchett[1], Edward... ...	1811	*1820*
Thompson, John	1812	*1812*
Dawson, James	1815	*1832*
Taylor, Joseph	1815	1859?
Knill, Richard ...(4), IV	1816	1818
Mead, Charles ... (4)	1816 1825	1817 1827
Reeve, William	1816	1834
Render, Samuel	1816	1818
Fleming, Robert ... III	1818	1819
Nicholson, Thomas... ...	1819	*1822*
Traveller, Cornelius ...	1819	1823
Forbes, Andrew	1820	1821
Laidler, Stephen	1820	1827
Chambers, Hiram	1821	*1826*
Howell, William	1821	1841
Crisp, Edmund	1822	1848
Massie, James William ...	1823	1827
Nimmo, John Emanuel ...	1823	1857
Campbell, William... ...	1824	1835
Taylor, William	1824	1834
Walton, George	1824	*1841*
Beynon, William	1825	1870
Lillie, Adam	1826	1827
Paine, Bennington Haill (printer)	1826	*1842*
Addis, William Bawn (4)	1830	1861

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
Crisp, Henry	1827	*1831*
Jennings, Robert	1827	*1831*
Smith, John	1828	*1843*
Reid, A.M., John	1830	*1841*
Bilderbeck, John	1832	1841
Drew, William Hoyles ...	1832	*1856*
Welsh, George	1834	*1834*
Campbell, A.M., Colin ...	1835	1875
Gordon, James William ...	1835	1875
Porter, Edward	1835	1868
Regel, J. A....	1836	1843
Rice, Benjamin	1836	*1887*
Shrieves, John	1836	*1857*
Thompson[2], William ...	1836	1848
Turnbull, Gilbert	1836	1838
Bower, Henry	1838	1841
Caldwell, A.B., Robert ...	1838	1841
Dawson, William	1838	*1875*
Lumb, John...	1838	1839
Sewell, James	1838	1864
Johnston, Richard Daniel ...	1839	1878
Lechler, John Michael ...	1839	*1861*
Hay, A.M., D.D., John ...	1840	1882
Leitch, A.M., Alexander ...	1840	1847
Lewis, Ebenezer ... (4)	1840	1846
Porter, William	1840	1855
Wardlaw, A.M., D.D., John Smith	1842	1859
Coles, Joseph Benjamin ...	1844	*1891*
Sugden, B.A., John ...	1845	1852
Addis, Charles James ...	1850	1861
Baylis, Frederick ... (4)	1850	1854
Stanger, J. G.	1850	1855
Sargent, Richard John ...	1851	1861
Thompson, C. E.	1852	1877
Valett, Philip Ludwig Mens	1853	1859
Hall, B.A., George ... II	1854	1876
Kübler, Theodore Gottlieb	1855	1857
Duthie, James ... (4)	1856	1859
Evans, B.A., Edward Josiah (1)	1856	1860
Macartney, John	1857	1863
Jones, Samuel ... (4)	1859	1867
Ashton, M.A., John Perkins (1)	1860	1866
Corbold, Alfred ... (5)	1862	1875
Mabbs, Goodeve ... (4)	1862	1865
Morris, William Edward ...	1862	1869
Phillips, Maurice	1862	
Thomson, Alexander ...	1862	*1862*
Haslam, Thomas	1864	*1869*

[1] Edward Pritchett and Jonathan Couch Brain were appointed to commence a mission in Burmah, and they arrived at Rangoon in 1810. Brain died in a few months, and Pritchett, owing to war, was compelled to leave. He removed to Calcutta in 1811, and thence to Vizagapatam.

[2] In 1849 Mr. Thompson accepted the pastorate of Union Chapel, Cape Town, and was appointed agent of the Society for South African Missions (Appendix I, Vol. I).

	Mission Field Arr.	Left.
Meadowcroft, David ...	1864	1867
Wareham, Edward Allport	1864	1871
Mawbey, L.R.C.P.E., &c., William George ... IV	1865	1876
Hawker, John Giles ...	1866	
Lewis, Edwin	1866	
Whyte, A.M., William ...	1866	*1866*
Gookey, Henry de Vere ...	1867	1875
Organe, Stephen	1867	1871
Smith, James	1867	
Walton, John Hewens ...	1867	
Rice, Henry...	1869	1880
Haines, Thomas	1870	
Joss, Walter...	1870	
Toller, Henry	1870	*1870*
Slater, Thomas Ebenezer (1)	1871	
Le Mare, Ebenezer... ...	1873	1886
Rice, B.A., Edward Peter ...	1873	
Hutchison, B.Sc., Henry Alexander...	1874	1883
Bacon, John Redmond ...	1875	
Midwinter, Edwin	1876	*1877*
Wilkinson, Frederick (4)	1876	1880
	1883	1884
Goffin, Herbert James ...	1877	
Newport, George Oliver (4)	1877	*1894*
Robinson, William... ...	1877	
Stephenson, William Wilton	1877	
Thomas, Morris	1878	
Sibree[1], James	1879	1880
Hooker, B.A., Joseph Newman	1880	*1882*
Gaze, Alfred Richard ...	1881	1886
Dignum, Arthur Abbott ...	1882	
Jones, William Monk ...	1882	1888
Macfarlane, George Hannah	1882	
Richards[2], William Edward	1882	1883
Russell, Frederick Alexander	1883	1885
Campbell, M.A., B.D., William Howard ...	1884	
Long, Sidney Joseph ...	1884	
Lucas, Bernard	1886	
Roberts, John William ...	1886	1890
Knox, John	1888	
Lester, Henry	1888	
Marshall, C a les George ...	1888	
Hawker, B.A., Ebenezer ...	1889	
Marler, Frederick Lionel ...	1889	

	Mission Field Arr.	Left
Lawrence, Willie James .	1890	
Cairns, James (lay evangelist)	1891	
Campbell, M.A., M.B., C M., Thomas Vincent (medical)	1891	
Hickling, Richard Anderson (lay evangelist)	1891	
Hinkley, B.A., William ...	1891	
Ure, John Murray	1891	
Watson, B.A., Edmund William	1892	1895
Porter, Richard Cobden ...	1893	
Ward, Robert John... ...	1893	
Brough, Anthony Watson ...	1894	
Chatterton, Joseph Delves (hon. lay agent) ... (4)	1894	

(2A) Lady Missionaries (South India.)

	Arr.	Left
Anstey, Gertrude	1865	1870
Anstey, Louisa H.	1865	1874
Whyte, Lilly	1867	1871
Bounsall, Lucy Margaret ...	1876	
Brown, Christina	1876	
Geller[3], Emmeline Mary ...	1876	1879
Gordon, Eleanor S.... ...	1879	*1894*
Horton, Ellen Hulme (1A)	1882	1882
Müller, Harriett Lydia ...	1888	
Barclay, Euphemia... ...	1889	
Cox, Lois Ainsley	1889	1891
Crouch, Annie	1891	
Hodges[4], Susannah... ...	1891	1893
Christlieb, Marie L. ...	1892	
Dawson, Isabel Constance...	1892	
Fooks[5], Edyth Emma ...	1892	1894
Gookey, Eva Mary... ...	1892	1895
Haskard, Martha Elizabeth	1892	
Lodge, Margaret Glen ...	1892	
Cuthbert[6], Agnes Stuart ...	1893	1895
Darnton, Ida Fuller ...	1893	
Harband, B.A., Amy Jane...	1893	
Simmons, Agnes Trefaine ...	1893	
German, Elizabeth Ann ...	1895	
Williams, Florence Annie ...	1895	

[1] Mr. Sibree had previously (1863–1867, 1870–1877) served the Society in Madagascar, first as architect and afterwards as missionary. He resumed his work in Madagascar in 1883 (Appendix I, Vol. I).
[2] In 1885 Mr. Richards joined the mission in the Society Islands (Appendix I, Vol. I).
[3] Married, 1879, Rev. Stephen Organe, formerly of the Society's mission at Madras.
[4] Married, 1893, Rev. E. W. Watson, B.A., of the Madras Mission.
[5] Married, 1894, Rev. W. Hinkley, B.A., of the Bellary Mission.
[6] Married, 1895, Rev. G. H. Macfarlane, of the Cuddapah Mission.

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
(3) Ceylon.		
Ehrhardt, Johann Peter Matthias	1805	1812
Palm, John David	1805	1812
Read, William	1805	?
Vos, M. C.	1805	1807
(4) Travancore:		
Nagercoil, Quilon, Neyoor, Trevandrum, Pareychaley, Vakkam, &c.		
Ringeltaube, William Tobias (2)	1806	1816
Mead, Charles ... (2)	1817 1827	1825 1851
Knill, Richard... (2), IV	1818	1819
Ashton, George Harvey ...	1819	*1861*
Mault, Charles	1819	1854
Smith, John...	1820	1824
Crow, William	1823	1825
Addis, William Bawn (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary) ... (2)	1827	1830
Miller, William	1827	*1838*
Thompson, James Charles...	1827	*1850*
Harris, A.M., William ...	1831	1832
Miller, Charles	1833	*1841*
Abbs, John	1838	1859
Cox, John	1838	1861
Pattison, James T.	1838	1844
Ramsay, Archibald (medical)	1838	1842
Russell, James	1838	1860
Whitehouse[1], John Owen ...	1842	1857
Lewis, Ebenezer ... (2)	1846	1862
Leitch, M.R.C.S.E., Charles Calder (medical)... ...	1851	*1854*
Baylis, Frederick ... (2)	1854	*1877*
Dennis, John Joll	1856	*1864*
Duthie, James ... (2)	1859	
Mateer, Samuel	1859	1891
Wilkinson, Frederick (2)	1860 1881	1876 1883
Gannaway, James Frank ...	1861	1864
Lowe, L.R.C.S.E., John (medical)	1861	1868
Newport, George Oliver (2)	1863	1877
Lee, William	1865	1884
Mabbs, Goodeve ... (2)	1865	1867
Emlyn (Jones), James ...	1868	1892
Jones, Samuel ... (2)	1871	1877
Thomson, L.R.C.P.E., &c., Thomas Smith (medical)	1873	*1884*
Hacker, Isaac Henry ...	1878	
Knowles, Joshua	1880	
Allan, Alexander Laing ...	1884	
Fry, M.B., C.M., Edwin Sargood (medical) ...	1886	1893
Thompson, Alfred	1888	1891
Dennison, John Everington	1892	
Gillies, James Wardrop ...	1892	
Wills, M.A., B.Sc., Harold Temple (hon. lay missionary)	1892	
Chatterton, Joseph Delves (hon. lay agent) ... (2)	1893	1894
Fells, M.B., C.M., Arthur (medical)	1893	
Hewett, Henry (lay evangelist)	1893	
Osborne, William Davey ...	1893	
Bach, Thomas William ...	1894	
(4a) Lady Missionaries (Travancore).		
Baylis[2], Ann Martha	1877 1884	1878
Duthie[3], Annie Lea	1883 1891	1888 1892
Derry, Kate...	1892	
MacDonnell, Margaret Eliza	1892	
(5) West India: Surat, Baroda, and Mahikantha.		
Fyvie, William	1815	1847
Skinner, James	1815	*1821*
Donaldson, John	1817	*1818*
Fyvie, Alexander	1822	*1840*
Salmon, Thomas	1825	1833
Clarkson, William	1839	1854
Flower, William	1839	1846
Taylor, A.B., Joseph Van Someren	1846	1856
Corbold, Alfred ... (2)	1851	1860

[1] From 1867 to 1875 Mr. Whitehouse assisted Dr. Mullens in a revision of the system of work in the Foreign Department of the Society, and for various periods between 1870 and 1884 undertook the duties of Foreign Secretary, first in the absence of Dr. Mullens, and afterwards in the absence of the Rev. R. W. Thompson. In 1876 Mr. Whitehouse compiled the 'Register of Missionaries.'

[2] Widow of the Rev. F. Baylis, of the Neyoor Mission. Married Dr. Thomson, of the Neyoor Mission, 1878, and on the death of Dr. Thomson resumed work as agent of the Society.

[3] Married, 1892, the Rev. A. L. Allan, of the Nagercoil Mission.

II.

WEST INDIES.

(1) British Guiana: Demerara and Berbice.

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
Wray, John	1808	*1837*
Davies, John	1809	*1827*
Elliott, Richard ... (2)	1814	1824
Kempton, John	1814	1815
Smith, John	1817	*1824*
Mercer, James ... (3)	1818	1822
Ketley, Joseph	1828	1838
Lewis, Michael	1830	*1832*
Scott, James...	1831	1867
Howe, James	1833	*1837*
Mirams, James	1833	1836
Haywood, Samuel	1834	1850
Rattray, Charles	1834	1871
Ross, John	1834	1835
Watt, Charles Davidson ...	1834	1844
Kenyon, Daniel	1835	*1851*
Taylor[1], Robert Barry ...	1835	1839
Forward, Giles	1836	1840
Murkland, Sidney Smith ...	1836	1846
Parish, William (schoolmaster)	1837	*1837*
Edwards, John	1838	1839
Henderson, Thomas (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained)	1838	*1870*
Morris, John (schoolmaster)	1838	1843
Seaborn, Hugh Sanderson	1838	1839
Davies, Ebenezer	1840	1848
Roome, James (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary) ...	1840	1866
Thompson, Richard (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	1840	1842
Waddington, Joseph ...	1840	1847
Giles, James (schoolmaster)	1841	*1842*
Pettigrew, George (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained)	1841	1877
Dalgleish, John ... (4)	1842	1862
	1867	*1884*
Parker, James Laurie (schoolmaster)	1842	1843
Wallbridge, Edwin Angel ...	1842	1874
McKellar, Alexander ...	1843	*1845*
Bowrey, James	1844	1854
Foreman, John (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained)	1846	*1888*
Hughes, John Henry ...	1848	1853
Kent, William	1848	1850
Ingram, Henry Brown ...	1853	1857
Ricards, Robert	1859	1866
Rain, Thomas	1861	1863
Warder, William	1862	1872
Carter, Thomas	1863	1864
Johnson, Alfred William ...	1864	1866
Cooper, Joseph Jeremiah ...	1865	1866
Munro, James Wright ...	1865	1871
Green[2], James Lampard ...	1889	1894

(2) Tobago.

	Arr.	Left.
Elliott, Richard ... (1)	1808	1814
Purkis, Isaac...	1809	1810

(3) Trinidad.

	Arr.	Left.
Adam, Thomas	1809	1820
Mercer, James ... (1)	1818	1818
	1822	1825
Dexter, Thomas	1823	*1823*

(4) Jamaica.

	Arr.	Left.
Alloway, William	1834	*1877*
Barrett, William Garland ...	1834	1848
Hodge, Matthew	1834	1837
Slatyer, William	1834	1850
Vine, John	1834	1844
Wooldridge, John	1834	*1840*
Brainsford, Charles... ...	1836	1836
Brown, Hugh (schoolmaster)	1836	*1837*
Howell, James (schoolmaster)	1836	1840
Russell, Henry (schoolmaster)	1836	*1839*
Franklin, Benjamin... ...	1838	1847
Gibson, John (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained) ...	1838	1849
Hillyer, William (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	1838	1844
	1853	*1866*
Jones, Robert	1838	1849
Okell, William (schoolmaster)	1838	1840
Milne, A.M., William (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained)	1839	1849
Clark, Thomas Henry ...	1840	1883
Dickson, Robert	1840	1848
Hodges, Samuel (schoolmaster)	1840	1843

[1] Appointed to South Africa in 1841 (Appendix I, Vol. I).
[2] Stationed in the Society Islands from 1861 to 1886 (Appendix I, Vol. I).

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
Holland, Edward	1840	1852
Milne, James (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained) ...	1840	*1873*
Shelden, David (schoolmaster)	1840	1841
Wilkinson, George	1840	1848
Wheeler, Frederick Walter	1841	*1852*
Lillie, Peter Jeffrey (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained)	1842 1849	1845 *1853*
Andrews, Josiah	1848	1854
Gardner, William James ...	1850	*1874*
Hall, B.A., George... I	1851	1853
Beardslee, J. O.	1853	1855
Fletcher, Duncan	1856	1862
Joyce, Alfred	1862	1875
Dalgleish, John ... (1)	1863	1867
Williamson[1], Henry C. ...	1863	1865
Bailey, George	1870	1875
Lea[2], George Henry ...	1889	1893

III.

ULTRA-GANGES.

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
(1) Java.		
Bruckner, Gottlob	1814	1816
Kam, Joseph	1814	1828
Milne[3], D.D., William (2) IV	1814	1814
Supper, John Christopher ...	1814	*1816*
Slater, John... ... (2)	1819	1823
Medhurst, D.D., Walter Henry ... (2), (3), IV	1822	1843
Young, William ...(4), IV	1828	1843
(2) Malacca.		
Milne, D.D., William (1), IV	1815	*1822*
Thomsen, Claudius Henry (4)	1815	1822
Medhurst, D.D., Walter Henry (printer, afterwards ordained) ... (1), (3), IV	1817	1820
Slater, John ... ... (1)	1817	1819
Beighton, Thomas ... (3)	1818	1819
Ince, John ... ... (3)	1818	1819
Milton, Samuel ... (4)	1818	1819
Fleming, Robert ... I	1820	1821
Huttman, George Henry (printer)	1820	1824
Humphreys, James	1821	1829
Collie, David	1822	*1828*
Kidd, Samuel	1824	1832
Smith, A.M., John ... (4)	1826 1828	1827 1830
Hughes, Josiah	1830	1836
Tomlin, B.A., Jacob (4)	1828	1828
Evans, John...	1833	*1840*
Dyer, Samuel ... (3), (4)	1835	1839
Werth, Heinrich Christian...	1839	1841
Legge, A.M., D.D., LL.D., James IV	1840	1843
(2 a) Lady Missionary.		
Newell, Maria	1827	1829
(3) Penang.		
Beighton, Thomas ... (2)	1819	*1844*
Ince, John ... ... (2)	1819	*1825*
Medhurst[4], D.D., Walter Henry ... (1), (2), IV	1820	1821
Dyer, Samuel ...(2), (4)	1827	1835
Davies, Evan	1835	1839
Stronach, Alexander (4), IV	1839	1844
(4) Singapore.		
Milton, Samuel ... (2)	1819	1825
Thomsen, Claudius Henry (2)	1822	1834
Smith, A.M., John ... (2)	1827	1828
Tomlin, B.A., Jacob (2)	1827 1829	1828 1832
Wolfe, Samuel	1835	*1837*
Stronach, Alexander (3), IV	1838 1844	1839 1846
Stronach, John ... IV	1838	1844
Keasberry, Benjamin Peach	1839	1847
Dyer, Samuel ...(2), (3)	1842	*1843*
Young, William ...(1), IV	1843	1844

[1] Appointed to Dysselsdorp, South Africa, in 1866 (Appendix I, Vol. I).

[2] Attached to the Central African Mission, 1886–7 (Appendix I, Vol. I).

[3] Arrived at Macao in 1813. Compelled to leave China, he made a tour of five months in Java, and returned to Macao. He left Canton in 1815 to commence the Malacca Mission.

[4] Dr. Medhurst spent a short time at Penang in 1819 to make arrangements for starting the mission.

IV.

CHINA.

	Mission Field Arr.	*Mission Field* Left.
(1) SOUTH CHINA:		
Hong Kong, Canton, Amoy, &c.		
Morrison, D.D., F.R.S., Robert	1807	*1834*
Milne[1], D.D., William III	1813	1815
Lockhart, F.R.C.S., William (medical) (2), (3)	1838 1841	1840 1842
Hobson, M.D., Benjamin (medical) ... (2)	1839	1857
Milne, A.M., William Charles (2)	1839	1842
Legge, A.M., D.D., LL.D., James III	1843	1873
Gillespie, William	1844	1850
Stronach, John (2), III	1844 1853	1847 1876
Young, William ... III	1844	1854
Fairbrother[2], William ...	1845	1846
Cleland, John Fullarton ...	1846	1850
Stronach, Alexander III	1846	1869
Hirschberg, M.R.C.S., Henri Julius	1847	1858
Cole, Richard (printer) ...	1848	1852
Gilfillan, Thomas	1848	1851
Hyslop, M.B., James (medical)	1848	1851
Kay, Battinson	1848	1849
Chalmers, A.M., LL.D., John	1852	
Lea, William Knibb ...	1856	1863
Turner, B.A., Frederick Storrs	1859	1872
Carmichael, M.D., J. R. ...	1862	1863
Macgowan, John ... (2)	1863	
Anderson, James	1865	1870
Eitel, Ph.D., Ernst John ...	1865	1879
Sadler, James	1867	
Roach, Nathanael Amos ...	1873	1875
Dukes, Edwin Joshua ...	1874	1877
Edge, John Charles ...	1874	*1886*
Ridges, B.A., Henry Charles	1877	1880
Pearce, Thomas William ...	1879	
Budd, Charles	1881	1885

	Mission Field Arr.	*Mission Field* Left.
Eichler, Ernst Reinhard ...	1881	1889
Palmer[3], L.R.C.S.I., &c., Walter Stephen (medical)	1882	1886
Bondfield, George Henry ...	1883	1894
Ross, Richard Myrtle ...	1885	1894
Fahmy, M.B., C.M., Ahmed (medical)...	1887	
Joseland, Frank Purcell ...	1888	
Thomson, M.A., M.D., John Christopher (medical)	1889 1895	1893 1896
Wilson[4], Mark Henry ...	1891	1892
Burton, M.B., C.M., Thomas John (medical) ... (2)	1892	1894
Williams, George John ...	1892	
Mines, M.A., B.D., Robert Allan	1893	1894
Morris, William John ...	1894	
Stevens, Harry Jabez ...	1894	
Wells, Herbert Richmond ...	1894	
(1A) LADY MISSIONARIES (South China).		
Rowe, Sara Jane	1877	
Jackson[5], Amy	1879	1882
Hope, Isabella Jane ...	1882	1884
Ashburner[6], Lillie Sheldon	1885	1892
Miller, Adela Olive... ...	1885	
Davies, Helen	1888	
Field, Sophia Ellen... ...	1888	1894
Benham, Edith	1890	1893
Stevens, Helen Donald ...	1891	
Carling, Emily Rock ...	1892	
Parslow, Mary Hope ...	1892	
Horne, Alice Mary... ...	1893	
Mines[7], Mary Elizabeth ...	1893	1895
Wells, Ethel Anna	1893	
Sadler, Ellen Eliza Gilbert...	1894	
Stewart, Eliza	1894	
Tribe, M.D., Ethel Newton (medical)	1895	

[1] See note under III (1) Java.
[2] Appointed District Secretary of the Society in 1855, Secretary for Funds in 1860, and joint Home Secretary in 1865. Died 1882.
[3] Attached to the Central African Mission 1880–81 (Appendix I, Vol. I).
[4] Appointed in 1893 to the pastorate of the Kafir Church, Peelton, South Africa.
[5] Married, 1882, the Rev. A. Foster, B.A., of the Hankow Mission.
[6] Married, 1893, the Rev. J. Parker, of the Mongolian Mission.
[7] Married, 1895, Mr. H. R. Wells, of the Canton Mission.

(2) CENTRAL: Shanghai, Hankow, Wuchang, Chung King, &c.	*Mission Field* Arr.	*Left.*
Lockhart, F.R.C.S., William (medical) (1), (3)	1840 1842	1841 1857
Milne, M.A., William Charles (1)	1842	1854
Medhurst, D.D., Walter Henry III	1843	1856
Muirhead, D.D., William ...	1847	
Southwell, B.A., Benjamin...	1847	*1849*
Stronach, John (1), III	1847	1853
Wylie, Alexander	1847	1860
Edkins, B.A., D.D., Joseph (3)	1848	1861
John, D.D., Griffith... ...	1855	
Williamson, A.B., Alexander	1855	1857
Hobson, M.D., Benjamin (medical)... ... (1)	1857	1859
Cowie, Hugh	1859	1861
Dawson, B.A., Robert ...	1860	1861
Henderson, M.D., James (medical)...	1860	1865
Macgowan, John ... (1)	1860	1863
Wilson, B.A., Robert ...	1860	*1863*
Thomas, B.A., Robert Jermain	1863	1864
Wells[1], M.D., William (medical)...		
Gentle, M.D., James (medical)	1865	1866
Bryant, Evan ... (3)	1866 1875	1873 1880
Owen, George ... (3) ...	1866	1872
Bryson, Thomas ... (3)	1867	1883
Shearer, M.D., George ...	1868	1870
Thomas, James ... (3)	1868	1870
Foster, B.A., Arnold	1871 1884	1878
Barrett, B.A., Edwin Relfe .	1873	1878
Mackenzie, M.R.C.S., John Kenneth (medical) (3)	1875	1879
Taylor, B.A., Thomas ...	1878	1881
Mawbey, L.R.C.P.E., &c., William George (medical) I	1879	1883
Owen, William	1879	
Griffiths, Griffith	1881	1882
Bonsey, Arthur	1882	

	Mission Field Arr.	*Left.*
Gillison, M.B., C.M., Thomas (medical)	1882	
Stonehouse, Joseph (3)	1882	1886
Sparham, Charles George ...	1885	
Wilson, John Wallace ...	1886	
Davenport, F.R.C.S., &c., Cecil John (medical) ...	1890	
Box, Ernest	1890	
Rees, B.Sc., John Lambert...	1890	1896
Mackay, M.B., C.M., Alexander Maclean (medical) .	1891	1895
Burton, M.B., C.M., Thomas John (medical) ... (1)	1892	1892
Hart, M.A., D.Sc., Samuel Lavington (lay missionary) (3)	1892	1895
Terrell, William Girdlestone (evangelist missionary) ...	1892	*1896*
Walton, M.B., C.M., Gerald Stockwell (medical) ...	1892	
Hart, James Walford (evangelist missionary) ...	1893	*1894*
Claxton[2], Arthur Edward ...	1895	
Cousins, Arthur Dixon (3)	1895	
(2A) LADY MISSIONARIES (Central China).		
Bear, E.	1876	1881
Browne, Emily Georgiana ...	1887	1892
Gilfillan, Clara Jane ...	1887	1890
Halley, Ethel Mary... ...	1891	
Rea, Alice Jane	1892	1896
Harris[3], L. R. C. P. and S. (Edin.), Elizabeth May (medical)	1892	1893
Harris[4], Mary Walford ...	1892 1894	1894 *1895*
(3) NORTH CHINA: Tien-tsin, Peking, and Mongolia.		
1st Mission to Mongols: Rahmn[5], Cornelius...	1818	1823
Stallybrass, Edward	1818	1840
Knill[6], Richard I		
Swan, William ...	1820	1840
Yuille, Robert ...	1820	1838

[1] Died at sea on the voyage to China, 1864.
[2] Stationed in Samoa from 1885 to 1893 (Appendix I, Vol. I).
[3] Married, 1893, Dr. Gillison, of the Hankow Mission.
[4] Married, 1894, Mr. J. W. Hart, of the Chung King Mission, who died the same year. On the death of her husband Mrs. Hart resumed work, and died in 1895.
[5] From 1823 to 1825 Mr. Rahmn laboured among the Swedes, Germans, and Finlanders of St. Petersburg, and from 1826 to 1834 assisted in the Foreign Department of the Society in London.
[6] Appointed in 1820 to the mission at Selenginsk, Siberia. Arriving at St. Petersburg he remained there until 1833, working among the English residents, and becoming the pastor of an English church.

	Mission Field Arr.	Left.
Edkins, B.A., D.D., Joseph (2)	1861	1880
Lockhart, F.R.C.S., William (1), (2)	1861	1864
Lees, Jonathan	1862	
Dudgeon, M.D., John (medical)	1863	1884
Williamson, James	1863	*1869*
Gilmour, A.M., James (Mongolia)	1870	*1891*
Thomas, James ... (2)	1870	1870
Meech, Samuel Evans	1871	
Barradale, John Smith ...	1873	*1878*
Bryant[1], Evan ... (2)	1873	1875
Owen, George ... (2)	1876	
Mackenzie, M.R.C.S., John Kenneth (medical) (2)	1879	*1888*
King, Alexander	1880	
Rees, William Hopkyn ...	1883	
Bryson, Thomas ... (2)	1885	
Pritchard, M.B., C.M., Edward Thomas (medical) ...	1886	1893
Stonehouse, Joseph (2)	1886	
Macfarlane, L.R.C.S., &c., Sewell Samuel (medical)	1887	
Roberts, M.B., C.M., Frederick Charles (medical) (Mongolia, &c.)	1887	*1894*
Smith, M.B., C.M., George Purves (medical) (Mongolia, &c.)	1888	
Parker, John (Mongolia) ...	1890	
Allardyce, M.A., John Macconnach	1891	
Macfarlane, William Evan (Mongolia)	1891	1894

	Mission Field Arr.	Left.
Cousins, Arthur Dixon (2)	1893	1895
Grant, John Brown (lay evangelist)	1893	
Jenkins, Richard Ceredig (lay evangelist)	1893	
Murray, David Simpson ...	1893	
Curwen, M.A., M.R.C.S., &c., Eliot (medical)	1894	
Bennett, M.R.C.S., &c., James Henry (medical)	1895	1895
Hart, M.A., D.Sc., Samuel Lavington (lay missionary) (2)	1895	
(3A) Lady Missionaries.		
Philip[2], Jessie	1884	1889
Smith, Georgina Louisa ...	1884	
Lance, Elizabeth Hill ...	1885	*1887*
Moreton, Mary Elizabeth Thompson	1886	
Morrison, Maria McDonald	1887	1892
Pearson[3], Annie B.	1887	1894
Winterbotham, Catharine Brand (hon. missionary)	1887	
Roberts, Mary (hon. missionary)	1888	
Goode[4], Edith Marion ...	1890	1892
Goode, Clara Elizabeth (hon. missionary)	1891	
Macey, Mary Louisa ...	1892	
Roberts, Mary Elizabeth ...	1893	
Kerr, Charlotte Maria ...	1894	
Saville, M.D. (Brux.), Lillie Emma Valimeetua (medical)	1895	

V.

MISSIONS BEGUN AND ABANDONED DURING THE CENTURY.

	Mission Field Arr.	Left.
(1) North America.		
Hillyard, John (Newfoundland)	1799	1807
Bentom[5], Clark (Quebec) ...	1800	1805
Mitchell[5], John (New Carlisle, &c.)...	1800	1804
Pidgeon, Edward (New Carlisle, &c.)	1804	1818 ?
Cox, John (Augusta Town)	1811	1814
Smart, William (Elizabethtown)	1811	1818 ?
Spratt, George (Quebec) ...	1812	1818
Hyde, William James (Newfoundland)	1813	1816

[1] After resigning his connection with the Society, Mr. Bryant undertook the charge of the country district of the Peking Mission from 1892 to 1895.

[2] Married, 1889, Dr. G. P. Smith, of the Tien-tsin Mission, and died 1890.

[3] Married, 1894, Dr. Eliot Curwen, of the Peking Mission.

[4] Married, 1892, the Rev. J. M. Allardyce, M.A., of the Peking Mission.

[5] Two of the missionaries who sailed in the Duff for Tahiti in 1798, and were captured by the French.

	Mission Field Arr.	Mission Field Left.
(2) FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR IN ENGLAND.		
Cadoret [1], Louis	1801	
(3) JEWS IN LONDON.		
Frey, Joseph Samuel Christian Frederic ...	1805	1809
(4) SOUTH AMERICA.		
Creighton, David (Buenos Ayres and Monte Video)...	1806	1807
(5) MALTA AND THE IONIAN ISLANDS.		
Wiesinger, John Frederick...	1808	1809
Bloomfield, Bezaleel ...	1812	*1813*
Lowndes, Isaac	1816	1844
Wilson, Samuel Sheridan...	1819	1834
(6) MAURITIUS.		
Le Brun, John ...	1814 1841	1833 *1865*
Le Brun, J. J.	1844	1871
Le Brun, Peter	1850	*1865*
(7) FRANCE AND BELGIUM.		
Bellot, Philip (France) ...	1815	1819
Durell, Henry (Ghent and Valenciennes)	1816	1823

[1] Went to France in 1803 with the help of the Society, and afterwards settled there as a minister.

*** For native teachers, pastors, &c., see Index.

APPENDIX II

PLAN AND CONSTITUTION OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, ESTABLISHED IN 1795.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held in Exeter Hall, May 12, 1870.

I. *Name.*—The title of the Society shall continue to be, The Missionary Society, usually called The London Missionary Society.

II. *Object.*—The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations.

III. *Fundamental Principle.*—As the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of The Missionary Society, that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, to the heathen; and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son

from among them, to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God.

IV. *Members.*—Persons subscribing One Guinea, or more, annually: every Benefactor making a donation of Ten Pounds, or more: one of the Executors, on the payment of a legacy amounting to Fifty Pounds, or more: and Ministers, or other representatives, of congregations contributing for the use of the Society, Five Pounds, or more, annually; shall be members of the Society, and entitled to vote at its public meetings.

V. *Annual Meeting.*—A General Meeting of Members of the Society shall be held annually in London during the month of May; to appoint a Treasurer, Secretaries, and Directors; to receive Reports and audited Accounts; and to deliberate on any measures which may promote the object of the Society. At such meeting all matters proposed shall be determined by the majority of the members present.

VI. *The Board of Directors* shall consist of as many Directors annually chosen out of the members of the Society, as circumstances may require. Not more than one-third of the Directors shall reside in or near London, where all ordinary meetings for transacting the business of the Society shall be held. Annual Subscribers of £10 or upwards, and Benefactors of £100 or more, may attend, if they please, with the Directors, at any of the monthly meetings.

VII. *Powers.*—The Directors are empowered to collect and to receive all moneys contributed to the Society, and to expend the same on its behalf. Also to select and manage Mission Stations; to appoint, send forth, and fittingly sustain Missionaries; from time to time to make, alter, and amend bye-laws for the general conduct of business: and otherwise to carry out in a suitable manner the object of the Society.

VIII. *Business.*—For greater facility and expedition in the conduct of business, the Directors are empowered to subdivide into Committees for managing funds, for examining candidates for Missionary service, for conducting correspondence, directing Missions, making Reports, and the like. But no proceedings of these Committees shall be valid till ratified at an ordinary meeting of the Board. Not less than seven Directors, exclusive of the officers of the Society, shall constitute a Meeting of the Board for the dispatch of business. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall be, *ex officio*, entitled to meet and vote with the Directors of the Society.

IX. *Special Meeting.*—On any emergency, the Directors in London shall call a general meeting of Directors, and if deemed necessary, of members of the Society, to whom their proposed

arrangements shall be submitted; and they shall not enter upon a new Mission till they obtain the general concurrence of the Directors at such meeting.

X. *Salaries.*—The Secretaries shall receive such salaries as the Directors may appoint; but the Directors themselves shall transact the business of the Society without any emolument.

XI. *Funds.*—All funds arising from Donations, Legacies, Subscriptions, Collections, and other sources of income, shall be lodged, as soon as collected, with the Bankers of the Society.

XII. *Trustees and Investments*:—

(*a*) All moneys exceeding the sum required for the current use of the Society and its various Missions shall be invested by the Directors, in such securities as they may approve, in the names of not less than three Trustees, who shall be appointed by them from among the members of the Board.

(*b*) The Directors shall have power to remove at their discretion any Trustee appointed by them; and to fill up any vacancy occurring on the death, resignation, or removal of any Trustee, by the appointment of a new Trustee from among the members of the Board.

(*c*) Every Trustee shall be appointed by a resolution of the Board, passed at one of its ordinary meetings; and every Trust shall be created by a deed duly executed. In the execution of such deeds the Directors shall be represented by the following members and officers of the Board, or any three of them: the Chairman for the time being; a member of the Finance Committee; the Secretaries of the Board.

(*d*) The Trustees so appointed shall act under the instructions of the Directors, in all matters connected with their Trust; and shall call in, sell, convert into money, and vary the investments in their names, at such times, and in such manner, as the Directors shall require.

XIII. *Power to Revise.*—The foregoing Regulations shall be subject to such modification as the Members of the Society, at their Annual General Meeting, may from time to time think proper to make.

APPENDIX III

Analysis of the Income and Expenditure of the

Year.	From Subscriptions, Donations, &c.	Special Objects.	Legacies.	Dividends.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1796	10,759	230	...	100	11,089
1797	6,406	...	...	365	6,771
1798	4,107	...	...	260	4,367
1799	6,081	6,054	...	477	12,612
1800	10,802	5,661	...	690	17,153
1801	1,788	872	...	1,041	3,701
1802	1,887	...	...	1,056	2,943
1803	1,998	...	...	1,056	3,054
1804	3,575	...	...	1,006	4,581
1805	3,796	...	499	936	5,231
1806	4,063	...	...	885	4,948
1807	5,702	...	...	825	6,527
1808	5,728	...	...	1,029	6,757
1809	4,318	...	...	967	5,285
1810	3,825	537	224	710	5,296
1811	5,419	...	387	1,054	6,860
1812	7,233	...	97	1,002	8,332
1813	14,342	...	...	982	15,324
1814	14,765	...	142	1,184	16,091
1815	17,497	...	837	1,038	19,372
1816	21,719	...	192	1,048	22,959
1817	19,622	...	280	1,817	21,719
1818	18,686	...	1,474	1,978	22,138
1819	20,073	...	1,260	1,960	23,293
1820	22,433	...	1,243	1,734	25,410
1821	23,697	...	818	1,659	26,174
1822	26,899	...	1,003	1,506	29,408
1823	29,350	...	720	1,197	31,267
1824	31,950	...	939	1,114	34,003
1825	31,629	4,257	3,695	1,138	40,719

APPENDIX III

London Missionary Society from 1796 to 1895.

Year.	On Account of Missionaries and Missions.	On Account of Administration.	Total.
	£	£	£
1796	...	178	178
1797	11,830	74	11,904
1798	915	250	1,165
1799	9,665	1,099	10,764
1800	7,804	180	7,984
1801	3,504	164	3,668
1802	2,396	298	2,694
1803	4,561	533	5,094
1804	4,118	343	4,461
1805	5,217	474	5,691
1806	4,465	496	4,961
1807	5,589	701	6,290
1808	6,230	1,028	7,258
1809	6,806	805	7,611
1810	4,978	417	5,395
1811	7,391	896	8,287
1812	8,026	1,760	9,786
1813	6,680	2,303	8,983
1814	9,935	2,656	12,591
1815	12,330	3,649	15,979
1816	15,819	3,480	19,299
1817	15,424	2,766	18,190
1818	17,495	2,478	19,973
1819	24,579	4,079	28,658
1820	22,537	3,608	26,145
1821	24,040	3,750	27,790
1822	35,840	4,439	40,279
1823	29,226	3,962	33,188
1824	28,782	4,223	33,005
1825	28,781	4,951	33,732

ANALYSIS OF INCOME (*continued*).

Year.	From Subscriptions, Donations, &c.	Special Objects.	Legacies.	Dividends.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1826	32,578	1,585	1,968	1,033	37,164
1827	31,532	723	1,153	1,005	34.413
1828	34,264	6,951	3,314	815	45.344
1829	35,312	2,407	3,178	906	41,803
1830	36,597	8,266	2,167	983	48,013
1831	34,605	634	5,009	1 207	41,455
1832	31,150	517	2,273	1,145	35,085
1833	28,692	1.397	3.495	974	34.558
1834	38,702	1.937	4,916	1,040	46,595
1835	34,658	9,066	8,256	1,248	53,228
1836	36,917	11,175	1,132	1.478	50,702
1837	42.300	6,974	8,778	1,501	59,553
1838	42,992	15,779	3,740	1,551	64,062
1839	44,419	5,158	6,455	986	57,018
1840	56,378	5,379	16,831	999	79,587
1841	55,505	8,829	3,245	585	68,164
1842	47,503	5,830	6,962	463	60,758
1843	45,389	13,202	4,493	297	63,381
1844	45,562	13,640	6,514	93	65,809
1845	39,801	27,534	2,919	...	70.254
1846	42.607	18,181	3,051	113	63,952
1847	41,860	11,351	7,451	93	60,755
1848	48.432	11,679	4,464	3	64.578
1849	38,618	8,685	4,376	699	52,378
1850	39,823	6,838	4,215	633	51,509
1851	40,942	10,900	3.708	603	56,153
1852	36,809	9,416	10,109	612	56,946
1853	38,959	17,069	3,520	558	60,106
1854	37,567	19.994	5,884	871	64,316
1855	36,013	8,343	1,921	966	47,243
1856	39,449	21,820	6,700	974	68,943
1857	37,318	8,697	6,698	1,166	53,879
1858	37.387	18,369	9,667	1,386	66,809
1859	41,991	27,351	10,046	975	80,363
1860	45,278	21,705	12,007	856	79 846
1861	45,102	17.441	6,624	1,081	70.248
1862	45,399	12,746	5,941	1,022	65,108
1863	42,335	18,915	3,903	1,036	66,189

EXPENDITURE (*continued*).

Year.	On Account of Missionaries and Missions.	On Account of Administration.	Total.
	£	£	£
1826	33,901	4,959	38,860
1827	42,915	4,318	47,233
1828	34,818	4,617	39,435
1829	43,590	3,685	47,275
1830	28,637	4,154	32,791
1831	34,265	3,933	38,198
1832	35,455	3,785	39,240
1833	34,369	3,882	38,251
1834	36,013	3,959	39,972
1835	37,288	3,654	40,942
1836	46,925	8,539	55,464
1837	53,766	4,574	58,340
1838	64,746	5,880	70,626
1839	62,712	4,672	67,384
1840	64,687	5,957	70,644
1841	72,141	6,156	78,297
1842	62,441	4,994	67,435
1843	65,136	5,236	70,372
1844	62,367	5,154	67,521
1845	60,166	6,206	66,372
1846	52,797	5,907	58,704
1847	53,621	6,539	60,160
1848	59,417	6,811	66,228
1849	48,652	6,456	55,108
1850	47,331	6,122	53,453
1851	47,658	5,731	53,389
1852	54,918	5,809	60,727
1853	47,624	5,435	53,059
1854	55,619	6,213	61,832
1855	46,445	5,812	52,257
1856	42,288	6,785	49,073
1857	52,260	7,527	59,787
1858	43,963	6,957	50,920
1859	53,331	7,004	60,335
1860	50,013	7,226	57,239
1861	59,433	6,651	66,084
1862	59,527	6,940	66,467
1863	55,795	7,171	62,966

ANALYSIS OF INCOME (*continued*).

Year.	From Subscriptions, Donations, &c.	Special Objects.	Legacies.	Dividends.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£
1864	47,169	12.150	6,972	1,004	67,295
1865	43.782	22,836	9,738	815	77,171
1866	43,207	15,294	7,924	529	66,954
1867	52,392	5.282	5,813	454	63,941
1868	59,187	18,541	5,326	373	83,427
1869	60,947	9,547	10,876	584	81,954
1870	56,985	11,297	12,562	713	81,557
1871	60,751	6,163	12,453	2,161	81,528
1872	60,911	17,834	6,600	2,365	87,710
1873	61,370	15.576	15,860	2,208	95,014
1874	59,321	17,003	12,332	2,335	90,991
1875	61,537	13,707	5,927	2,344	83.515
1876	61,518	20,145	8,814	2,371	92,848
1877	61,916	18,575	3,964	2,478	86,933
1878	62,391	14.378	9,881	2,268	88,918
1879	57,444	12,458	6,457	3,000	79,359
1880	60,633	13,154	10,697	2,638	87,122
1881	57,179	15,946	13,724	2,613	89,462
1882	56,832	16,382	16,101	2,856	92,171
1883	57.960	15,995	33,552	2,556	110,063
1884	58,420	15,610	9,543	2,647	86,220
1885	61,879	16,449	4,302	2,679	85,309
1886	72,606	16,313	16,139	2,655	107,713
1887	57,105	21,852	4,790	4,133	87,880
1888	54,863	22,051	26,712	4,140	107,766
1889	57,846	39,140	9,563	4.407	110,956
1890	60,218	23,190	16,177	3,994	103,579
1891	59.867	22,762	6,225	4,494	93,348
1892	66,138	46,594	11,716	4,907	129,355
1893	69,519	32.720	8,041	3,304	113,584
1894	66,678	41,104	8,992	3,636	120,410
1895	73,377 [1]	70,820 [2]	8,146	3,278	155,621

[1] Inclusive of contributions for Female Missions hitherto included under 'Special Objects' column.

[2] Inclusive of amount received for Deficiency, £5,766; and Centenary Fund, £38,487.

EXPENDITURE (*continued*).

Year.	On Account of Missionaries and Missions.	On Account of Administration.	Total.
	£	£	£
1864	64,416	7,606	72,022
1865	66,266	7,177	73,443
1866	82,886	7,716	90,602
1867	81,320	8,753	90,073
1868	68,650	9,623	78,273
1869	70,822	7,725	78,547
1870	70,398	8,172	78,570
1871	78,380	8,945	87,325
1872	70,331	8,220	78,551
1873	76,976	7,744	84,720
1874	77,002	7,747	84,749
1875	73,289	7,745	81,034
1876	76,016	7,885	83,901
1877	86,700	8,518	95,218
1878	92,238	8,202	100,440
1879	88,250	9,110	97,360
1880	77,171	7,962	85,133
1881	81,180	8,047	89,227
1882	82,494	8,894	91,388
1883	96.782	10,072	106,854
1884	85,972	9,797	95,769
1885	89,632	10,526	100,158
1886	94,883	11,399	106,282
1887	91,464	12,143	103,607
1888	98,613	12,547	111,160
1889	96,393	11,909	108,302
1890	87,756	9,784	97,540
1891	97,842	10,406	108,248
1892	100,679	11,817	112,496
1893	123,355	13,693	137,048
1894	130,945 [1]	14,645	145,590
1895	115,726	16,073 [2]	131,799

[1] Inclusive of cost of New Steamer, £17,055.
[2] Inclusive of expenditure on account of Centenary.

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